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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

It gives us immense pleasure to present to our readers the Third thoroughly revised and copiously strengthened Edition of the "Swan History of Modern Europe."

That the multitudes of readers have cordially and wholeheartedly welcomed the book speaks amply of the labour, care and attention expanded on the venture by the authors.

Indeed, numerous are the difficulties of the student community in trying to *single out* one such book as can serve as a *blanket.* Here is a modest attempt to provide the student with such a *blanket* as can save him from the showers, dusts and other attacks of Dame History.

The book attempts a keen observation of the history of Europe in its varied aspects—social, economic, political and cultural. An added embellishment to the Third Edition is an extensive survey of the Industrial Revolution in Europe with its impact and consequences on the contemporary times and ever after.

It is hoped that the book will serve the needs of the scholars and students of History in the country especially from the colleges and universities of Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Delhi U. P, J & K and other Universities.

Any suggestions with a view to make the present book all the more useful will be thankfully received.

—**Authors**

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Russo-Japan

EUROPE ON THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

French Revolution is a great landmark not only in the history but also of the world. It marks the transition of Europe the Medieval to the Modern Age. Before the French Revolution 26. al and the social conditions of Europe were very defective. olitical and social institutions were stagnant and unprogessive. ench Revolution shook the very roots of these institutions, gave ew political and social institutions and ushered a in new era The French Revolution was as much a war of ideas as of 27. It influenced all the countries of Europe and paved the reconstruction on a new basis. It challenged the establish- and customs of Europe and gave birth to new principles ht and new social ideas. **Hazen** has summed up its the following words :—

> *pean history merges into the history of one nation, one event man. The nation is France, the event is the French Revolution on is Napoleon."*

s absolutely essential to study the conditions of Europe French Revolution before we study the history of the

Political Condition of Europe on the Eve of the French Revolution

1. Describe the Political Condition of Europe on the eve of ench Revolution.

1. Despotic Rulers.. Europe was organised aristocratically. bsolute monarchy was the prevailing form of government in Europe that time. The Rulers were despots. They believed in the Divine ight Theory and were responsible to none. All the powers of the ate were vested in the monarch. The will of the king was the law. ach governments were generally oppressive. The king could impose y tax and inflict any kind of punishment on the general public ost of the despots never cared to improve the political, social and onomic conditions of the people. **H. Rose** says :—

"On the eve of the French Revolution, absolute monarchy based

on the doctrine of 'Divine Right of Kings' , was the prevailing form government in most states."

Democratic form of government was unknown in most of th countries. People had no hand in the administration of the countr They were deprived of personal liberty. Their welfare depended the will and whims of the despot. Parliamentary form of governm prevailed in England and Switzerland, but the members of the parl ment represented the landed aristocrats only and not the people. Se dom was the order of the day and the feudal lords had great influe on the despots. **Hazen** says :—

"One could find in all Europe hardly a trace of what we democracy."

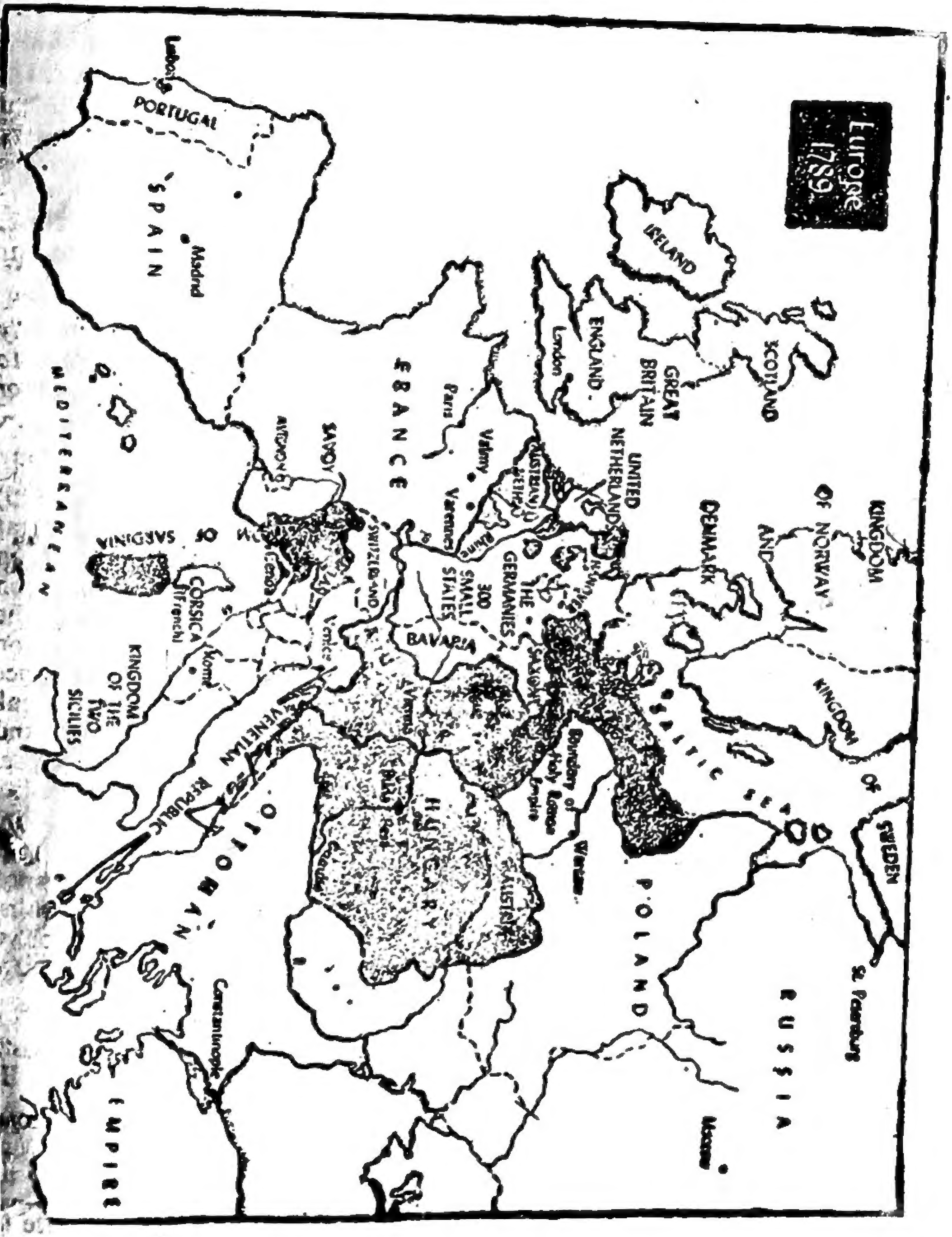
2. **Influence of the Nobles**—Nobles and landed aristocrats l great influence over the despot. They enjoyed special political a social rights and privileges. Their predominant and undue influ introduced many evils in society. Nobles had the right to impose o ressive and unreasonable taxes on the people. The kings showe their favours on the nobles and they oppressed the people in ma ways. The despots and the nobles led a luxurious life and the ha earned money of the public was spent recklessly by them. Serfd was the order of the day and the administration had become v expensive and weak. According to **Hazen** :—

"Europe was organised aristocratically and for the benefits of aristocracies.

The kings of western Europe had put an end to feudalism a political institution, though the feudal lords still enjoyed cer privileges. But in Central Europe and in Russia their political r were still intact and there were continuous feuds between the de and the feudal lords. Emperor Joseph II (1765-90) could not est a powerful central government on account of the political influen these nobles and the church. Peter the Great, could not improve lot of serfs or half-slaves due to the fear of the revolt of the nobles

3. **Lack of International Morality**—The moral tone of Europ Politics was very low. There was an absence of any controlling pri ple of action. The rulers of the 18th century lacked internati morality. They were dishonest and unprincipled. There was spirit of co-operation in them and the international wars were on increase. There was chaos in international relations and force the order of the day. To break international treaties and pact not considered very immoral. According to **Hazen** :—

"The old regime in Europe was disloyal to the very princip which it rested—that is the respect for the established ord nd reg for legality and engagements."


Europe 1789
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
SPAIN
Madrid
FRANCE
Paris
Valmy
Varennes
AVIGNON
SAVOY
MEDITERRANEAN
OF SARDINIA
CORSICA (French)
Genoa
Rome
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
VENETIAN REPUBLIC
Venice
SWITZERLAND
BAVARIA
300 SMALL STATES
THE GERMANIES
Rhine
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
UNITED NETHERLANDS
GREAT BRITAIN
ENGLAND
London
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
DENMARK
KINGDOM OF NORWAY AND
SAXONY
Vienna
Boundary of Holy Roman Empire
Warsaw
POLAND
GALICIA
HUNGARY
Buda
Pest
BALTIC SEA
KINGDOM OF SWEDEN
St. Petersburg
RUSSIA
Moscow
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople

The King of **Prussia, Frederick the Great**, recognised the rig throne of Meria Theresa, the daughter of Charles VI of Austria after the death of Charles, he captured the province of Silesia belonged to Austria. In the same way Russia, Prussia and Au tried for the partition of Poland. The rulers had great territo ambitions. They took advantage of the weakness of the small ru and expanded their empires at their cost and established their colon in other countries. This policy of expansionism and colonialism lowe ed the tone of international morality and led to many wars in Europe Statesmanship was supreme in politics and there was no honou among nations. **Prof. Rose** says,—

That respect of dynastic rights and treaty obligations which generall held sway when Christendom was more than a name now gave place state policy which avoidedly aimed at little else but gain of territo markets."

4. Important Countries of Europe,

(1) *France*—During the reign of Louis XIV (1643—171 France made great progress internally and externally and wielded gr influence in Europe but the wars fought by him proved a heavy bu on the finances of France. Under Louis XV (1715-74) the condi of France became worse. His defeat in various wars lowered prestige of France and weakened the French economy. His gra Louis XVI succeeded him. There was a grave financial crisis in on account of his wars, his luxurious life and expensive administration. There was chaos everywhere. Feudal clergymen enjoyed special privileges. General public suffered mal-administration and heavy taxes. The chaotic conditions in poli cal and social sphere brought about the French Revolution in 178 which swept away the monarchy and feudalism and ushered in era of nationalism and liberalism. According to **Hazen** :—

"The absolute monarchy continued to function in France, arous greater and greater discontent among the people of that country they finally rose in insurrection and swept the whole system away in famous French Revolution."

(2) *Austria*—Austria was under the rule of Hapsburg Dynas Her ruler was known as the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. kingdom comprised of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Belgium, many pa of Germany and northern parts of Italy, etc. People of different r and religions lived there. The result was that Austria could not becon a powerful kingdom in Europe. Joseph II ruled Austria at that time. was a liberal despot. He introduced many reforms and tried to un people of different races, expand and organise his territories a the foundation of a strong central government but his efforts m little success. The following words have been engraved epitaph :

"Here lies a prince who, with the best of intentions, failed in all attempted."

short, Austrian Empire was in a state of intense ferment and on the eve of the French Revolution.

(3) *Germany*—It was an assemblage of about 360 small sovereign es. The only bond of union between them was their inclusion he Holy Roman Empire. The Imperial organisation was loose d weak and the Emperor had no authority over the states. These states were torn by civil strife. Prussia and Austria were important states but they were great rivals and kept the Central Europe in a state of ferment. Germany did not occupy an important place in the litics of Europe on the eve of the French Revolution.

(4) *Prussia*—Prussia rose to height of his glory during the reign Frederick the Great (1740—80). He forcibly seized Silesia from ustria and occupied certain portions of Poland and lgium He used to say, "*Take what you can; you e never wrong unless you obliged to give back.*" s a result of his achieve- nts in the Seven Years , Prussia became a first er in Europe. He his level best to ro the financial condi- on of Prussia. He was succeeded by Frederick William II. He was a man of weak and vacillating nature. He was a staunch rival of Austria and Russia. He took little interest in the French Revolution and paid more attention towards the partition of Poland.

Frederick the Great

(5) *Italy*—Italy was the leader of Europe in cultural sphere in the 15th and 16th centuries but its political condition grew worse during the 18th and 19th centuries. Italy was a weak and a divided country then. It was a collection of many small states having no internal unity. Many of its states were under the domination of foreign rulers.

(6) *Russia*—Russia was a large but a backward country. It arched on the road to progress and prc during the reign of

Peter the Great (1682—1725). He expanded the frontiers Russia and carried out far-reaching reforms in various spheres of lif He tried to westernize the people. Russia became a powerful country and began to take interest in the politics of Europe. It is said, "*When he (Peter) died, he left his empire a compact state with a big army and ready to play a conspicuous role in the international politics of Europe.*"

Peter, the Great

At the time of the French Revolution, Catherine the Great ruled Russia. She was an able ruler She continued the work of westernising her people. She defeated Turkey and got the right to interfere in her internal affairs. She increased the influence of Russia in the Balkans and the Black Sea. She got the lion's share in the partition of Poland. On the eve of the French Revolution, Russia was a fairly strong and powerful country. About her services to her country she used to say, "*I came to Russia as a poor girl ; Russia has rewarded me richly but I have paid her back with Azov, the Crimea and the Ukraine*"

(7) *England*—England's prestige was lowered in Europe due t defeat in the American War of Independence. But under the guidance of Pitt, the Younger, she recovered her strength and pres On the eve of the French Revolution England was a first rate po in Europe. Due to the Industrial, Revolution her trade and comm flourished and the English seamen established a large col empire. Absolute monarchy had been replaced by a limited mona and parliamentary form of government. During the reign of Georg and II Cabinet System took deep roots in England. George III t to establish his personal rule but he failed.

Under the able leadership of Pitt the Younger, England bec the most powerful country again. She could face France on acc of her financial supremacy and her naval power. It is rightly s "*Her naval supremacy and commercial prosperity enabled to bra and successfully face the forces of Revolutionary and Napoleonic Franc*

(8) *Poland*—Poland in the 17th century was a fairly big stat Her neighbours Russia, Austria and Prussia were hostile to her ar

fought long and bloody wars with her. Consequently Poland was partitioned thrice and by 1795 she ceased to be an independent state. Poland had the institution of 'elective monarchy' and a parliament. All laws had to be passed unanimously. The result was that the country remained backward and conservative. Feudalism was the order of the day in Poland. Russia, Prussia and Austria took advantage of her difficulties and interfered in her internal matters. Their interference in the affairs of Polan proved helpful to France but by 1795 Poland ceased to have her separate identity.

(9) **Spain**—Spain was a large and powerful country in the 16th century. Their seamen established colonies in south America. In Europe she had annexed Netherland, Sicily, Milan and some parts of Italy. Spain had a roaring trade and was a prosperous country. But the defeat of Spanish Armada in 1588 gave a severe blow to her power and prestige. Charles II (1665-1700) tried to regain her power and glory. In the 18th century Spain again became a weak country because of the mal-administstration of Charles IV.

(10) **The Netherlands**—The Netherlands consisted of the 17 provinces of Holland and Belgium on the eve of the French Revolution. William V ruled in Netherlands. Although there was a Parliament to help the king yet all the powers of the state were vested with him. He was dethroned in 1786 but he succeeded in regaining his power and throne with the help of England and Prussia. In 1799 the revolutionary army attacked the Netherlands and forcibly occupied it. William escaped to England.

(11) **Switzerland**—It was a small country. It had democratic form of government but the real power was in the hands of aristocrats and the general public had little say in the administration. She did not occupy any important place in the politics of Europe.

(12) **Sweden, Denmark and Norway**—Gustavas III ruled Sweden at that time. Norway was under the sway of Denmark. The then ruler of Demmark, Christian VII established parliamentary form of government there. These small states were not well off and had little say in the politics of Europe.

To sum up, Europe, at the end of 18th century (or on the eve of the French Revolution) presented a very gloomy picture. By their mutual jealousies and continuous wars, the different states of Europe had rendered themselves so weak that they had no power left to check the surging onslaughts of the French Revolution. In the words of Lord **Acton**, we can rightly say—"*Europe as a whole did not exist in 1789.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. *Political condition of Europe on the eve of the French Revolution* : (*i*) Despotic Rule (*ii*) Influnce of Nobles (*iii*) Lack of International Morality.

2. *Leading Countries of Europe*—**France, Austria, Germany, Prussia, Italy, Russia, England, Poland, Spain, Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark and Norway.**

Social, Religious and Economic Conditions on the Eve of the French Revolution

Q. 2. Describe the social, religious and economic conditions of Europe on the eve of the French Revolution.

Ans. **1. Social Condition**—On the eve of the French Revolution, society in Europe was generally divided into two classes (1) the privileged class and (2) the unprivileged class. The first class comprised of the nobles and the upper clergy and the second class consisted of the lower clergy, middle class, labourers, artisans, peasants and the serfs etc. The privileged class enjoyed special privileges and led a happy d prosperous life. The unprivileged class was deprived of all rights their condition was very mirerable. The privileged class was totally tially exempted from taxation and the burden of taxation fell on privileged class. This social division was based on inequality. ng to Marriot—

erywhere on the Continent the nobles and the clergy formed erful orders distinct from the mass of the people."

(1) **Nobles**—Nobles were much above the common people and enjoyed special privilges. They possessed big estates or *Jagirs*, army and forts. They controlled much of the property of the states but were free from the burden of taxes and duties. They held all the important civil and military posts but they were exempt from the compulsory military service. On the other hand, they exacted feudal dues from the peasants living on their estates. They alone had the fishing and hunting rights. Their cattle spoiled the standing crops of the peasants but there was none to check them. The peasants could not lodge a complaint against them. They led a luxurious dwelling life in their grand and built beautiful palaces on their estates at the cost of lower orders. They did not mix with the masses. They had turned the king's courts into hot bed of intrigues. They acted like petty kings in their estates.

(2) **The Upper Clergy**—This class also belonged to the privileged order and was exempt from taxes. They did not perform their religious duties. Their morale was very low. They had become very materialistic ; they amassed great wealth and led a luxurious life. Ambitious men of the lower orders joined the church to satisfy their ambitions.

(3) **The Lower Clergy**—This class did not enjoy the same righs and privileges as were enjoyed by the upper clergy. The burden of performing all the duties in the church fell on them. They were poorly paid and their economic condition was really miserable. They were looked down upon by h upper clergy. But they were educated and wise and the revolutionary ideas influenced them greatly. They

joined the revolutionaries and greatly opposed the upper clergy durir the French Revolution.

(4) **The Middle Class**—The middle class consisted of trade industrialists, writers, physicians, lawyers and artisans. They h earned a lot from the Industrial Revolution. They were rich and wi They were wealthy but were deprived of the rights and privile enjoyed by the high order and their social status was very low. T were in favour of political and social equality. They were jealous the upper class and were the leaders of the revolutionaries.

(5) **Labourers, Peasants and Serfs**—The condition of the labou and peasants was also very deplorable. Agriculture was the occupa in most of the countries of Europe. The peasants were very poor the burden of taxation fell upon them. Their income was very and they could hardly make their both ends meet. The conditi the serfs was even worse. Serfdom prevailed in all countries exce England and France. They were tied to the lands of their masters had to serve them free in their estates for two or three days in a v They led a very poor and miserable life and enjoyed no civil ri The condition of the unprivilged class has been described by Schevi following words—

> *"The great structure of European society was unhappy, u unprotected, undeveloped mass of human beings, to whom oppor for growth and improvement was closed on every side."*

2. **Religious Condition**—Thrre religions prevailed in Eur that time—Islam, Christianity and Jewism. Islam was pre Turkey and in some territories of the Balkans. The Jews lived in all countries of the Europe. They were tolerated in some co while in others they were persecuted. Most of the people in had faith in Christianity. It consisted of three main sects— Catholics, Protestants and Greek Christians. People in E Holand, Germany and certain other countries of Northern were Protestants. The people of Ireland, France, Spain, Aus Poland were Catholics. Greek Christians lived in Russia and countries of Eastern Europe. They did not recognize the auth the Pope.

It was an age of religious fanaticism and there was ab religious toleration. Europe was not free from religious many people were persecuted in the name of religion. Islam was to Christianity. Roman Catholics were persecuted in countries and vice versa.

3. **Economic Condition**—In the 18th century people of the countries of Europe lived in villages and agricultur main occupation. They were divided into two classes, th and the peasantry. The society was organised on the basis o

ie nobles were the owners of the land and were very rich. They joyed special rights and privileges and were exempt from taxes. ie peasantry consisted of farmers and serfs. The farmers tilled the id and paid land-tax. The serfs worked on the lands of the nobles d were tied to the soil. They were given some land for their elihood. These serfs worked for a few days in a week on the land he nobles. They were under the complete domination of the les. The nobles and the clergymen were wealthy and led a urious life nnd were free from the burden of taxes. On the cont- the peasantry led a miserable life and their condition was lorable because they had to pay many taxes to the state, nobles the church.

Many new towns had come into being on account of industrial ress. The guilds controlled trade and industry. The traders and strialists owned wealth but their social status was low and the ins were also not well off as they were being exploited by the trialists. This economic disparity in the society has been described following words—

"In the 18th century Europe, the richer a man was, the less he had to the state and so the burden on the lower order was really ng. What a vicious circle it was !"

rom the above description it is clear that on the eve of the Revolution, the classification of society in Europe was unjust t based on the principle of equity and equality. The social ation was feudalistic. The classification of the society was e. People were persecuted in the name of religion. Social and mutual jealousies gave birth to French Revolution ok the entire Continent in its grip and revolutionized the whole ucture and annihilated the privileged class. It is rightly said, *at French Revolution was the tragic consequence of the injustice the unprivileged classes had been subjected for centuries. It monarchy, the nobles and their privileges and ushered in an era lism and constitutionalism."*

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Social Condition**—The society was divided into two classes—the ed and the unprivileged class. The first comprised of the nobles upper clergy and the second consisted of the lower clergy, the middle workers, artisans, peasants and serfs.

) *The Nobles*—They held big estates, enjoyed special privileges, were free from taxes and duties and led a luxurious life.

   The Upper Clergy—They also belonged to the privileged class, enjoyed various rights and led a happy life.

He got a chance to visit England in 1726. He was greatly uenced by the constitutional form of government, the individual berty, religious freedom and social equality of the English. He had l praise for the English institutions and society.

In his writings he lashed at the tyranny of the rulers, the church nd social inequality. He called church 'as the Infamous Thing'. He pposed religious fanaticism and bigotry. He called clergymen thor- ghly corrupt and selfish and had hatred for their luxurious and rrupt life. He believed in the unity of God, Natural Religion and atural Law because there was both truth and beauty in them. He ood for religious toleration. He used to say—

'Since we are all steeped in error and folly we must forgive each ther for our follies'.

"Worship God and be a good man."

His main target was the Church and the Crown. He could not olerate tyranny in any shape or form. He was always ready to take p the cause of the oppressed. But he was not in favour of democ- acy or liberalism. He stood for benevolent despotism. He once emarked—

"I would rather be ruled by one lion than by a hundred rats."

He was a strong supporter of individual liberty. Once he wrote his friend. *"I do not agree with what you say, but I can lay down my fe to protect your right to say so."*

Voltaire was imprisoned for his attack on the Church and the Crown. Later on he was exiled. During the period of his exile he sited Russia, England and Prussia and then he settled in Geneva. e returned to France at the age of 84 but he died very soon. His ritings had a tremendous effect not only on the people of France but her countries of Europe as well. According to Grant and emperley, *"His will and his satire, the clearness of his language and umanity of his appeal, pervade the 18th century and the French Revolution."*

3. **Rousseau (1712-78)**—Rousseau was the most famous and popular philosopher of France. He was a revolutionary thinker and awakened revolutionary spirit among the people. He was born in Geneva in 1712. His father was a petty watchmaker. He had to work as a lace-seller, teacher, private secretary musician, etc. to earn his livelihood. But he was not successful in any of those professions. At last he became successful as a writer. His autobigraphy, **'My Confession'**, **'Emile'** and **'Social Contract'** etc. are his famous books. He died in 1778 and was buried in Geneva but the revolutionaries of France loved him so much that they reburied him with great honour among the martyrs of France in 1792.

Rousseau was a revolutionary thinker and writer who advocated new social ideas. Montesquieu was opposed to absolute monarchy and Valtaire attacked the church and the crown but Rousseau believed in the regeneration of the society on the basis of his political and social ideas. In his book 'Social Contract' he says that man was extremely blissful in the 'State of Nature'. According to him, "*Man is born free and yet everywhere he is in chains*". He was against all knowedge and art. All societies were artificial All accepted forms of political organisations were tyrannical. In the state of nature all men were free and equal and enjoyed liberty. He wanted to uproot that civilization and harmful institutions which had degraded man. He wanted to have a new and ideal set-up in place of the old political and social order. He appealed the people in the following words :—

Rousseau

> "*Sweep away, therefore, all the false fabrics of society, the world of ugly want and insolent riches, miscalled civilization, oppression miscalled order, the error miscalled knowledge. Level its inequalities, repudiate its learnings, break its functions, shatter its chain.*"

He was of the view that state came into existence by means of social contract between the people and state of nature came to an end. He advocated the idea of the sovereignty of the people. He was the strong supporter of the individual's rights and liberty. He says, "*The people were the real sovereign and the king ruled only by their consent.*" He also held that the king was the servant and not the master of the people. The people had the right to revolt against the tyrannical government and dethrone a soverign who is not fair and just. According to him, public opinion carried weight in society and state-laws are formed for the good of the people and do not express the arbitrary will of the despotic ruler.

Rousseau gave the slogan of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' to the revolutionaries of France. He instilled in them a strong desire to revolt against the established monarchy, tyrannical government, and evil social institutions. His revolutionary ideas proved to be a boon for the revolutionaries and his Social Contract was 'Bible' for them.

He created national awakening among the people and prepared a ground for a national revolution in France. He has been rightly called *"the Prophet and Pioneer of the Revolution."* Napolean used to say—

"But for Rousseau, there would have been no French Revolution."

4. **Diderot**—Diderot was a renowned writer, philosopher and preacher of the 18th century in France. He wrote his famous book 'Encyclopaedia' in 1792. Many other writers also made their contributions to it. He has drawn a clear picture of the political and social conditions of France in it. He criticized the despotic rule, special privileges of the high order, unjust laws, social inequalities and the miserable life of the lower class. He was the supporter of the Peoples' republic, equality and well grounded administration. He preached his ideas through secret societies and created a new spirit and awakening among the people. He organised the public opinion against the despotism of the autocratic ruler and social injustice and inequalities.

5. **Quesnay**—He was a great philosopher and economist. Some of his friends were great economists. With their help he formed a society which was known as "Economists or Physiocrats". He propounded such ideas as could bring about a revolution in trade and industry. He was of the view that the state should realise only one tax, either land tax or property tax. People should not be burdened with heavy and manifold taxes.

According to him free trade, free industry, free agriculture and national education are the real means of progress of a country. He could not tolerate the interference of the state in trade and education.

Influence of the French Philosophers

Writers hold different views about the influence of these philosophers. According to **Prof. Thomson** the connection between the French Revolution and the ideas of the French philosophers is remote and indirect. They did not preach revolution and were ready to support any despot who was perpared to patronize them and their teachings. They were mostly aristocrats. The doctrines of these philosophers came to be used later on. If their teachings had any influence at all on the outbreak and the intial stages, it was only to the extent that they had fostered a critical attitude towards all existing institutions. **Prof. Hazen** is of the same view. He says—

"The Revolution was not caused by the philosophers, but by the conditions and evils of national life and by the mistakes of the government. Nevertheless, these writers were a factor in the Revolution, for they educated a group of leaders, instilled into them certain decisive doctrines, furnished them with phrases, formulas and arguments, gave a certain tone and cast to their minds, imparted to them certain powerful illusions, encouraged an excessive hopefulness which was characteristic of the movement. They did not canse the revolution, but they exposed the causes brilliantly, focussed attention on them, compelled discussion and aroused passion."

On the other hand **Mallet** says, *"The seed sown by these remarkable writers fell upon fruitful soil."* Montesquieu criticized the arbitrary rule and Voltaire attacked the church and the crown. Rousseau laid great stress on democratic form of government and the sovereignty of the people. They denounced political, social and religious evils of the time. By proclaiming equality among men without distinction of birth ; by demanding from every citizen, obedience to the law ; by demanding the abolition of feudal taxes and services, these philosophers prepared, at least in men's minds, the downfall of the old regime. The ideas preached by them formed a sound background for the revolution in France.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The French Philosophers—The 18th century philosophers of France criticized the evils of old social organisation and arbitrary rule in France. They awakened the people, gave them new ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity and prepared them for the revolution.

(1) *Montesquieu* (1689-1755)—Belonged to a rich family ; a writer of high order ; favoured the ideas of Locke and the constitutional form of government of England. In his book 'The Spirit of Laws' he denounced autocracy, the theory of Divine Right of kings, and laid streses on limited monarchy, the constitutional form of government and the theory of separation of power to ensure liberty.

(2) *Volaire* (1664-1774)—He came of a middle class family ; a great poet, dramatist, critic and historian ; known as King Voltaire ; attacked church and crown and fanaticism ; favoured Natural Religion ; advocated English typed Despotism and individual Liberty.

(3) *Rousseau* (1712-1778)—Son of a watchmaker ; adopted various prefessions but at last succeeded as a writer. 'My Confession,' 'Emile' and 'Social Contract' etc. were his famous books ; believed in regeneration of society on his new social ideas ; supporter of democracy, freedom and the sovereignty of the people ; opposed civilization and favoured Natural State ; Greatly influenced the French Revolution.

(4) *Diderot*—In his book 'Encyclopaedia' he criticized the arbitrary rule and the privileged class and drew a clear picture of the miserable life of the lower class.

(5) *Quesnay*—A great Economist ; in favour of imposing one tax only ; according to him free trade and national education are the means of national progress.

University and other Important Questions

1. Describe the political condition of Europe in 1789 or just before the French Revolution.
2. "In 1789 the political condition of Europe was deplorable." Comment and explain.
3. What do you know about the social and economic condition of Europe in the later part of the 18th century.
   (Agra B. A. 1963, 66, Pb. M. A. 1960)
4. "Social and economic life of Europe on the eve of the French Revolution was far from satisfactory." Discuss.

5. How far were the writings and ideas of the French writers and philosophers responsible for the Intellectual Revolution of France ?

6. "Long before the Revolution of 1789, there had occurred a Revolution in the world of ideas." Discuss.

7. "The Intellectual Revolution preceded the Political Revolution." Discuss the statement with reference to the French Revolution of 1789.

8. Give a brief sketch of the social and political ideas of the leading 18th century French Philosophers. Do you agree with Hazen that they were a factor in the Revolution ?

9. "The writings and propaganda of the philosophers made an excellent gun-powder for destroying monarchy in France." Elucidate.

10. Describe briefly the social and political ideas of Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau. Do you agree with the view that they and other 18th century French Philosophers were a factor in the Revolution of 1789 ? (Agra B. A. 1961)

11. On the accompanying map of Europe, indicate the boundaries of Europe in 1789, adding suitable explanatory notes. (P. U. 1967, 68. 70. 71)

12. Sketch the condition of society in France on the eve of the Revolution. Do the facts warrant the conclusion that the revolution was inevitable ?

13. Describe the political condition of Europe on the eve of French Revolution (1789). (Pb. B. A. 1972)

2

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

There was despotic rule in France in the 18th century. Nobles and clergy enjoyed special privileges. They led a happy life but the public was unhappy, The result was the outbreak of a revolution in 1789. Arbitrary rule was replaced by a democratic form of government. It gave birth to new political ideas and resulted in the reconstruction of society. The king, the queen and thousands of their followers were murdered. It created a great stir in Europe. Thousands of towns were destroyed and lacs of persons died. This movement, which started in France in 1789 is known as the French Revolution.

The French Revolution is a great mark not only in the history of France but also of Europe. Ramsay Muir calls it a 'V[illegible]d Revolution.' It was as much a war of bayonets as that of ideas. It gave to humanity the ideas of Freedom, Liberty and Fraternity. It shook the old traditions and institutions. According to Kropotkirn —

"Two great currents prepared and made the great French Revolution. One of them, the current ideas, concerning the political reoganisation of states, came from the middle class, the other, the current action came from the people, both peasants and workers in town who wanted to obtain immediate and definite improvement in their economic condition. And when these two currents met and joined in the endeavour to realise an aim which for sometime was common to both. When they had helped each other for a certain time the result was the Revolution."

Causes of the French Revolution

Q. 1. Give the chief causes for the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789.
(P.U. 1966) V. Imp.

Or

Critically discuss the main causes and circumstances that were responsible for the outbreak of the French Revolution.

(A.U. 1953, 56, 58)

Or

Describe the condition of France on the eve of the French Revolution of 1789.
(A.U. 1961)

Or

What were the evils of the old regime in France ?

Ans—The Causes of the French Revolution

1. Political Causes—

(1) *Arbitrary Rule*—The government of France was a highly tralised monarchy. Louis XVI was an arbitrary ruler of France. believed in the Theory of Divine Right of Kings. He had unlimited wers and rights. His authority was unlimited and unquestioned. s will was law. He could appoint or dismiss any person. He could pose any tax he liked. He could confiscate anybody's property. He uld inflict any punishment and throw anybody into prison for unnited periods without any trial. He had little respect for the concepts freedom and justice. Voltaire and Mirabeau had to remain in jail ithout trial. People enjoyed no rights and liberty. Nobody's respect nd property was safe The king was the head of the state and acted n an arbitrary manner. He used his power for his own selfish ends nd not for the welfare of the people. **Louis XVI** used to say—

> *"The sovereign authority is vested in my person, the legislative ower exists in myself alone. My people are one only with me ; national ights and national interests are necessarily combined with my own and nly rest in my hands."*

(2) *Inefficient Administration*—The administration in France was disorganised, inefficient and hopelessly unsatisfactory. The organisation of the departments was complex and their jurisdiction was not well defined. The high posts were auctioned and bought by the nobles and aristocrats. The men in authority were quite ignorant of their rights and duties. They had no knowledge of the sufferings and inspirations of the people. There were governors in the provinces but they had no Councils to help them. At times France had been divided into districts and officials were appointed to carry on the administration but they were deprived of proper authority There were Councils in all towns b their mode of election and rights differed vastly. The administration in France lacked co-ordination. Administration of the country passed into the hands of certain inefficient and selfish people who never cared for the welfare of the people. People were tired of such a rotten system of administration and wanted to put an end to it.

(3) *Mal-administration of Justice*—There was a great confusion in the legal system of the country. There was no uniform law for the whole country. Different laws were in force in different parts of the country. While at one place German law was in force, at another place the Roman law prevailed. It is said that there were about 400 different systems of law in France. The laws were written in Latin and were beyond the comprehension of the people. Hazen has rightly remaked—

"What was lawful in one town might be illegal in a place not five

miles distant. Almost 400 bodies of law were in force in different parts of France.

The laws were cruel and unjust and punishments were very severe. The people did not get fair and equal-handed justice. Anybody could be imprisoned without judicial trial by the mere issue of warrants called '*Lettre de Cachet*'. There was as much confusion in the law courts as in the legal system. There were royal courts, military courts, church courts etc. There was overlapping in their jurisdictions and it was not clearly defined. People had to suffer a lot because of this defective legal system.

(4) *Policy of Over Centralization*—Before this, local administration was in the hands of provincial and local officers. But the King followed the policy of over-centralization and took the reign of entire administration and the local officers had to act according to the Council of the King. This council totally failed to look after the administration of the country and could not solve the local problems as it had no knowledge about them. It led to inefficiency in administration and discontentment among the people. 14

(5) *Weak Monarchy*—The successors of Louis XIV were not only arbitrary but also lacked ability and experience. They were very weak and powerless. Louis XIV advised his son not to squander the wealth of the country in frivolities and wars but his advice fell on deaf ears. Louis XV proved a coward, foolish and spendthrift king. He paid no heed to the advice of his father and multiplied the sufferings of the people by his luxurious life and war-policy. The country was on the brink of bankruptcy and chaos and anarchy prevailed everywhere in France. France lost her colonies in America due to his foolisness. The defeat of France in Seven Years War lowered her international prestige and glory. **Dr. G.P. Gooch** says—

> "*The legacy of Louis XV to his countrymen was an ill governed, discontented and frustrated France. Viewed from a distance, the ancient regime appeared as solid as Bastille, but its walls were crumbling for lack of repairs and the foundation showed signs of giving way.*

(6) *Weakness of Louis XVI*—Like his father, Louis XVI was also arbitrary, immoral, corrupt, weak, stupid and coward. He was easy-going and pleasure-loving. He was inexperienced and did not possess foresight. He was unable to manage the affairs of the state. It is clear from what he said, "*It seems as if the universe is falling on me. God, what a burden is mine and they have taught me nothing*". He was not interested in the art of governing. Robertson says—

> "*Louis was one of the last kingly figures who ever wore a crown and, was slow witted, sleepy, self indulged and with no interest but hunting, shooting amateurs, love making and the theatre.*"

He led a luxurious life and lost his personal touch with the people. He was a puppet in the hands of his men. He left the administration of the country in the hands of selfish officials who paid no heed to the welfare of the people. He introduced no reforms when the country was faced with a grave financial and political crisis. He allowed the political and economic conditions to deteriorate and brought the French Revolution nearer.

(7) *Responsibility of Queen Marie Antoinette*—Queen Marie Antoinette was the daughter of Maria Theresa, the Empress of Austria. She was beautiful and gracious but was very proud, wilful and impatient. She lacked wisdom and power of judgement. She could not understand the spirit of times. She dominated her husband, and interfered in the affairs of the state and government. Her influence proved harmful for herself, for the king and France. She was extravagant and pleasure-loving. Her luxuries depleted the treasury and led to economic decline. She was encircled by a group of selfish and greedy persons She was responsible for the humiliation of France in the 'Seven Years' War' So she was hated by the people. **Grant and Temprelcy** say—

> "*His wife, Marie Antoinette, was an Austrian princess, the daughter of Maria Theresa a kind-hearted, brilliant and really beautiful woman. Her Austrian origin was disastrous both to herself and her husband. It made her unpopular in the country, when France again came into antagonism with Austria. During the Revolution she was constantly denounced as "The Austrian Woman.*"

(8) *Expensive Monarchy*—The kings of France were pleasure-loving and extravagant. Louis XIV lived in grand palace at Versailles at a distance of 12 miles from France. It was built at a cost of 11 crores of rupees. King's court consisted of 18,000 persons. It was composed of 16,000 servants and 2,000 courtiers. The kings regarded the national income as their personal income. The revenue of the state was squandered on the luxurious life of the kings, queens and their courtiers. There were 1900 horses and 200 carriages in the royal stable. The total expenditure on the king's court amounted to Rs. 12 crores a year. This huge expenditure resulted in the bankruptcy of France and the national debt increased beyond limits. It was said, "*The court is the tomb of the nation.*" The luxuries of the court were a heavy drain on the finances of the state and the kings never thought of cutting down their expenditure. The only way to collect money was to tax the privileged class. But the nobles and the clergy were exempt from taxes. The king did not like to invite the opposition of this class by taxing them. Able men like Turgot and Necker took steps to improve the finances of the state but they were dismissed. **Hazen** has rightly said. "*At that time, instead of matching expenditure according to the income, the income was devised with a view to the expenditure of the Crown.*"

(9) *Absence of any Representative Body*—There was no representative body in France like the British Parliament to make laws, to raise taxes and to express the public opinion. In the absence of such a body the king could not judge the temper and views of people properly. There was an institution called the States-General. But it

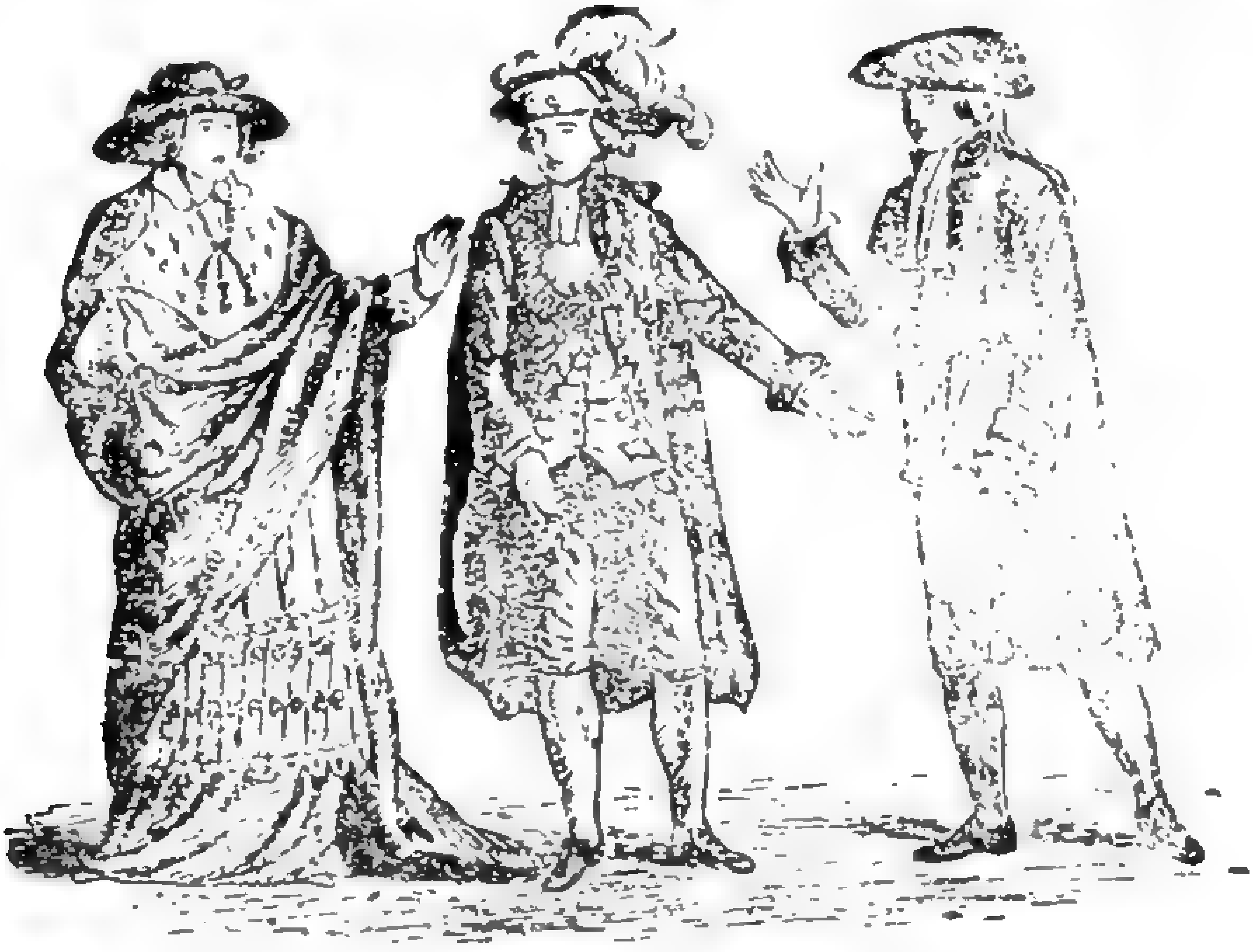
was not a representative body of the people. It was dominated by the nobles and the clergy. Instead of solving problems, it complicated them. Moreover it had not been summoned since 1614.

2. Social Causes—Another important cause of the French Revolution was the defective organisation of the society. There was social inequality in France. The society in France consisted of three classes—the nobles, the clergy and the commons. The first two classes enjoyed special privileges and led a happy life. They formed 1% of the whole population but owned 40% of the national wealth. They were exempt from the taxes. The third class was the unprivileged class. They were crushed under the burden of heavy taxation. They led a miserable life. It has been rightly said—

"The Revolution of 1789 *was much less a rebellion against despotism than a rebellion against inequality."*

There was a French maxim which says, *"The nobles fight, the clergy pray, the people pay."*

(1) *The Clergy*—The church formed a state within a state. It had great influence on the people. One fifth of the land was the property of the church. It derived large income from tithes, religious courts and gifts etc. There was inequality and favouritism in church. The ambitious sons of the nobles joined the religious order. The higher clergy monopolised high offices in the church and were indifferent to their spiritual duties. They led a luxurious life, The corruption and vices prevailing among them had degenerated their morale. They devoted their time in self-advancement, luxury, singing dancing



The Three privileged Classes of France
(The King, the Nobility and the Clergy)

and conspiracies of the court. The lower clergy performed spi duties but they were poorly paid. They led a wretched life and w discontented, They hated the higher clergy for their enormous wealt and gay life. So they joined the revolutionaries. Prof. Salvemini says; "*The dissensions between the higher and lower ranks of the clergy was one of the most potent causes leading to the early victories of the Revolution.*"

(2) *The Nobles*—The nobles also belonged to the privileged class and enjoyed special rights. They had large estates and large castles. They owned 1/4 of the land of France. They lived in a grand style but were free from all taxes. They monopolised all the important posts in army and church. They were not required to perform any service to the state. They could levy taxes on the peasants living on their estates and had exclusive hunting, shooting and fishing rights. They could establish flour-mills, ovens, slaughter-houses and breweries. The farmers had to pay if they used them. Their pets and cattle freely grazed and spoiled the crops. The peasants could not lodge any complaint against them. They decided the disputes among the peasants and imposed fines on them, They were hated by the common people.

(3) *The Commons*—This unprivileged class comprised of the peasants in villages, workers in cities and the people belonging to middle class such as government servants, lawyers, teachers, physicians, writers, literarymen, merchants, industrialists, artists etc. The middle class possessed both the wealth and intellect. They lent money to the nobles and the government and the burden of taxes mostly fell on them. The deteriorating economic condition and the bankruptcy of the state seriously affected them. The ideas of the French Philosophers had great influence on them. They were the pioneers and the leaders of the Revolution.

The condition of the workers and peasants was deplorable. They were crushed under the burden of heavy taxation. The labourers had to work hard but their pay was very small. They were totally at the mercy of the rich middle class which controlled industry and trade. The peasants were also worse off. They had to pay taxes to the government, the nobles and the church. They paid land tax, income tax and salt tax to the ~~government~~. They were subjected to forced labour because it was their duty to make and repair roads. They had to work free on the land of the nobles three days a week. They had to pay for using the flour-mills, ovens and breweries of the nobles of their estates. Their crops were trampled by the noble's hunting party. They had no right to erect fences around their fields to shut out the game. They paid tithe to the church. 81% of their income went to the state, nobles and the church in form of various taxes. They could hardly keep their body and soul together with the rest of 19% of their income. They had to live on grass and roots and thousands of them died of starvation. The commons were tired of this sorry state of affair, racial inequality and injustice. They girded up their loins to eradicate such a corrupt rule. Napoleon used to say, *"The French Revolution was a general mass movement of the nation against the privileged classes."*

3. **Economic Causes**—The condition of the national finance was very critical. The economic factor precipitated the Revolution. It has been rightly said, *"The Revolution precipitated by economic factor and the train which had been laid by philosophy was fixed by finance. The fiscal causes lay at the root of the Revolution."*

(1) **Heavy National Debt**—The French government was heavily under debt. It was without credit and the treasury was empty. A large portion of the national income was spent by the king and his courtiers in leading a luxurious life. No doubt Louis XIV was an able and kind hearted king but he spent 30 crores of rupees in building a grand palace at Versailles. Rupees 12 crores were annually spent over the up-keep of this palace. He took part in many wars and the result was that the national debt increased beyond limit. Much against the wishes of his father, Louis XV took part in the war of Austrian and Polish successions. It took the country on the verge of bankruptcy. Half of the national income was spent in paying the interest on national debt. Louis XVI squandered national wealth on mal-administration, on courtiers and in War of American Independence. The financial crisis was deepened further. Turgot and Necker tried to improve the financial condition of France by introducing reform but the king opposed them as he was under the undue influence of his queen and courtiers and dismissed them. Ketelbey remarks—

"Fundamentally Turgot and Necker failed not from their own incidental demerits, but because of the character of the king and the strength of the opposing interests. Had the king supported them firmly, some measure of success would have fallen to them and when in May 1776 *he dismissed Turgot, the Revolution became inevitable."*

The economic policy of the French Government was faulty. Instead of adjusting the expenditure to the national income, the income was devised with a view to the expenditure of the crown. The national debt rose to eight crore dollars. In order to replenish the empty treasury, Louis XVI summoned the council of eminent citizens and put before them the proposal of taxing the privileged order but it was opposed by them and the proposal fell through for want of support. The financial condition of France grew from bad to worse and it created great discontentment among the people.

(2) **Defective System of Taxation**—The system of taxation in France was highly defective. The nobles, and the higher clergy owned 40% of the national wealth but they were exempt from taxation and the burden of taxation fell on the common people. The rich who could support the state paid the least, while the poor were being crushed under the weight of taxation. The system of collecting taxes was also full of defects. The taxes were not collected by government officials. The government sold the right of tax-collection to private individuals called 'Farmers'. These Farmers exacted as much as was

possible from the people and heaped unlimited atrocities on them. They never deposited the whole amount collected by them in the treasury. This inequality in taxation, the defective system of tax-collection and its oppressiveness was one of the most decisive causes of the Revolution.

4. Psychological Causes—

(1) *Influence of the French Philosophers*—The French Revolution was preceded by Intellectual Revolution. The French Philosopher awakened the people. France had degenerated politically, sociall and economically. These philosophers attacked the church, the crow and old traditions. They exposed the oppression of the arbitrar rulers, attacked the special privileges of the nobles and the clergy an encouraged the people to revolt and rise against the corrupt regim and social inequality and try for the reconstruction of society o new social and political ideas. Montesquieu, Voltaire and Roussea were most prominent of the French philosophers and writers.

Montesquieu was a famous judge and writer. He was greatl influenced by the English Constitution, their free institutions an social set-up. He was deadly against the Divine Right Theory o Kings. He believed in constitutional monarchy and supremacy o law. He was supporter of individual liberty. He expounded h political theories in his book '*Spirit of Laws*.' He criticised the ancie administrative system and shook its roots. The 'Spirit of Laws' awake ed in cultivated persons a taste for judicial and political studies whi enabled 18th century revolutionary theories to prosper.

Voltaire was a great satirical writer. He attacked the chur and the crown. He exposed the tyranny of the arbitrary king, abus of the Church and social inequalities. To condemn the church w the sole aim of his life. He was in favour of individual liberty ar lashed at old traditions, beliefs, abuses and religious fanaticism. I used to say, "*Worship God and be a good man.*" He believed in enligh ened despotism and took up the cause of the oppressed. His writ awakened the people of France.

Rousseau was the most eminent writer and philosopher of th time. He propounded his political ideas in his famous book '*Soc Contract*'. He used to say, "*Man is born free yet everywhere he is chains. Man is infallible and all wrong is done by the authorit* It became a slogan for the revolutionaries. He preached democra ideas and was in favour of the sovereignty of the people. He sa "*The people are the real sovereign and a king rules only by th consent.*" He wanted to eradicate old social and political nstitutio and believed in new social set-up. His revolutionary ideas pave background for the Revolution and his ideas encouraged the people revolt against the established monarchy. **Napoleon** has rightly rema ed, "*But for Rousseau there would have been no French Revolutio*

Rousseau appealed to the people in the following words—

“Sweep away, therefore, all the fabrics of society, the world of ugly want and insolent riches, civilization, the oppression miscalled order, the error miscalled knowledge. Level its inequalities, rapudiate its learnings, its functions and shatter its chains.”

These philosophers roused the people from their deep sleep and instilled in them the feelings of liberty, equality and fraternity. It created revolutionary spirit and provoked them to root out social inequalities and set up a constitutional form of government. But we must bear one thing in mind that only these philosophers were not responsible for the revolutionary trend though their contributions brought it nearer. *Prof. Mukerjee* has summed up the contribution of these philosophers in the following words—

“It is a mistake to describe the French Revolution to the influence of the writings of these writers The manifold ills and anomalies from which the nation suffered, coupled with the mistakes of the government, brought about the catastrophe. Nevertheless these writers were a power factor in the Revolution. Into a soil, prepared by social grievances and by political abuses, the French philosophers flung, broadcast the seed of philosophical speculation. Their new ideas and theories upset convictions and changed their outlook. Their writings exposed the evils of old regime and aroused the passion of the people by instilling into them the new ideas and doctrines and prepared their minds for a revolutionary hange.”

(2) *Influence of the American War of Independence*—In order to venge their defeat in the Seven Years' War, France helped the people f American Colonies in the American War of Independence against he English. The success of the people of the colonies encouraged the eople of France to revolt against the arbitrary rule of their country. hey were greatly influened by the ideas of Liberty, Equality and Fra-rnity of the colonies and when they came back they preached these eas among the people of their own country and prepared them for e revolution. They brought home to the people of France that it is fficult to put an end to despotic rule and privileges of the high order ithout taking recourse to revolutionary methods. Webster says, *This War of American Independence became an eye opener to the nations Europe and in particular gave leaders to the French Revolution.”*

5. **Severe Famine of 1788**—The crops failed in France in 1788 d a severe famine broke out in many parts of the country. People gan to die of starvation in large number. It led to chaos and contentment among the people. While the poor suffered, the king, courtiers and the rich revelled in their mansions. The hungry ple gathered in Paris and from there they marched towards the g's palace at Versailles. They besieged the palace and forced the g and the queen to come to Paris and kept them in their custody. s severe famine and the arrest of the king and queen marked the inning of the Revolution which took a serious turn with the passage ime.

6. Immediate Causes—The weak finances of France was t immediate cause of the Revolution. Extravagance of the kings a his courtiers and the wars resulted in the financial crisis. The natio debt increased and France was on the verge of bankruptcy. In ord to improve the economic condition of the country Louis XVI called t Council of the eminent French citizens and placed before them the res lution of taxing the privileged class. Most of the members of Coun were against this proposal and decided that only the State's Gene was competent to impose new taxes. Financial crisis compelled t king to summon the States General in 1789. It was an assembly Three Estates. the nobles, the clergy and the commoners. The sum oning of the States General brought about the Revolution and Com oners, whose strength in the newly constituted States General w great, became the torch-bearer of the Revolution **Robertson** says—

> *"The very mention of the States General was enough to see French ablaze...It was as if a fraudulent firm unable to meet its liabilit had been forced, at last, to lay its affairs before a meeting of creditors."*

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Causes of the French Revolution

1. **Political Causes**—(1) Arbitrary Rule (2) Inefficient administration, Mal-administration of justice, (4) Policy of over-centralization, (5) W Monarchy, (6) Weakness of Louis XVI, (7) Responsibility of Queen M Antoinette, (8) Expensive Monarchy, (9) Absence of any representative bod

2. **Social Causes**—(1) The condition of the nobles, (2) The condition the clergy, (3) The condition of the commoners.

3. **Economic Causes**—(1) Heavy National debt, (2) Defective system taxation.

4. **Psychological Causes**—(1) Influence of the French Philosophers, (2) influence of the American War of Independence.

5. **Severe Famine of 1788**—This famine added to the miseries of the people forced them to revolt.

6. **Immediate Cause**—In order to remove the financial crisis, the king su oneed the States General which marked the beginning of the Revolution.

Responsibility of the French Monarchy in bringing about the Revolution

Q. Give an account of the role of Louis XVI, Queen Ma Antoinette, Prince Count De Provence and Prince Count De Art in the early stages of the French Revolution.

Or

How far can the character of Louis XVI and other members of royal family be held responsible for the Revolution of France ?

Ans. I. Louis XVI—He ascended the throne in 1774 at the of 20. He had no experience in the art of government and was at all interested in the state affairs.

He was a man of good intention and high character. He as generous, honest and had the welfare of the people at heart. He as in favour of reforms but he was lazy and stupid. He was a man f unstable and fickle nature. He lacked fore-sight. Hazen says—

"He was good, well intentioned. he had a high standard of morality nd duty, a prime desire to serve his people. But his mind lacked all istinction, his education had been poor, his processes of thought were esitating, slow and uncertain "

Louis XVI

He was kind and generous but he was weak and feeble. He lacked qualities of a leader. He was not farsighted and could not foresee coming danger and prepare himself accordingly. He could not derstand the people around him. He wanted to introduce certain orms but he could not do so on account of the undue influence of nobles and his queen. Ketelbey says—

"The influence of the queen tossed him hither and thither."

He failed to give a practical shape to his ideas and make his position ong. He dismissed able persons like Turgot and Necker and flouted reforms devised by them. His credulous nature proved harmful to as well as to the state. He could not mould himself and act accord- to the situation which required change.

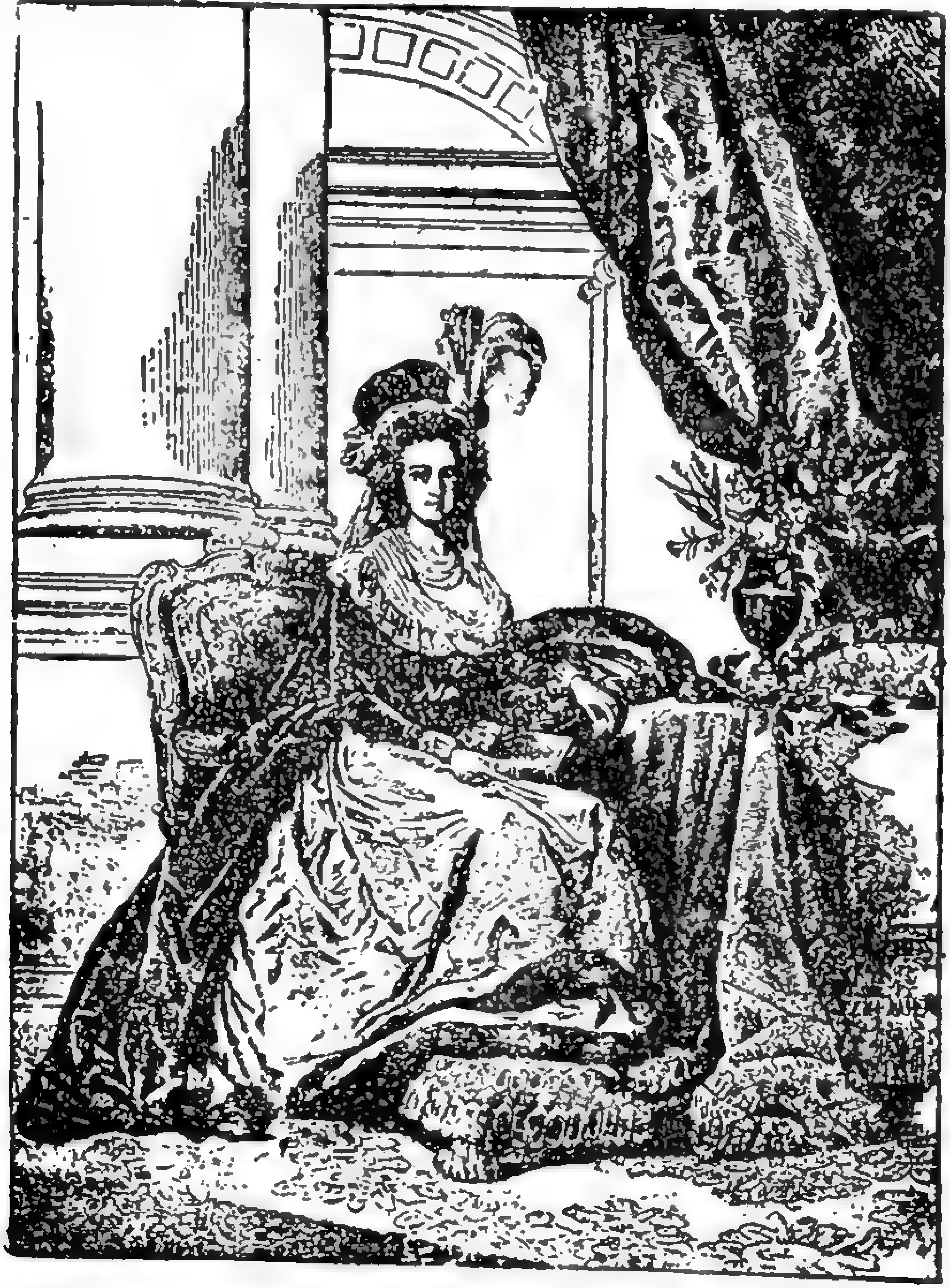
He was easy-going and pleasure loving. He spent a luxurious life with his courtiers in his beautiful mansions and paid nc heed to administrative matters. He squandered the wealth of nation ir

frivolities and wars. He was re[illegible] for the [illegible] crisis [illegible] France and brought her on the [illegible] olution.

He lacked tact and foresig[illegible] not ad[illegible] accord to the circumstances. He su[illegible] States [illegible] had efinite programme and plan to place before it. He became puppet in ıe hands of selfish flatterers who surrounded him and rejected the :volutionary but useful proposals and thus created thorns for himself. 'e tried to escape to Austria but he was unsuccessful in this venture. e was caught and imprisoned and tried. He was declared a traitor and ıt to death on January 21, 1793. At the time of his death, he said,

"Citizens, I die innocent so that you may live in peace and ıppiness".

2. **Queen Marie Antoinette**—She was the daughter of aria Theresa, the Empress of Austria. She was the queen of



Queen Marie Antoinette

Louis XVI She was a very beautiful, gracious, cultured and educated woman. She possessed strong will power and power of quick decision and initiative. But she was proud, wilful and impatient. She lacked the power of judgment. She could not understand the spirit of the time and the temperament of the people of France. She could have helped the king in solving the knotty problems, but she never cared to do so. She had great influence over the king who was always under her thumb. This influence proved harmful to both of them as well as to the state.

She never cared for her responsibility and the welfare of the people. She spent a life of luxury and squandered the wealth of the nation like anything. France was facing financial crisis but she continued making fabulous purchases and giving costly presents to her friends. She was responsible for the rejection of the reforms of Turgot and Necker. The result was that she was hated by the people of France. They called her by the name of '*Austrian Woman*' or '*Madame Veto*' etc. Hazen says—

> "*Marie Antoinette was the centre of group of greedy people who benefitted by existing abuses and who were opposed to all reforms. Quite unconsciously she helped to aggravate the financial situation and then to hasten the catastrophe.*"

Like the king she was also unfit for her position. Her undue influence over the king proved ruinous for both. Madelin says—

> "*Proud, vivacious and beautiful as she was, she completed the work of ruin by her follies.*"

(3) *Count De Provence*—He was the brother of Louis XVI. Like his brother he also believed in the Divine Right Theory of Kings and absolute monarchy. He was also incompetent and lacked common sense and foresight. He had no experience of life and the art of government. Instead of helping his brother, he multiplied his difficulties by his foolishness and stupidity. He opposed the revolutionaries and brought about the fall of Louis XVI. He left France during the Revolution and took asylum in Rhineland. He ruled France till 1824 as an autocratic king as *Louis XVIII* after the fall of Napoleon.

(4) *Count De Artoise*—He was the youngest brother of Louis XVI. He also proved incompetent like his elder brothers. He also upheld the Divine Right Theory of Kings and absolutism. He was deadly opposed to the revolutionary spirit. He took shelter in Rhineland during the Revolution. He organised an army and thought of invading France but he did not succeed in his designs. After the death of Count De Provence he ruled France from 1824 to 1830 as Charles X. His despotic and arbitrary rule led to another Revolution in 1830.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Louis XVI**—unexperienced in the art of government, benevolent, generous and credulous but weak, feeble, fickle, stupid and lazy ; could not introduce reforms

due to the undue influence of his queen, dismissed his able ministers like Turgot and Necker, his luxurious life led to financial crisis ; could not place any plan before States-General ; put to death on January 21, 1783.

2. **Queen Marie Antoinette**—Daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria and Queen of Louis XVI ; beautiful, gracious, cultured but proud and wilful ; dominated the king ; opposed all reforms ; squandered the national wealth ; hated by the people.

3. **Count De Provence**—Brother of Louis XVI ; Incompetent and unexperienced ; believed in absolute monarchy ; Ruled France upto 1824 as Louis XVIII after the overthrow of Napoleon.

4. **Comte De Artoise**—Youngest brother of Louis XVI ; the most incompetent ruler ; upheld absolutism ; against revolutionary spirit ; ruled France from 1824 to 1830 as Charles X ; his rule brought about the Revolution of 1830.

University and other Important Questions

1. How far was the French Monarchy responsible for the French Revolution ?
2. How far is it correct to say that the fiscal causes lay at the root of French Revolution ?
3. What was the influence of the French Philosophers in bringing about the French Revolution ?
4. Outline main defects of Ancient Regime in France. Did they make the outbreak of the Revolution inevitable ? (P.U. 1967, 69 ; D. U. 61 ; Agra M.A. 1963)
5. Discuss briefly the causes of the French Revolution. (P. U. 1968)
6. "The French Revolution attacked privileges, not property." Discuss.
7. "The causes of the French Revolution were mainly political." Elucidate this statement. (Agra B. A. 1967)
8. What were the social and political evils prevalent in Pre-Revolution France ? (Pb. B.A. 1970)
9. Explain the causes and origins of the French Revolution. (Pb. B.A. 1971)
10. What were the social, economic and political causes of the Revolution of 1789 ? (Pb. M.A. 1971)
11. What circumstances made France the centre of Revolution in 1789 ? (Delhi B.A. 1972)
12. "The Revolution (of 1789) was the outcome of realities, but it cannot be denied that without the help of Enlightenment it could not have arisen." Discuss. (Pb. M.A. 1972)

3

COURSE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

FALL OF BASTILLE

Q. 1. Give an account of the circumstances leading to the fall of Bastille. What were its consequences ?

Ans.—The political, social and economic condition of France was deplorable at the time of accession of Louis XVI. His wars and extravagances increased the national debt and France was on the verge of bankruptcy. As the financial crisis deepened he called the assembly of notables in France and proposed to impose new taxes on the high order. The assembly decided that the imposition of new taxes was the right of States-General.

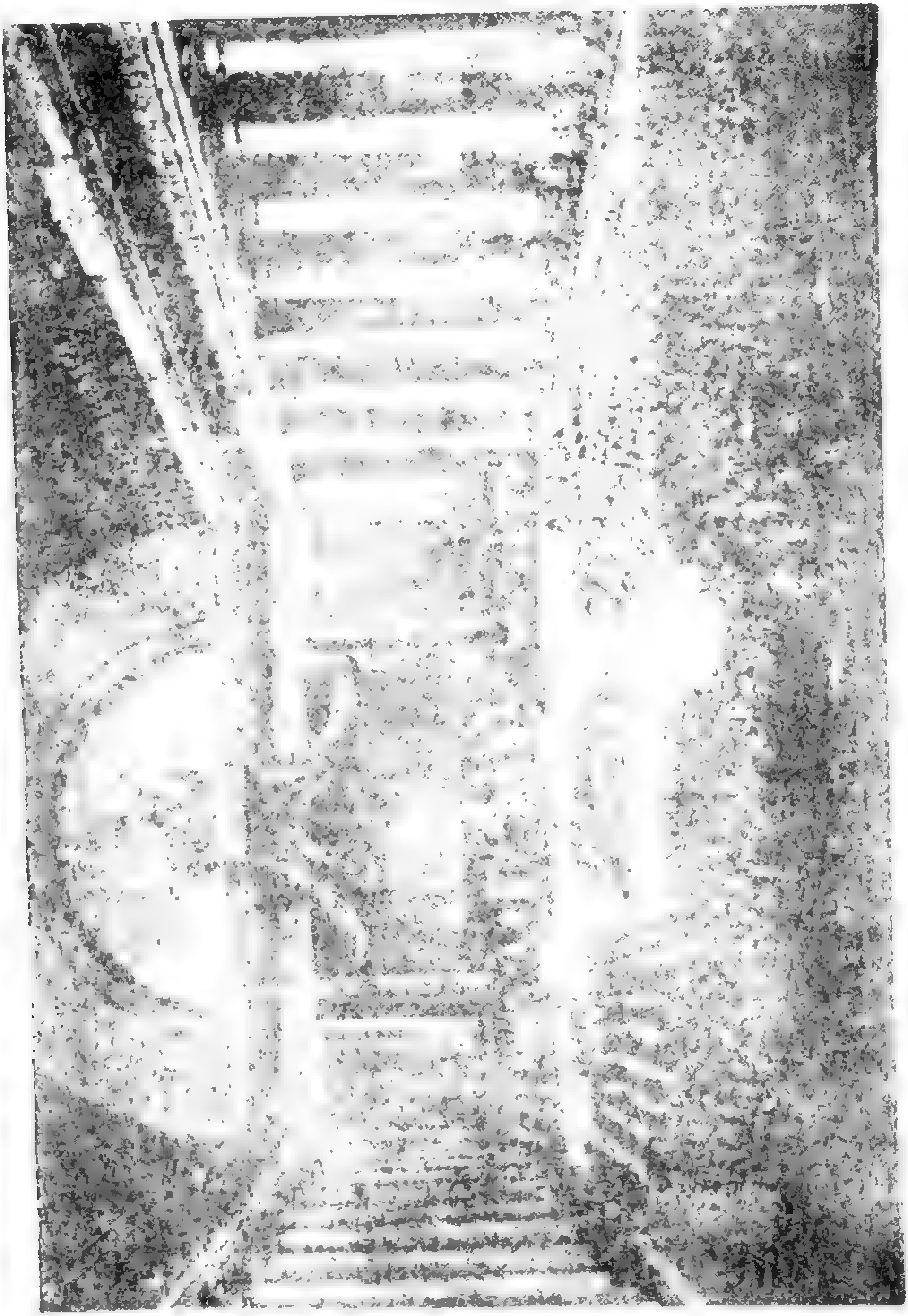
(1) **Meeting of the States-General**—The king summoned the States-General on May 5, 1789 after 175 years. It was almost a dead institution. It was composed of the representatives of three orders, the clergy, the nobles and the commons. Each of the three orders had an equal number of representatives and each order voted separately. The result was that the clergy and the nobles had the upperhand and decided all the matters as they liked.

At the time of its meeting on May 5, 1789, the States-General consisted of 1200 delegates. The commons had 600 representatives in it. In accordance with the orders of the king, they prepared reports on the condition of the areas they represented. They forwarded their recommendations also. These reports were called **'Cahiers'**.

There arose a dispute between the representatives of the three orders as to the composition of the States-General. The representatives of the commons held that it was not a feudal assembly but it represented the whole nation. They demanded that the three orders were to meet as a single chamber in which each individual should have a vote. The clergy and the nobles resisted this demand. The Third Estate took a momentous decision and declared itself to be the National Assembly on June 17, 1789. By this, they claimed the right to speak and act for the whole nation. This step was revolutionary.

2. **Tennis-Court Oath**—Under the undue influence and pressure of the high order, the king tried to oppose the proceedings of the Third Estate and posted German and Swiss soldiers in Paris and Versailles to suppress them. He deposed Necker and exiled him. On June 20, 1789, the members of the Third Estate tried to assemble in

their chamber but they were checked by the soldiers. They assembled in the neighbouring tennis-court and held their session there. Under the leadership of Bally,they took an oath which is known as the Tennis-Court Oath. They took the oath that they would not separate till the Constitution of kingdom was established.



The Opening of the States-General

3. **The Royal Session, June 23**—The Royal Session was held on June 23, 1789 The king declared the acts of the Third Estate as illegal and ordered that the meeting of the three estates be held separately as usual. The Master of Ceremonies ordered the members of the Third Estate to clear the chamber. At this, one of their representatives named **Mirabeau** said —

'Go and tell your master that we are here by the will of the people and that we shall not go except at the point of bayonet." Forced by the circumstances, the king ordered the three estates to meet together as the National Assembly. It was the first victory of the Commons.

4. **Attack on Bastille, July 14**—Under the force of circumstancs, the king recognised the National Assembly but he wanted to crush it by force. He posted foreign troops for the protection of Paris and Versailles and dismissed Necker. This was a fatal mistake of the king for Necker was very popular and the people nad faith in his capacity to solve the financial problem. The king's action led to chaos and anarchy and infuriated the people, The mob assembled in Paris. A journalist named Camille Desmoulins excited the people by his fiery speech. The enraged mob, thus, stormed a jail called Bastille on July 14, 1789.

Bastille was a fort in the eastern part of Paris and was used as a prison. It was a symbol of despotism and the king's tyranny. The mob attacked Bastille and killed its governor and many soldiers. The mob razed the fort to ground and freed the prisoners The fall of Bastille was the fall of monarchy. It was hailed as a great victory of liberty.

5. **Effects and Significance of the Fall of Bastille**—The fall of Bastille had great significance in the history of the French Revolution and was regarded as a triumph of liberty over absolutism.

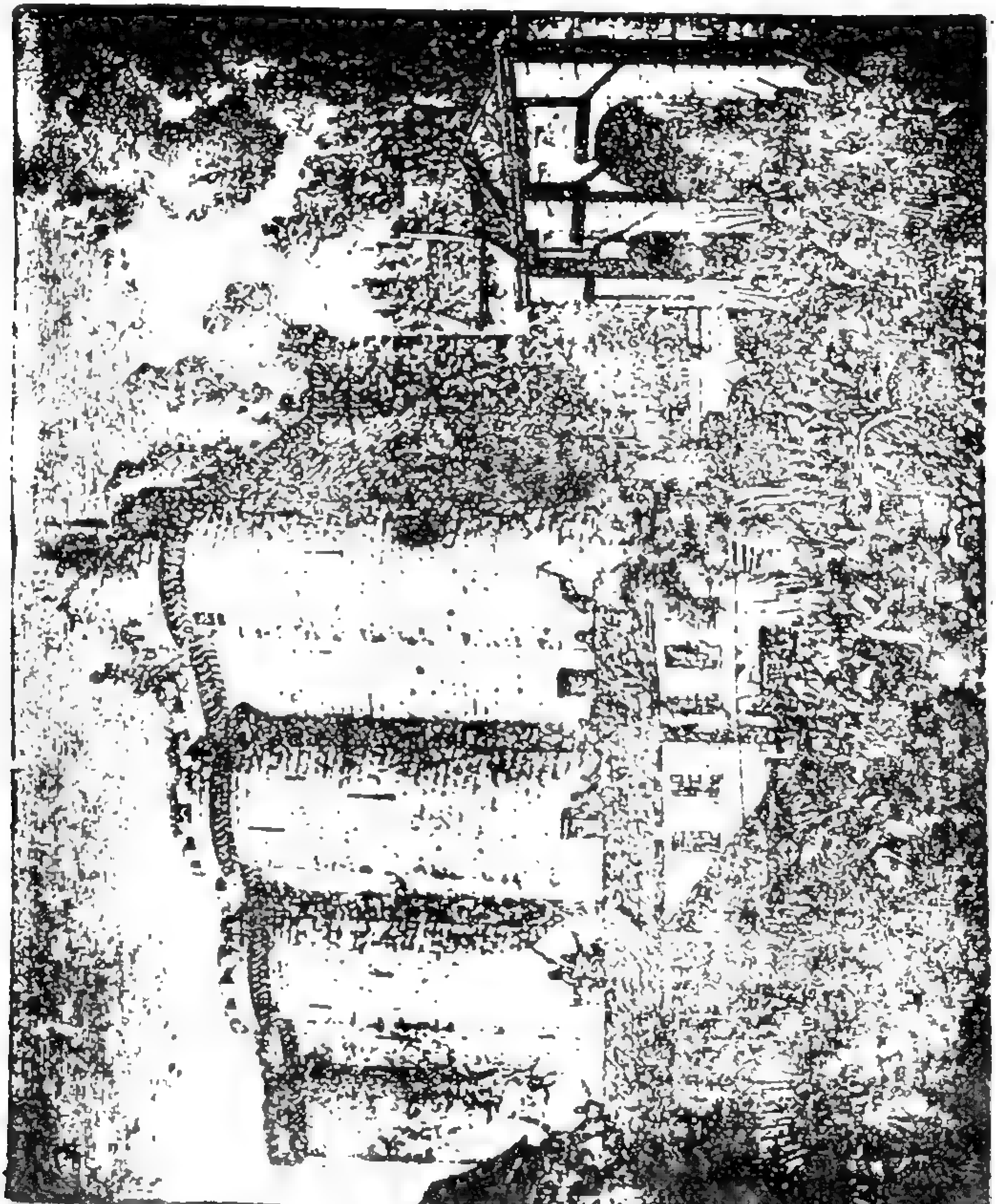
(1) The fall of Bastille had *great effect on the king* He had to bow before the wishes of the public. He removed the foreign troops from Paris and Versailles and re-appointed Necker.

(2) A Commune was established in Paris to restore peace and order. It was known as Paris Commune. National Guard was organised to protect Paris. Lafayette was made its president. Old officers were replaced by new ones. Communes were set up at other places also. The king recognised this re-organisation and the new institutions. It reduced the authority of the king. Louis XVI wore a tricoloured national cockade, roamed about the streets of Paris and praised Lafayette, his city administration and his commendable work. This action on the part of the king went a long way in *establishing peace in Paris.*

(3) The peasants rose against the feudal lords. They made up their minds to exterminate feudalism from France. The vegabonds and bad characters joined them They started loot and arson. They began to destroy their forts. Unpopular officers and tax-collectors were imprisoned and killed. The peasants refused to pay taxes and customary services. Many feudal lords and nobles were put to death. Many of them fled to foreign lands to save their lives. All the traces

of arbitrary rule, despotism and relics of feudalism were smashed. The social inequality was removed. All class distinctions were put to an end and the principle of Equality formed the basis of state and society. In short, the overthrow of the old regime was completed.

(4) Like the fedual landlords, *the clergymen* also stopped exacting gifts and tithe from the people.



The Storming of the Bastille July 14, 1789

(5) The *workers and labourers* also followed the peasants. In order to save themselves from the clutches of the capitalists, they organised various assemblies. They abolished harmful laws of Trade Guilds and refused to pay illegal taxes.

(6) The king removed the foreign troops and reappointed Necker also. The nobles and the clergy surrendered their rights and privileges voluntarily by their declaration of the 4th August, 1789. In this way, *class distinctions were abolished* and the principle of equality became the basis of the new state and society. But the king refused to give assent to the declaration of the 4th August, 1789 under the pressure from his queen and courtiers. The people became suspicious of the king's intentions. It was also rumoured that the king wanted to suppress the people with the help of army and that he had collected the corn in godowns to starve the people. This led to a fierce revolt. On 5th October, 1789, a large number of suffering women marched towards Versailles raising the slogan, "Bread, Bread".

This incident is known as "*Bread March*". They besieged the palace of Versailles and forced the king and the queen to accompany them to Paris. They said, "*We have the Baker and Baker's wife and the little cook-boy, now we shall have bread.*" The King now lived in the palace of Tuileries in Paris. The members of the National Assembly also moved to Paris. Both the king and the members of the Assembly were almost like prisoners of the people. The monarchical powers and sovereignity of the king had come to an end. **Hazen** says —

> "*The king and the Assembly were now under the daily supervision of the people of Paris, in reality they were prisoners.*"

The fall of Bastille gave a severe blow to the king's despotic powers and the social inequalities. Its importance has been summed up by **Godwin** in the following words —

> "*No other single event in the Revolution had so many-sided or far-reaching results as the fall of the Batille. It marked the end of royal despotism in France, completed the transfer of Political authority to the national legislature, and by encouraging the peasants to revolt, it paved the way for the fall of feudalism. The fall of the fortress was widely acclaimed as heralding a new birth of liberty, not only in France but throughout the world.*"

About the significance of this incident **Prof. Salvemini** says—

> "*The capture of Bastille aroused great enthusiasm among the liberal minded people throughout the world. The gloomy fortress with its eight towers where so many political prisoners had languished and from which a resolute govrnment could suppress any attempt of rebellion by the citizens of Paris seemed a very symbol of old absolutist France. All who hated the past saw in its fall the new inevitable triumph of liberty.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Fall of Bastille :—

(1) Summoning of States-General on May 5, 1789 ; the Third Estate refused to meet separately, formed itself into a National Assembly.

(2) Tennis-Court Oath to frame new constitution.

(3) Royal session of June 23 and king's declaration.

(4) Attack on Bastille in July 14, 1789.

(5) Importance of the fall of Bastille—Removal of foreign troops and re-appointment of Necker ; Establishment of Paris Commune and National Guard to restore peace in Paris; Revolt of peasants against landlords and end of their special rights, privileges ; abolition of taxes by the clergy ; Labourers rose against the capitalists ; Bread March to Versailles; imprisonment of king and Assembly members in Paris and end of monarchical powers, despotism and social inequality.

National Assembly of France

Q. 2. Critically discuss the work of the French National Assembly (1789-91) (Important)

Or

Make a critical estimate of the National Assembly in France. How far is it true to say that it did in a few months what other parliaments had taken centuries to accomplish. (A. U. 1964)

Or

Estimate the work and reforms of the National Assembly. To what extent did it help the Revolution in France ?

(A. U. 1952, 60)

Ans.—The king summoned the States General on May 5, 1789. The representatives of the nobles and the clergy refused to work with the representatives of the general public. At this, the Third Estate changed itself into the National Assembly. The first two Estates were left with no alternative but to work jointly with the Third Estate. In this way, the formation of National Assembly was completed. It is known as the Constituent Assembly for its main job was to frame a Constitution for the country.

The revolution took a terrific turn after the fall of Bastille which was the symbol of despotism. Arbitrary powers of the king were put to an end. The peasants rose against the fedual lords. They were looted and killed in large number. Many nobles fled from France to save their lives. A committee put up a report on the condition of the country on August 4, 1789. A follower of Lafayette put forward his view that social inequality was the root cause of the revolution. In order to check this revolt and to remove social inequality, it was necessary for the nobles to forego their special privileges and rights. He gave up his rights. Then, there was a competition among nobles and clergymen to give up their privileges. A resolution was moved and passed that there should be equality of taxes. The night of August 4 is one of the great dates of the Revolution. It marked one of the great milestones in the revolutionary movement as it was to determine the character of the period to follow.

Work of The National Assembly

1. **Abolition of the rights of the Privileged Class**—The National Assembly did commendable work to put an end to the rights of the privileged class.

(1) The game laws were repealed and the nobles were deprived of their right of hunting and fishing.

(2) Manorial courts were abolished.

(3) The brewing of wine, baking of bread and acceptance of presents by lords were declared illegal.

(4) Forced labour and customary services were forbidden.

(5) Serfs were set free and were exempted from all taxes.

(6) Titles could not be sold hence forth.

(7) The burden of taxation was to be borne by all in accordance with their income.

(8) Land tax was tobe realized according to the rates fixed by the National Assembly.

(9) The clergy was deprived of its right of realizing tithe.

(10) Stipends of village clergymen were ended.

(11) Every citizen was given the right to hold any civil or military post without any distinction.

In short, all special privilieges were declared dead and the superiority of the Nobility and the Church was razed to the ground. We see what men like Turgot and Necker could not accomplish and what other legislative assemblies could not achieve in centuries was completed by the National Assembly at one sitting of a short duration. On the night of 4th August, 1789, it smashed the special rights of the privileged classes, cities and provinces and equality was established as the basis of the new social order. The National Assembly conferred upon Louis XVI the title of *"Restorer of French Liberty"*. **Prof. Godwin** says —

"In the mounting spirit of patriotic enthusiasm the representatives of privileged came forward to propose the admission of all citizens to public office and the abolition of feudal jurisdictions, exclusive hunting rights and purchase of judicial and other other offices. Even more impressive and dramatic according to Demont, who was an eye-witness of the scene, was the surrender of all municipal, corporate and provincial privileges proposed by the representatives from Dauphine. The proceedings closed with Royal address to the king, conferring on him the title of the 'Restorer of French Liberty."

2. Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen—The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen was an other important work of the National Assembly. It was based on the philosophical ideas of Rousseau and constitutional laws of England and U.S.A. The National Assembly declared the following Rights of Man and the Citizen :—

(1) All men are born free and have equal rights.

(2) All persons are equal in the eyes of law.

(3) All individuals have the liberty to do whatever they like provided they do not injure other people.

(4) All persons have the right to make a speech, to write articles and express their views.

(5) Everyone has a right to own private property.

(6) Law is the expression of the people. All citizens have the right to take part in the formation of the laws individually and through their representatives.

(7) No one shall be accused, arrested or imprisoned and penalised till the charges against him are proved.

(8) All the citizens will enjoy religious freedom.

(9) The people have the right to control the finances of the state through their representatives.

(10) All officials of the state are responsible to the people.

(11) Everyone has the right to help the government in event of crisis.

Importance of the Declaration—The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen was a great landmark not only in the history of France but also of the world and in the history of the development of democracy. This manifesto swept away the principles of the old regime and laid the foundation of a new politcal and social order on the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. It has been righly said,

"The declaration is most remarkable, in fact, in the histoy of the growth of democratic and republican ideas in France and is the gospel of modern times."

(1) The declaration placed before the people the ideals of liberty so that they may protect them.

(2) It was a manifesto of the general principles on which the National Assembly hoped to reform the system of government in France.

(3) Efforts were made to set up a new political and social order in France based on the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity incorporated in this manifesto.

(4) This statement was intended to be of universal application. It was drawn up not only for the people of France but for the benefit of whole human race. It was hoped that the people of other countries would frame their constitution keeping in view the rights embodied in this statement.

Hazen has summed up its importance in the following words —

"As a matter of fact, the expectations of its author that the declaration would constitute a new angle for the world has not proved an entire exaggeration When men wish anywhere to recall the rights of men, it is this French document that they have in mind. The declaration long ago

passed the frontiers of France. It has been studied, copied or denoun everywhere. It has been an indisputable factor in political and soc evolution of the modern world. During the past century, many a nat aspiring to liberty has sought its principles in this French Revolution."

Mirabeau has pointed out two great defects in this declarati It put forth before the people their rights but kept them ignor of their duties. Knowledge of duties is of greater importance tl that of rights. It roused such hopes in the people that it was diffic to fulfil them. The people anticipated unexpected things from National Assembly. These rights were very abstract in nature a were so vague that the country had to face great difficulties a conflicts in the future.

3. Making of the New Constitution—The National Assem then assumed the name of the Constituent Assembly and framed a n constitution for France in 2 years. It was the first written constitut in the history of France. It was based of the principles of separat of powers because Montesquieu was of the view that without th the liberty of the individual cannot be safeguarded.

(1) *Executive*—The new constitution adopted monarchical form government under which the king was the head of the executive but right and powers were limited and instead of being a despot he beca the constitutional head of the state. In order to put a check on extravagance, his salary was fixed. The king had the right to appo and dismiss his ministers but they were not to sit in the Legisla Assembly. He was the incharge of international affairs but he could wage war or make treaty without the consent of the Legislative Ass bly. He was the chief of naval and land forces. He had the righ make appointments of high officials. His assent was necessary for the measures passed by the Legislative Assembly but he could refuse assent. He was given the power of suspensive veto by which could only postpone temporarily the execution of an Act of legislature. King's control over the administration was nominal he became the constitutional head.

(2) *Legislature*—The legislative powers were vested in Legislative Assembly. It had only one chamber whose 745 mem were to be chosen by indirect election for 2 years. Only those zens who paid to the state their three days income as taxes, had right to vote. This condition reduced the number of voters.

(3) *Judiciary*—Significant changes were introduced in the j cial system. The post of a judge could not be bought now. In fut the judges were to be elected and their terms varied from 2 to 4 ye Jury system was introduced in criminal cases. A court was establis in each province. A Supreme Court was set up in Paris to h appeals against the decisions of the provincial courts. The penal c was not severe now. The inhuman punishments were abolished. death sentence was awarded in very few cases.

(4) *The Administrative System*—The administrative system was organised and a uniform system of administration was set-up all 'er the country. The old provinces were abolished. The whole untry was now divided into 83 Departments. Provincial councils :re set-up for the administration of Departments. The Departments :re divided into Cantons which were further divided into Communes. ıeir administration was in the hands of elected councils. Provision ıs made for the local courts which were to have judges elected by e people. Great stress was laid on decentralization in the new set-up d the control of the central government over departments was ›minal.

(5) *Financial Reforms*—The treasury was empty and there was deep financial crisis in France. Many reforms were introduced to ckle the economic and financial problems. The property of the urch was confiscated and it was declared as national property. ıking it as security, paper currency was introduced in France and it me to be known as Assignats. Printing of Assignats in large number d the rise in prices led to inflation. The result was that this reform ı not work well and later on paper currency was abandoned during e regime of Directory.

(6) *Reorganisation of the Administration of the Church*—The ministration of the church was completely reorganised. A new nstitution for the church was framed and it was called the 'Civil ›nstitution of the Clergy'. According to new constitution, the proprty of the church became the national property. The number of ›nasteries in the provinces was reduced. Now a province was to ve only one monastery. The Bishops and priests were to be elected the people. The King and the Pope had no right to nominate them. ıey were paid by the state. They had to take an oath of allegiance this new constitution. The independent entity of the church was olished and it came under the strict control of the state. It became ›art of the state. Pope and many Bishops and priests opposed this nstitution, resigned their posts and left France. The French tholics were also not in favour of this measure and the revolutionies lost their sympathy.

After completing the work of formulating the new constitution, e National Assembly dissolved itself on September 30, 1794. It barred its members from taking part in the Legislative Assembly. This ıs a grave blunder because this self-denying ordinance deprived the gislative Assembly of the services of the best men in the country. ızen has expressed his opinion about the new constitution in the llowing words —

> *"The constitution of 1791 represented an improvement in French vernment, yet it did not work well and did not last long. As a first periment in the art of self-government it had its value but it revealed xperience and poor judgement in several points which prepared trouble r the future."*

4. Criticism of the Work of the National Assembly—Some critics have severely criticised the work of the National Assembly and the constitution framed by it. They are of the view that it paved the way for the mob-rule and expounded many dangerous theories. Its main defects were as under :—

(1) By reducing the powers of the king, the National Assembly *weakened the executive* to such an extent that it became difficult to run the administration.

(2) It was *a mistake to separate the Legislature from the Executive*. The co-operation between the Legislative Assembly and the ministers was absent. It led to differences and conflicts between them. Decentralisation in administration reduced the efficiency of the government.

(3) *Conditions for voting were very strict.* Very few people had the right to vote. Limited franchise further reduced the number of voters. It was quite contrary to the principle of equality on which great stress was laid in the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man.'

(4) System of *Election of Judges* also did not prove satisfactory.

(5) The National Assembly *totally failed to solve the financial problem*. Paper currency also failed very badly. Instead of solving the financial problem, it deepened the financial crisis. It has been rightly said, *"The issuing of Assignats tackled the financial problem for the time being, but otherwise issuing of Assignats was one of the sorriest chapters of the French Revolution."*

(6) *"The Civil Constitution of the Clergy"* was the greatest drawback of the new constitution. It led to division in the church. The clergymen were divided into two groups. The lower clergy which supported the revolution in the beginning, became its sworn enemy. This division gave a severe blow to national unity and created a rift between the church and the state.

(7) Its 'self-denying' ordinance banned its members from seeking election to the Legislative Assembly and thus *deprived the country of the services of experienced and eminent persons.*

Criticising the work of the National Assembly, **Mirabeau** says :—

"The disorganisation of the kingdom could not have been better planned."

5. Work And Achievements of the National Assembly—There is no doubt that the new constitution had some defects. However, some of the work of the National Assembly remained permanent and proved to be a source of inspiration for the people of the whole world.

(1) The National Assembly *uprooted totally the old regime* in France and the reins of the government came to the hands of the general public and the upper class lost control over the government.

(2) It abolished unlimited monarchy and established *constitutional government.*

(3) It destroyed the financial and judicial systems and established simple but *efficient system of administration.*

(4) It sounded the *death-knell of feudalism.* People destroyed the forts of the feudal lords. They killed nobles and clergymen and put an end to their special rights and privileges. It shook the foundation of the old social order based on inequality. Dr. R.L. Mukerjee says —

"The most abiding part of its work was the sweeping away of the old social system of privilege and inequality, and the partial building of a new social order based upon equality."

(5) The Declaration of the Rights of Man laid great stress on the *principles of freedom and equality.*

(6) It brought about *revolutionary changes in the church.* The clergy used to ignore their duties and led a luxurious life. The church was re-organised. It's property was confiscated and it was brought under the strict control of the state.

(7) Old provinces were abolished and the whole country was divided into Departments, Cantons and Communes. It paved the way for the *National unity.*

Kropotkin has summed up the work and achievement of the National Assembly in the following words —

"The work done by the Constituent Assembly was undoubtedly middle-class work. But, to introduce into the customs of the nation, the principle of political equality, to abolish the relics of the rights of one man over the person of another, to awaken the sentiment of equality and the spirit of revolt against unequalities, was nevertheless an immense work."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Work of The National Assembly :—

1. Abolition of the Rights of the privileged class.
2. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen laid stress on freedom and equality.
3. Making up the New Constitution—Executive, legislature, and Judiciary ; the new administrative system ; financial reforms, and re-organisation of the administration of the church.
4. Its Criticism—It weakened the executive ; separation of executive and legislature reduced the efficiency of the government ; limited franchise, election of judges ; failure to solve financial problem; schism in church, self-denying ordinance.
5. Its Achievements—Uprooted old regime ; establishment of constitutional government and a simple and efficient system of administration ; tolled the death-knell of feudalism ; the declaration of the rights of man ; re-organisation of the church; paved the way for national unity.

Failure of the Constitution of 1791

Q. 3. Why did the Constitution of 1791 prove so short-lived ?

Or

Account for the failure of the Constitution of 1791.

Ans.—The National Assembly took a progressive measure by abolishing the old regime and formulating new constitution for the country. But the constitution framed by it did not work well for a long time. It proved short-lived due to the following reasons :—

1. **Members of the National Assembly lacked Constitutional Experience**—There is no denying the fact that the members of the constituent Assembly were patriotic, wise and intelligent. They wanted to abolish old despotic rules and smash the special rights and privileges of the high order and set up a constitutional form of government and re-organise society on the principles of the fr edom and equality. They framed the new constitution keeping in view the welfare of the people but they lacked constitutional knowledge and were inexperienccd in the art of administration. So, while formulating the constitution, they committed many mistakes and thus there remained many defects in it. Hence, the new constitution proved unsuccessful and short-lived.

2. **Limited Powers of the King**—The new constitution limited the powers of the king and weakened the executive so much so that it became difficult for him to run the administration efficiently. The king was the head of the executive and had the right to make the appointments of high officials but could not check the enactment of laws and could not wage wars or make treaties without the consent of the Legislative Assembly. His power of suspensive veto also proved ineffective.

3. **Separation between Executive and the Legislature**—The members of the Constituent Assembly were so impressed by the Theory of Separation of Power propounded by Montesquieu that they made the Legislature independent of the Executive and thus impaired the efficiency of the administration. The ministers were not the members of the Legislative Assembly. They could not sit in the Legislative Assembly and explain their policies. There was none to support their ideas and policies in the legislature. Lack of co-operation and co-ordination between the two gave rise to suspicion and difference between the two organs of the governments. The result was that the administration became loose.

4. **Defective Election System**—The system of election was also very defective. The franchise was limited by property qualifications. The commons were deprived of the right to vote and the number of the voters was reduced. The system of election of judges also proved unsatisfactory and it increased corruption.

5. **Civil Constitution of the Clergy**—The civil constitution of the clergy introduced the system of election of the Bishops and priests and the church was made a part of the state. Now the Protestants and the

Jews could take part in the election of Catholic officials of the church. It hit the religious sentiments of the people. The clergymen had to take an oath of allegiance to the constitution. It produced schism in the church. The lower clergy who had supported the revolution migrated to other countries. It gave a severe blow to the national unity and the new constitution proved unsuccessful.

6. **Self-Denying Ordinance**—The Constituent Assembly framed the constitution by 30th September, 1791. After that it passed the self-denying ordinance by which it debarred its members from fighting election to the Legislative Assembly. This ordinance proved very fatal. It debarred the country of the services of the best and experienced persons of the state. Such persons who were inexperienced and had no practical knowledge of the working of the government were elected as the members of the Legislative Assembly. There were also severe differences among its members. Their inexperience and differences resulted in the failure of the constitution.

7. **Inefficiency of Louis XVI**—Louis XVI was an inefficient and incompetent king. He lacked foresignt and administrative ability. He did not accept the revolutionary changes and was virtually a prisoner in the hands of the mob at Paris. After the death of Mirabeau, he lost all support. The new constitution crippled his powers and he became more or less like a cypher head. He once remarked—

"I would rather be king of Metz than remain king of France in such a position, but this will end soon." The king left Paris with the members of the royal family but he was caught on the way and was brought back to Paris. King's flight showed that he was forbidden to run the administration of the country. This measure sounded the death-knell of the executive and resulted in the failure of the Constitution.

8. **Austria Attacked France**—Leopold II, King of Austria, was the brother of queen Marie Antoinette. He wanted to help Louis XVI in this state of helplessness. With the help of Frederick William II, the Emperor of Prussia, he attacked France and defeated the French army. People of France held Louis XVI responsible for this defeat thinking that he had given secrets of the army to the enemy. On June 20, 1791, the Paris mob stormed the palace of the king. At this, the Duke of Brunswick, the commander of the Austrian and Prussian forces issued declaration in which he threatened to reduce the city of Paris to ground and inflict severe punishment on the people if they tried to hurt the king and the members of his family. The declaration infuriated the mob and it attacked the royal palace. The king saved his life by taking shelter in the Legislative Assembly. The constitution was ended on Sept 21, 1793. The king was deposed and a new constitution was framed.

About the failure of the Constituent Assembly, **Hazen** remarks —

"The work of reform carried out by the Constituent Assembly was on enormous scale, immensely more extensive than that of our Federal

convention. We search in history, in vain. for a companion piece. It i unique. Its destructive work proved durable and most important. Much of its constructive work, however. proved very fragile. Mirabeau expressed his opinion that "*the disorganisation of the kingdom could not be bette worked out.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Causes of the Failure of the Constitution of 1791

1. Members of the National Assembly lacked constitutional knowledge.
2. Limited powers of the king.
3. Separation between executive and the legislature.
4. Election System was defective.
5. Civil constitution of the clergy undermined National Unity.
6. Self-denying ordinance led to mutual differences.
7. Louis XVI was incompetent and lacked foresight and tried to leave Franc
8. Austria attacked and defeated France. Louis XVI was held responsib for it and was deposed.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. Give a brief account of the storming of the Bastille. Wha were its consequences ?
2. Estimate the work and reforms of the National Assembly How far did it help the Revolution in France ? (A. U. 1960
3. Make a critical estimate of the work of the National Assembly in France. How far is it true to say that it did in a few months what other parliaments have taken centuries t accomplish ?
4. Estimate the work done by National Assembly and explai why it failed to give a stable constitution to France. (P. U. 1967,71
5. Describe the French constitution of 1791. Why did it prov so short-lived ?
6. Form a critical estimate of the constitution of 1791.
7. Examine critically the work and achievements of the Frenc National Convention. *(Pb. B.A. 1972*

4

THE FRENCH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND THE FALL OF MONARCHY, 1791-92

Q. 1. Give a brief account of the French Legislative Assembly f 1791-92 and its various groups.

Or

Give an account of the French Legislative Assembly of 1791-92 and s work.

Ans.—Election of the members of the Legislative Assembly took lace in France according to the constitution framed by the National ssembly and its first session was held on October 1, 1791. Self-enying ordinance of the National Assembly resulted in the election raw and inexperienced persons who had no practical knowledge the working of the government. The Legislative Assembly mprised of 745 members of whom 505 were Constitutionalists and 10 Republicans.

1. **Groups in the French Legislative Assembly**—In the very ginning of the revolution, there rose various political clubs in ance. Their members used to have discussions on political atters.

(1) *The Constitutionalists*—their membership in the Legislative ssembly was 505. They were strong champions of the constitution d the constitutional form of government. The members of this oup were also known as Fenellants.

(2) *The Jacobin Club*—140 members of the Legislative Assembly longed to this group. This group used to hold its meetings off d on and its members had free discussion on all matters which re to come before the Legislative Assembly. This group was in favour establishing a Republic in France. Its leader Robespierre was an gressive radical. With the progress of the Revolution, this group came more powerful and its influence in France also increased. ore than 2000 Jacobin Clubs were established in various villages d cities in France. Its organisation was more compact and its embers were highly disciplined. Its members sat on raised seats the Legislative Assembly and so they were known as 'Mountains'. formed a tough opposition in the Assembly. Even after the ath of Mirabeau and the reduction in the influence of Robespierre s group become powerful and a force to be reckoned with

(3) *The Cordelier Club*—This group was more aggressive, democratic and revolutionary than the Jacobin club. It was an ardent supporter of the republican form of government and wanted to goad the revolution onward through terroristic and aggressive means. It comprised of the people of lower strata such as Parisians of the lower order, students, peasants, workers, merchants etc. Its influence was limited upto Paris only. It instigated the Paris Mob to storm the king's palace. This group forced the Legislative Assembly to depose the king, to replace monarchy by republic and to hold election to National Convention for the purpose of drafting a new constitution for France. This group was being ably stewarded by Danton, undeniably the greatest statesman since Mirabeau, who was out to establish "that momentary despotism of liberty," which was "indispensable to crush the despotism of kings".

(4) *The Girondists*—They were called Girondists because their leaders such as Madame Roland, Buzot, Brissot, Isnard, Vergniano etc. belonged to the district of Gironde in France. They were great patriots, but they lacked practical experience. Their outlook was more academic than practical. Theirs was a bookish outlook upon the world. They accepted monarchy but favoured the establishment of republic. They opposed terrorism and revolutionary methods and were in favour of the use of legal and constitutional means to achieve their aim. In the beginning, they had majority in the Legislative Assembly, but due to increased influence of the Jacobin Club, its influence began to decrease.

2. **Work of the Legislative Assembly**—The Legislative Assembly passed the following resolutions :—

(1) It was resolved that the *Bishops and the Priests must accept the civil constitution of the clergy* and take an oath of allegiance to it. Some of the priests did not accept it. The result was that the priests were divided into two groups and there started a civil war between them. The government issued one decree that the property of the priests who violate this resolution will be confiscated ; they will be considered as suspects and they were liable to be removed from their respective districts in case of any trouble.

(2) Many princes, nobles and clergymen had migrated to other countries during the revolution for they thought themselves to be unsafe in France. The number of such emigres was about 1,50,000.

Louis XVI's brother,Count de Provence, who was in England claimed the throne of France for himself because Louis was in the prison. Other emigres began to instigate the kings of different countriesagainst the revolutionaries. Therefore, by one decree, Count de Provence was asked to return to France otherwise he would be deprived of his right to the throne. By another degree, the *emigres were required to come back by a fixed date.* If they failed to abide by this decree, their properties were to be confiscated and they could be even exposed to death penalty.

(3) It was *resolved to mobilise 2,000 soldiers for the protection of Paris.*

Louis XVI used his suspensive veto and refused to give assent to these. The people rose in fury. They lost faith in the king and began to hate him. They turned against monarchy and thought that the king was unable to protect the constitution. The mob attacked the royal palace on June 22, 1792. They fired at him, threw stones at him and hurled abuses and insult on him. The king put on red cap and tri-colour flag which were the symbols of revolution and showed himself to the people. In this way, he tried to pacify the mob. The mob dispersed. One of them said, *"We will come back again, and we will get what we want".*

The mob attacked the palace again on August 10, 1792, under the leadership of Danton. Many Swiss guards and their commanders were killed. The king along with the members of his family took shelter in the building of the Assembly. The mob captured the palace and looted it mercilessly. Later on, the king was imprisoned, suspended and forbidden to perform any administrative function. The real power came into the hand of the Jacobin Club and its leader Danton till the session of the National Convention.

About the work of the Legislative Assembly, **Hazen** has observed —

"Elected for a two-years term, it served for less than a single year. Expected to inaugurate an era of prosperity and happiness by applying the new principles of government in a time of peace, to consolidate the monarchy on its new basis, it was destined to a stormy life and to witness the fall of monarchy in an irreparable ruin."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Legislative Assembly—

1. Its session was called on October 1, 1791. It comprised of 505 Constitutionalists and 240 Republicans.
2. Groups in the Legislative Assembly (i) Constitutionalists were in favour of the constitutional form of government. (ii) The Jacobin Club was a group of aggressive radicals. (iii) The Cordelier Club favoured a democratic republic and used terrorist and revolutionary methods. (iv) The Girondists were champions of Republic and were in favour of using constitutional means.
3. Work of the Legislative Assembly—(I) Decree against the non-juring clergy. (ii) Decrees pertaining to emigrants. (iii) Decree regarding the mobilising of military for the safety of Paris.
4. The king vetoed the resolutions of the Assembly. The mob attacked the king's palace and imprisoned him. The real power came into the hands of the Jacobin Club.

War between France and Austria, 1792

Q. 2. Give an account of the causes of the war between the

Revolutionary France and Europe in 1792. What were its results ?

Or

What were the causes and results of the war between France and Austria in 1792. Was this war inevitable ?

Ans.—As at its outset, the French Revolution might have characterized as an internal affair of France.

Thus, it was natural that there was no possibility of any struggle between France and other Europen countries. European countries were certainly not inclined to interfere in the internal affairs of France. But the revolutionaries were not satisfied with the spread of revolutionary ideas and principles in France only. They also wanted to propagate these ideas into other countries of Europe The revolutionaries of France instigated the people of other countries to rebel against all monarchies and replace them by republican form of government. They assured them of their help in case of any struggle against the despotic rule. This common danger forced these countries to join hands to fight against the revolutionary France. The king of Austria tried to check the propagation of the revolutionary ideas and waged a war against France with the help of Prussia and other countries.

1. **Causes of the War**—The following causes led to the war between France and Austria :—

(1) Many sensitive and easily-provoked *emigrants* had settled in the eastern border of France. They had formed an army of their own with the help of German kings. This action on their part terrified the revolutionaries and they considered these emigrants as suspects.

(2) The *Germans* also did not favour the revolution because the German Princes of Alsace had their own grievances against France. France established its domination over Alsace in the 17th century. The German princes of this area were given the right to collect feudal taxes by the peace of Westphalia. When France abolished all feudal dues and tithes, the German princes were hit hard. The French government agreed to pay compensation to German princes for this loss, but they were not satisfied. They appealed to the German Diet. The Diet took the side of these princes. It created bad blood between them and the Germans turned against the revolution.

(3) Geographically *Avignon* belonged to France but it had passed under the control of Papacy since the 14th century France annexed this province and violated the international law. Thus, the conflict between France and other European countries became acute and inevitable.

(4) The revolutionaries of France wanted to propagate the doctrines of the revolution in other countries of Europe but the *European countries* having monarchical form of government wanted to save their countries from the impact of these revolutionary ideas and movement of France.

(5) The revolutionaries were spreading the doctrines of the revolution in Austria and Netherlands which was under the domination of

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Austria at that time. The revolutionaries were instigating the people of these two countries to revolt against the old regime there. *King Leopold II of Austria* thought that the only way to check the activities of the revolutionaries was to wage a war against France.

(6) In the beginning of the revolution, *many nobles and clergymen of France* fled to Austria for safety. These emigres incited Austria to crush the revolutionaries of France. The revolutionaries turned against Austria as they thought that Austria was helping those emigres. This precipitated the war. **Fisher** observes in this regard—

"The emigres played an important part in bringing about the war between the Revolutionary France and rest of Europe."

(7) The *Royal houses of France and Austria* had family relations with each other. Marie Antoinette, the queen of Louis XVI, was the sister of Joseph II, the Emperor of Austria. When the revolutionaries heaped insults on Louis XVI and maltreated him, the Austrian king Leopold II could not tolerate it and he declared a war against the revolutionaries.

(8) The *king and the queen of France* carried on secret correspondence with Austria as their condition became critical. They planned to flee to Austria for their safety. Unfortunately, however, they failed in their designs. The revolutionaries began to hate the king and turned still more hostile towards Austria.

(9) The revolutionaries levelled *charges of espionage against the king and the queen*. They accused them of passing on the secrets of French military to Austria. The king refused to give assent to the decrees passed by the Legislative Assembly against the nobles, the clergymen and the emigres. The suspicion against the king was well confirmed. So, they thought of penalising the king and the queen for their misdeeds by waging a war against Austria.

(10) Austria started preparations for the war under the force of circumstances and *entered into a military pact with Russia* against France in February, 1792. The revolutionaries took it as an ultimatum for war.

(11) Working in close league with the king of Prussia, Leopold II the Emperor of Austria issued the *Declaration of Pillnitz* on August 27, 1791. They declared that the cause of the kingof France was the cause of all the Emperors of Europe and that they were ready for armed intervention if other monarchs of Europe supported them. This declaration infuriated the revolutionaries and they augmented their preparations for war.

(12) In the beginning, *Pitt the Younger*, the Prime Minister of the England welcomed the Revolution and he sympathised with the revolutionaries. But, the Reign of Treror in France and atrocities committed by the revolutionaries antagonised him and he turned against the revolution. Burke, in his famous book 'The Reflection on the French Revolution', advised people to flee from the revolution. England became an enemy of the revolutionaries when they built up a new harbour of Antwerp So, England encouraged Austria and Prussia to start a war against France.

(13) King Leopold II of Austria died in March, 1792. There was a *Civil war in Austria* for his successor. The internal situation in Austria itself was very grave. France took full advantage of this situation and declared war against Austria.

(14) In April, 1792, the *French government asked Austria why it was making war preparations against her as also* giving protection to the French emigres in her country. Austria charged France of finding vain excuses for sitarting war and disturbing the peace of the rest of Europe by her activites. This reply infuriated the people of France and the Legislative Assembly of France forced the king to declare war against Austria on April 20, 1792.

Both the people and the government of France were happy over this declaration because both were very eager for it. **Scheville** has opined in this context—

"The eyes of Louis XVI were brightened with joy when he signed the decree for a war against Austria."

The king hoped that the revolutionaries would be defeated and crushed totally whereby he would saddle himself firmly on the throne of France. The Girondists were also enthusiastic about it. They assured the Assembly that France will be victorious in this war. Only Jacobins were opposed to this war. People of France welcomed the declaration of war cheerfully. **Hazen** says—

"The French were greatly eager for a war against Austria because they felt that Austria was obstructing the progress of the cause of equality, liberty and nationalism."

2. **Was this War Inevitable ?**—This war was inevitable due to to various reasons :—

(i) This war was inevitable and *Austria assumed its leadership* because she was very eager to protect the life of the queen Marie Antoinette and the King Louis because of the bond of family relationship. It was this which compelled Austria to wage war against France.

(2) The *king Louis XVI and his followers supported* the war. They thought that in case of victory king will be more popular and in case of defeat the revolution will be crushed and monarchy will be established on firm footing.

(3) The *Girondists* considered war inevitable to uproot monarchy and establish republic in France.

(4) The *king's ministers, nobles and clergymen* longed for war to get rid of the atrocities of the revolutionaries.

(5) The *revolutionary government and the people of France* wanted to wage war and use French army because they were eager to proapgate the revolutionary ideas of equality and liberty and replace mouarchies by republican form of government in other countries of Europe.

(6) Many *despotic rulers of Europe*, French emigres, nobles and clergymen who were opposed to the *'Civil Constitution of the Clergy"*

thought war inevitable to escape the fatal consequences of the Revolution.

(7) Bloodshed and Reign of Terror let loose in France in the name of revolution compelled *England and Germany* to side with Austria in this war.

3. Events of the War :—

(1) *France failed to capture Belgium*—France suffered reverses in the beginning. The combined forces of Austria and Prussia defeated the French army and captured Belgium The revolutionaries held Louis XVI responsible for this defeat because they thought that the king was passing the secrets of army to the enemy. They levelled a charge of espionage against him Their suspicion was confirmed when the king rejected the decrees against the nobles, the clergymen and the emigres They stormed the royal palace on June 20, 1792 and insulted the king.

(2) *Manifesto of Duke of the Brunswick*—The Duke of Brunswick was the commander of the combined forces of Austria and Prussia. As he was proceeding towards Paris, he could not tolerate the mal-treatment of the king at the hands of the revolutionaries. He issued a proclamation. In it he threatened to raze the city of Paris to the ground and inflict death punishment on the people of France if they offered violence to the king and his family and did not allow him to function properly. This manifesto excited the mob beyond limits and they considered the king to be the friend of the enemy. In fit of uncontrollable anger, they attacked the king's palace again on August 10, 1792. There was a bloody struggle between the revolutionaries and the Swiss guards of the king. The royal family took shelter in the Assembly Hall. The palace was looted and set on fire. The Swiss guards were murdered in cold blood. About 5,000 persons lost their lives in this conflict.

(3) *Supremacy of the Mob*—The mob, which was dominated by the Jacobins, overthrew the former government of Paris and established New Commune in its place. In the beginning, the revolutionary movement was controlled by the middle-class, but now its leadership passed into the hands of the mob. Danton, Marat and Robespierre were its famous leaders. The Legislative Assembly under the domination of these leaders suspended the king and ordered the election of the National Convention to formulate the new Constitution for France. Till the meeting of the National Convention, the real power remained in the hands of the New Commune and the leaders of the Jacobin Club.

(4) *September Massacre*—The Duke of Brunswick was marching towards Paris with great speed He captured the forts of Verdun and Longway. Between him and Paris, there was no fort now to serve as a Line of Defence. There prevailed great confusion and alarm in the people of Paris. Troops were raised to face the enemy and terrorise the royalists. **Danton** said —

"In my opinion the way to stop the enemy is to terrify the royalists, Audacity, more audacity and always greater audacity."

Danton worked in an organised way to finish the supporters of the king.

Marat, the Chairman of the Paris commune, set up an 'Armed Band of Assassins' and organised a series of massacres between 2nd and 6th September The followers of the king were brought out of the prisons and murdered mercilessly. The royalists, the nobles, the clergymen and judges were killed in a large number. This incident is known as '*September Massacre*' in the history of France. About 2,570 men and women lost their lives. It brought about a significant change in the complexion of the French Revolution. This massacre besmeared the fair face of revolution with stains of blood. The revolution which stood for the spread of the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity and whose main aim was to abolish the rights of the privileged classes became a means of preaching terrorism Hazen says—

"*September Massacre left a monstrous and indelible stain upon the revolution and the cause of liberty.*"

(5) *Successes of France*—After terrorising or finishing the traitors; the Jacobins defeated the advancing armies of Prussia at Valmy and checked their advance. These successes turned the tide and encouraged the revolutionaries. The French troops defeated the Austrian army at the battle of Jemappes and captured Belgium. After this, French army conquered Savoy and Nice and established a firm hold on the middle-Rhine. These successes saved France from a serious crisis threatening the country. After this, the National Convention went on to hold its session beginning on September 21, 1792.

4. **Results of the War**—The following were the significant results of this war :—

(1) During the war, the king was imprisoned and later on suspended. In his way, *monarchy came to an end.*

(2) The forces of the revolutionaries checked the advance of Prussian army and defeated Austria in many battles. After these successes, the National Convention resolved to establish *republican government in France* in place of monarchy.

(3) The *nobles and clergymen* who had migrated to other countries were debarred from coming to France again.

(4) Many innocent people of Austria and France were killed in the battle-field. People who were followers of the king or who were suspected to be his supporters and *sympathisers were murdered in large number.*

(5) This war *proved very harmful for France.* It stained the revolution which was . generous movement in the beginning. It changed its complexion altogether. The revolution started with the lofty ideals of equality and liberty. Its main aim was to abolish arbitrary rule and social inequality. Now it became the means of

spreading terrorism and anarchy. Consequently, France had to give up republican form of government and establish monarchy again in 1815. **Prof. Hazen** has very aptly summed up the entire situation—

> *"This war was a startling and momentous turning point in the history of Revolution. It had consequences, some of which were foreseen, most of which were not. It reacted profoundly upon the French and before it was over, it compromised their own domestic liberty and generated a military despotism of greater efficiency than could be matched in the long history of the house of Bourbons."*

POINTS TO REMEMBER

War between France and Austria, 1792

1. **Causes**—(i) War prepartions of the emigres on border. (ii) End of feudal right s of Princes of Alsace ; (iii) French possession of Avignon. (iv) Fropagation of the ideals of the Revolution in other countries of Europe; (v) King of Austria opposed the preaching doctrines of the Revolution in Austria; (vi) Austria refused to turn out emigres from Austria; (vii) Family relations between France and Austria; (viii) The king and queen were accused of espionage; (ix) Secret correspondence of Louis XVI and his queen with Austria; (x) Military Pact between Austria and Prussia; (xi) Pillnitz Declaration of 1791 ; (xii) England supported Austria due to terrorism in France; (xiii) Civil War in Austria for succession; (xiv) The French government gave ultimatum to Austria over emigres.
2. **Was this War Inevitable**—It was inevitable; Austria thought it inevitable; Louis XVI wanted it ; the Girondists favoured it ; the clergymen wanted to escape atrocities by it; the revolutionaries wanted to spread the ideals of the revolution through war; the despotic rulers of Europe and emigres also thought it inevitable; England sided Austria after seeing the terrors of the revolutionaries.
3. **Events**—(i) The defeat of France and its failure to capture Belgium; (ii) Manifesto of Duck of Brunswick and its results; (iii) Supremacy of the Mob and its attack on the Royal Palace; (iv) September Massacre; (v) Successes of France and resolution of the National Convention to establish Republic in France.
4. **Result**—(i) End Monarchy in France; (ii) National Convention resolved to establish Republic in France; (iii) Emigres were declared outlaws; (iv) Murder of innocent people; (v) Change in the complexion of the revolution; from a generous movement it became a means of terrorism.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. Form an estimate of the Legislative Assembly of 1791-92.
2. What were the causes of war between Revolutionary France and Europe in 1792 ? Was it inevitable ?
3. Describe briefly the causes, events and results of war between France and Austria in 1792.
4. "September massacre left a monstrous and indelible stain upon the revolution and the cause of liberty." Discuss the impact of such extremist activities critically under the light of the above remark by Prof. Hazen.

5

REPUBLIC IN FRANCE

NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1792—1795

One of the natural corollaries of the French Revolution, the National Convention came to be the third revolutionary assembly of France. It worked from September 21, 1792 to October 26, 1795. According to the decision of the National Assembly, all the members of the National Convention were elected by September 21, 1792 and its first session was held on 21st September, 1792. It consisted of 782 members. Two hundred members belonged to the Girondist party, hundred to the Jacobin party while 482 were independents. Obviously, no single party emerged with clear majority in the National Convention.

The main and important function of the National Convention was to formulate new constitution of France. However, this work remained suspended for a long time because of the differences between the Girondists and the Jacobins. Both favoured a republic in France but had divergent views regarding the share of Paris in it. Girondists opposed the control of Paris. They wanted to keep the government free from the influence of the Commune of Paris and the Mob. They were against anarchy, rule of terror and the use of force. They believed in the use of constitutional means for the progress of revolution. They wanted to put an end to the power of the Mob and punish the organisers of the September Massacre and give a blow to their domination in the Commune of Paris. On the contrary, Paris was the fountain of power of the Jacobins. They used to say, "*Paris is the centre of light, Paris had made the Revolution and when it shall perish, there will be no longer a revolution*". They were not terrorists but realists. They were in favour of the use of force to achieve their end, and to protect the republic in France. They were more disciplined and had limited influence on the Commune of Paris and the Mob, but, the nature of the leadership in both the parties played an important part in shaping their destinies. Buzot, Brissot, Dumouriez, Themespain and Madame Roland were the famous leaders of the Girondists. Among the leaders of the Jacobins, Danton, Marat and Robespierre were prominent. The leaders of both the parties hated one another and wanted to put an end to their influence. In the beginning, the Girondists had great influence in the National Convention but within a short period, the Jacobins were able to assume sovereignty. The National Convention ruled France for about three years and brought about significant changes in the country.

Work and Achievements of the National Convention

Q. 1. Form an estimate of the work of the National onvention in France. (Important)

Or

Discuss the importance of the French Revolutionary Convention. Iow did it solve the problems of France ?

Or

"Perhaps one other Legislative body in the history has been called ipon to solve such knotty problems as those which confronted the Vational Convention. It coped with all these questions with infinite ndustry and much success." —Hayes

Enumerate those problems and explain how the Convention saved France from internal disruption and foreign conquest. (A. U. 1952)

Ans.—The National Convention had to solve many knotty and thorny problems. The policy followed by France in foreign sphere increased the number of her enemies. Hence, France had to save herself from foreign aggression There were many problems connected with internal affairs as well, such as (1) to solve the problems regarding the king and the ruling dynasty (2) to solve the question relating to emigres. (3) to root out internal rebellions (4) to set up a strong government in the country. (5) to frame new constitution for France and (6) to give a practical shape to reforms proposed by the National Assembly and the Legislative Assembly.

1. Foreign Policy—The French Revolution became a terrorist movement with the passage of time. The anarchy, bloodshed and the reign of terror in France frightened the monarchs of Europe. The execution of Louis XVI turned many countries of Europe against France. The revolutionaries of France waged a war against monarchial system of government all over Europe. In December 1792, the National Convention issued the following decree :—

"The French nation declares that it will treat as enemies every people who, refusing liberty and equality or renouncing them, may wish to maintain, recall or treat with a prince and the privileged classes."

The revolutionaries of France instigated the people of other countries to revolt against their monarchs and also promised to help them in this sacred cause. It terrified the kings of Europe and they became the avowed enemies of France. The revolutionaries wanted to wage war against other countries to entangle the revolutionary forces in other countries and thus maintain internal peace in France. They also wanted to expand the boundaries of the French Empire. Thus, it was rather natural that England, Austria Prussia, Holland, Spain and Sardinia joined hands to form a coalition against France.

To begin with, France was defeated in the war by the Allies. French Commander Dumouriez was defected by Austria and the French had to vacate Belgium. Dumouriez deserted France and joined the Allies. Prussia turned the French out of Midd Rhine. The English besieged Dunkirk and Spain conquered Rous lion.

The defeat of the French on all fronts disappointed the leade and the people and created bitter sensation in France. France wa facing dangers both at home and abroad. This situation gave rise t severe differences between the Girondists and the Jacobins an each party held the other responsible for these reverses. The Mol being instigated by the Jacobins, attacked the convention and too 31 members, belonging to the Girondists party as prisoners and put a end to their domination in the National Convention. In this wa they established their hold on the Convention and assumed sovereignt and control of the government. **Hazen** says—

"The victory of the Commune was the victory of the Jacobins wh by this act, became the masters of the Convention."

The Jacobins appointed Carnot as the war minister. He was a ver capable and experienced person. A state of Emergency was declar in France. It was made compulsory that every youngman between th age of 18 to 25 should render military service In this way, he raised a army of 7,70,000 soldiers. He trained these troops and sent the to many fronts to check the invasion. He appointed trusted and ab commanders in place of inexperienced officers belonging to Giron dist party. He infused new spirit of fighting among the youngme Under the able leadership of Carnot, these youngmen jumped hea long in the war. with banners of liberty, equality and fraternity i their hands, to fight the enemy. The conscription turned France int a Nation-in-Arms. Carnot's decree runs as follows—

"Youngmen between 18 to 25 years shall go to war, the married sha forge arms and transport supplies ; the wives shall make tents, cloth and serve in hospitals ; the children shall tear old linen into lint, t aged shall resort to the public places to excite the courage of the warrio and hatred against king."

By his effective plans of campaigns and war-policy, he turned t defeat of France into victory and the French were successful on a fronts. The forces of France defeated the English at Toulon an forced them to raise the siege of Dunkirk. Austria was defeated a Wattignies and had to vacate Belgium which passed under the contr of France once again.

After their defeat in the battle fields, Spain and Prussia also enter into a treaty with France and the territories on the left bank of Rhin came under the sway of France. The credit for these successes went t Carnot. His prestige, honour and glory was at its height. At firs he was given the title of *'Organiser of Defence'* but now he came t be called as the *"Organiser of Victory"*

2. **Home Policy**—As regards the home policy, the Nation Convention had to face many thorny problems. It did equally usef work to solve some of these prickly problems.

(1). *End of Monarchy*—On the very first day of its session, the tional Convention deposed the king, put an end to monarchy and ablished Republic in France.

(2) *National Calendar*—Monarchy was replaced by Republic France, on September 22, 1792. In order to immortalise this day, ew calendar was introduced in France. A year was divided into 12 nths and each month was to consist of three weeks of 10 days each.

(3) *Banishment of Emigres*—The emigres were banished from ance for ever and their property confiscated

(4) *Execution of the King*—There arose differences between the ondists and the Jacobins regarding the decision of the fate of Louis I. The Girondists wanted to leave this matter to the people. They d not want to execute him without trial On the other hand, the obins favoured the execution of the king without trial. As the obins had influence in the Convention, the king was charged of ason after a nominal trial and was guillotined on January 21, 1793. s last words were—

"*Gentlemen, I am innocent of that, of which I am accused. May blood assure the happiness of the French !*"

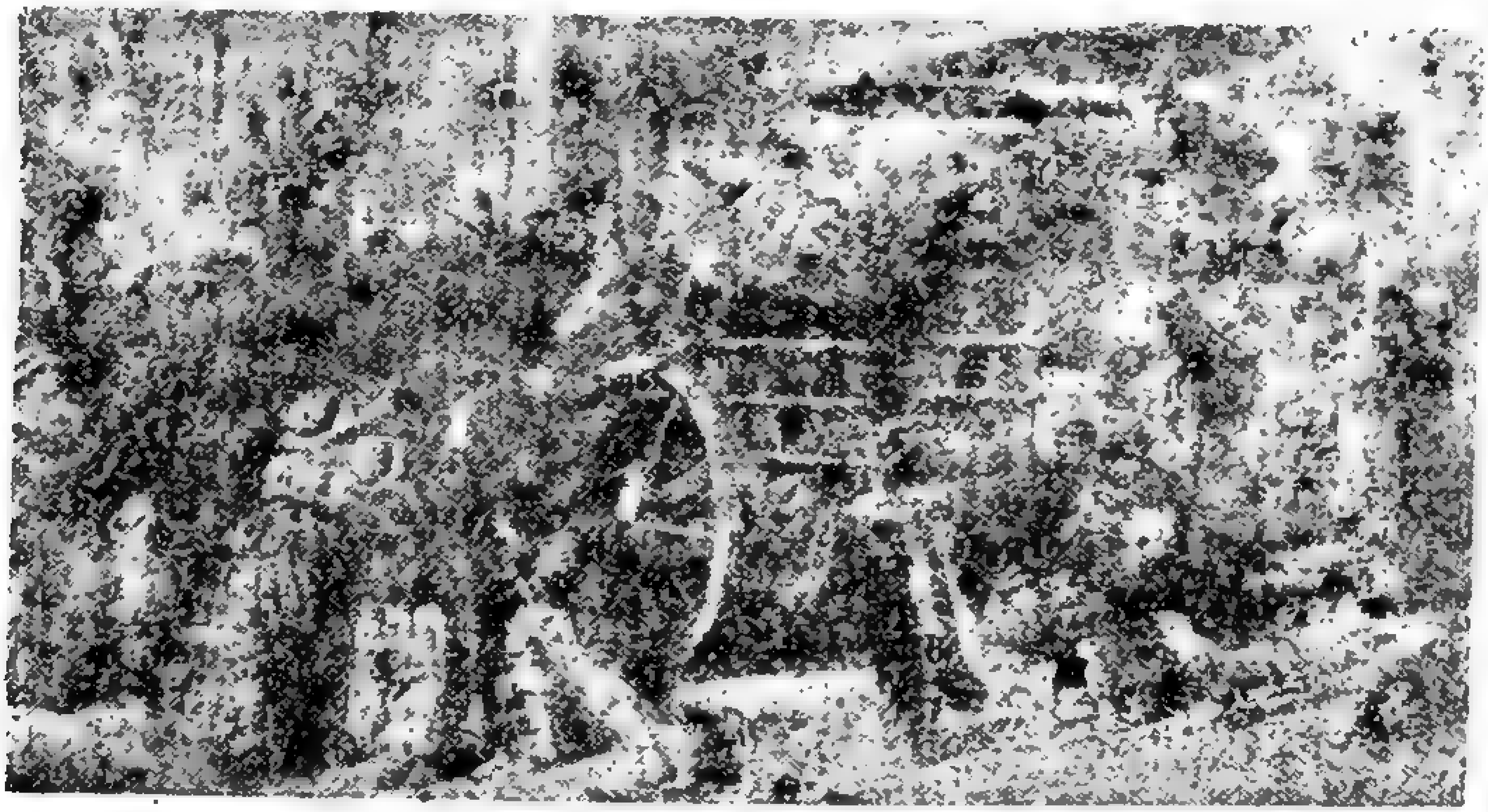
Louis XVI, before his Execution

There were two divergent views garding the execution of the king. me people were of the view at the execution of Louis XVI was th a crime and a blunder. He was nd, unselfish and best-intentioned ng. He had the good of the people heart. His execution did not sult in carrying forward the revoluonary movement. It involved the volution in increasing dangers both home and abroad. The fall of onarchy led to anarchy and only litary despotism could rescue France om it. On the other hand some ople thought that Louis XVI was a aitor and enemy of freedom and served the punishments awarded to m.

(5) *Suppression of Internal evolts*—There was a civil war tween the Girondists and the cobins for assuming the power of e government. It created martial psychology which led to chaos and iarchy in the country. There were revolts at Lyons, La Venda, ordeaux and Marseilles. These revolts were crushed by the government ith an iron hand to curb the martial tendency among the people.

(6) *Reign of Terror*--France was engulfed by dangers from all des. A Committee of Public Safety was organised to deal with the ternal and external enemies of the state. The supreme executive

authority of the state was vested with it. Carnot and Robespie were also the members of this committee. The Committee of Gene Security and the Revolutionary Tribunal were its chief agencies. followed the policy of 'Blood and Iron', By the law of suspects, person was liable to be imprisoned and hanged. In this way, Reign Terror was let loose in France and it continued for about one y (1793-94). During this period, thousands, of opponents, rebels suspects were put to death. About 5,000 persons were butchered Paris alone. It is estimated that about 15,000 persons perished in provinces. This work was completed with the help of army of Carn **Prof. Hazen** says—



Condemned Victims of the Revolution being brought for Execution during the Reign of Terror

"Installing itself in the palace of Tuileries, in the former ro apartments, it developed a prodigious activity framing endless decre tossing thousands of men to guillotine, sending thousands against enemies of France, guiding, animating, tyrannizing ruthlessly a peo which had taken such pains to declare itself free, only to find its frag liberties, so strongly asserted in the famous declaration, ground to pow beneath this iron heel."

(7) *Metric System*—The Metric System was introduced all o the country to bring uniformity in weights and measures.

(8) *Education*—One of the most vital and abiding reformat was that of the educational system in the country. Education, convention believed, was the real back-bone of a society and, sho be well-organised and carefully planned. **Danton** used to say. "*N to food, education is the first need of the people.*" So, there should proper arrangement for the education of the children. In this resp he once said, "*Children belong to the Republic before they belon*

ieir parents." A comprehensive scheme for reorganising elementary nd secondary education was drawn up but it could not be enforced for ie lack of funds.[4] It was decided that the medium of education should e French throughout the country.

(9) *Civil Code*—The rules and the regulations of the country ere compiled. Civil Code was prepared for the whole country. No ne was to be imprisoned for debt. Serfdom was abolished in French olonies. Women were given the right to property. The law of rimogeniture was ended. By this law, the eldest son got the whole roperty. But now, all the children were to receive equal share in he father's property.

(10) *Economic Reforms*—With a view to bringing about economic tability in the country, many reforms were introduced to help the poor nd to bring about economic equality. The property of the criminals, migres and suspects was confiscated. Large estates were broken up nd sold to ordinary peasants on easy terms. Laws were passed xing the prices of grains, other necessaries of life and the rates of ages. **Marat** observed sarcastically—"*The rich have so long sucked ut the marrow of the people that they are now visited with a crushing evolution.*" In order to bring social equality, it was ordered that verybody should be addressed as "*citizen*".

(11) *Cultural Work*—To bring cultural equality, Polytechnical chool, Law and Medical School of Paris, National Library and the nstitute, National Archives and Museum were established in France.

(12) *Religious Reforms*—The National Convention was hostile to atholicism and traditional forms of religion. 'Religion of Reason' nd 'Worship of the Supreme Being' were founded by Robespierre ut they came to an end after his death. Later on, freedom of religion vas granted to all.

(13) *Framing of the New Constitution*—Robespierre died on 28th uly, 1794. After his death, the Revolutionary Court and the Law of uspects were abolished and a committee of 9 members was set up to raft a new constitution for the country. New constitution was framed n 1795 and was known as the "Constitution of the Year Three." Adult franchise was abolished and property was made the basis of ranchise now French Legislature was to consist of two chambers : lower house consisting of 500 members and the Council of Elders onsisting fo 250 members. Their main function was to examine and nact laws. The executive authority of the state was vested with a ommittee of five members known as the "Directory". The Directors vere to be elected by the legislature. The Directors were responsible or the enforcement of the laws and maintenance of law and order in he country.

3. Estimate of the Work of the National Convention—The National onvention assumed the reins of administration when the country vas facing grave dangers at home and abroad. The situation had ecome very critical on account of intenal revolts and foreign ggression. The Convention faced many knotty problems and tried to solve them with great courage and fortitude. It did things bot praiseworthy and hateful but, it cannot be denied that it was mainl responsible for the survival and safety of the Revolution.

Many countries of Europe formed a coalition against the Revolutionary France. It roused great enthusiasm in the country. Frenc men and women girded up their loins to face the enemy. Carnot' militant nationalism produced the most efficient army in Europe He turned France into a Nation-in-Arms. He not only protected th freedom of France but also gained natural boundaries for the countr and the message of the revolution was conveyed to all corners of th world.

The achievements of the Convention in the internal affairs are no less important. It replaced monarchy by a Republic after the execution of Louis XVI and abolished feudalism. It framed new constitution for the country. By introducing reforms in religion, it separated the church from the state. It enforced many reforms to bring about social and economic equality. It organised the 'Reign of Terror' and curbed internal revolts. In this way, it consolidated the gains of the revolution. The importance of its work increased because it did everything when the country was facing difficulties from all sides and was torn by internal strife among the political parties. There is no doubt that it butchered many leaders and weakened the Republic but later on it became easy for Napoleon to establish his personal rule. It produced many patriots and courageous men who influenced the history of France for a long time. The importance of its work cannot be judged by its dynamic and annihilating directives. We can evaluate its work by the directives which rooted out all anti-revolutionary elements within France. **Prof. Hazen** has summed up its achievements in the following words—

"To keep the balance of our judgement clear we should recall these notable services to civilization rendered by the same assembly which is more notorious of its connection with the inquisitive Reign of Terror. The Republic had its glorious trophies, its honourable records, from which late times were to derive inspiration and instruction."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The National Convention of France—It was the third revolutionary Assembly in France and worked from September 22, 1792 to October 26, 1795.

1. Problems before the Convention—(1) To deal with European countries who were enemies of France; (2) To decide the fate of Louis XVI; (3) To tackle the problem of emigres; (4) To curb internal revolts; (5) To frame new constitution; (6) To enforce reforms.
2. Foreign Policy—First coalition against France by many European Countries; French defeat in the beginning; Establishment of Committee of Public Safety; Organisation of army by Carnot; Defeat of European countries by France.
3. Home Policy—(1) End of monarchy (2) National calendar (3) Banishment of Emigres (4) Execution of the king (5) Suppression of internal revolts (6) Reign of Terror (7) Metric System (8) Reforms in Education (9) Civil Code (10) Economic Reforms, (11) Cultural work (12) Religious Reforms (13) Drafting the new constitution (14) Importance of its work.

The Girondists

Q. 2. Who were the Girondists ? Indicate the part played by them in the French Revolution.

Or

Who were the Girnodists ? Give an estimate of their achievements and enumerate the causes of their downfall.

(P.U. 1955)

Ans. The Girondists—There were two main parties in the Legislative Assembly—The Girondists and the Jacobins. The Girondists were so called because most of its members belonged to the district of Gironde situated in the south-west of France. These people supported the ideals of Rousseau. They were very civilized and wise. They were honest politicians and were men of high intellect and education. They believed in the Republican form of government and were patriots to the back bone. They favoured the use of decent means to achieve their ends. They were opposed to the use of force and unscrupulous methods. They were not prepared to compromise with the old traditions. Buzot, Brissot, Dumouriez, Vergniaud Pashe, Madame Roland were the prominent leaders of this party. They played a significant part in the history of the country under the leadership of Madame Roland. The members of this party used to hold parleys in her house and have discussion on the political matters. Roland hated the king and the queen very much. She was a beautiful and brave woman. Buzot loved her very much and took the lead of the party after her death. **Hazen** has summed up his views about this party in these words —

"They were a group of eloquent youngmen, led by a romantic woman. For the real head of this group that had its hour upon the stage and then was heard no more in the deafening clamour of the later revolution was Madame Roland, their bright particular star."

2. **Work of the Girondists**—There was a struggle between the Girondists and the Jacobins in the National Convention. Many clergymen and nobles, who deserted France in the beginning of the revolution, instigated the rulers of other countries of Europe against the revolution. The emperor of Austria entered into a treaty with the ruler of Prussia and declared war against the revolutionaries of France. The Girondists were in favour of war while the Jacobins opposed it.

Louis XVI also favoured the Girondists and admitted the prominent leaders of this party in his cabinet. The husband of Madame Roland was appointed as Home-Minister and Dumouriez was made the Foreign Minister. Danton and Robespirrie, the leaders of the Jacobins were not included in the cabinet, so they began to hate the Girondists. As the leaders of the Girondists were impractical idealists, they could not conduct the war successfully and the French were defeated on all fronts.

The Jacobins hurled the responsibility of the French defeat on the shoulders of the Girondists and instigated the people against them.

The Mob attacked the king's palace on August 10, 1792 under the leadership of Danton. The king and the queen were imprisoned and the monarchy was abolished in France forthwith. The government of Paris passed under the Control of the Commune of Paris and the old regime was put to an end there. Pache and Dumouriez left their party and joined the Jacobins. Pache was made the Mayor of Paris and he held the reins of the Commune of Paris.

The armies of Austria and Prussia were advancing towards France very rapidly under the command of the Duke of Brunswick. This news raised great alarm in France and the people became panic-stricken. The Jacobins held the Girondists responsible for the failure of France in the battle. With a view to obliterate the influence, power, and even the existence of the Girondists, the Jacobins organised the September Massacre in 1792. There was a fierce bloodshed in France from 2nd to 6th September. Thousands of clergymen, nobles and suspects were murdered in cold blood. The Girondists, on the contrary, failed to crush the Commune of Paris.

On the other hand, the Jacobins organised a powerful army under the leadership of Carnot. They defeated Austria, Prussia in the battle of Valmy and checked their advance towards Paris. This gave a severe blow to power and influence of the Girondists and the Jacobins got supremacy over them. The struggle between the two parties took a terrible turn.

After the fall of the monarchy, there arose deep differences between the two parties over the question of the fate of the king. The Girondists wanted to execute the king after a trial, but the Jacobins favoured his execution without any trial. At last, Louis XVI was guillotined on January 21, 1793 after just a formal trial.

King's execution proved harmful to the power of the Girondists. They issued Assignats to improve the finances of the country. The reduction in their prices produced a great financial crisis and the Girondists were condemned for it. The people of Paris made a plan to supply cheap bread for Paris but it was opposed by the Girondists. This also contributed towards their unpopularity. They also published some resolutions. By these resolutions, they wanted to reduce the influence of the Commune of Paris. This further antagonised the Girondists in the eyes of the masses.

The gap between the parties widened day by day. Danton tried for a compromise between the two but failed in his attempt because the Jacobins were not prepared for a rapprochement. At this, Danton remarked, "*You know not how to forgive.*"

The influence of the Girondists was on the wane. They had lost the confidence and faith of the people and were steadily losing ground. On the other hand, the Jacobins were preparing for a battle with them. They had full backing of the National Guard and the Commune of Paris. The Girondists did nothing to save themselves. On the contrary, they made a great blunder and held Marat and Robespierre, the leaders of the Jacobins, responsible for the September Massacre. The court acquitted them. The Girondists also failed in their attempts to shift the National Convention from Paris to Versailles and to abolish the Commune of Paris. They appointed a Commission to enquire into the conspiracies against the National Convention. The Commission ordered the arrest of Herbert who was the leader of the plotters. This infuriated the Jacobins and they decided to enter into a final struggle against the Girondists. The Commission was abolished. The Convention was intimated and it ordered the arrest of 29 leaders of the Girondists. They were arrested and hanged later on. Madame Roland was one of them. At the time of her death, she said —

"Oh Liberty ! What Crimes are committed in thy name !"

The situation in France was really critical. The assassination of the Girondist leaders created a stir in the country. There were revolts at many places. The Allies were marching towards France speedily. England had blockaded France. The Jacobins faced the situation bravely. They suppressed the internal revolts and saved the country from external dangers. In this way, they put an end to the influence of the Girondists once for all and installed themselves firmly in power in France. **Hazen** says —

"The victory of the Commune was the victory of the Jacobins who became the masters of the Convention."

3. Causes of the Fall of the Girondists :—

(1) *Lack of Organisation* The main cause of the fall of the Girondists was the lack of organisation in them. Their organisation and work was not based on any set policy and principles. They were patriots but had no practical experience of life. On the contrary, their opponents, the Jacobins, were well organised. They had their branches all over the country and their influence in Paris was supreme. They had a fixed policy and fixed principles of work and their branches worked under the strict supervision of the central body They were highly disciplined, and there was a remakable co-ordination in their work. The Girondists had no influence in Paris and no organised branches in the country. About the organisation of the Jacobins, **Hazen** says —

"Affiliated with the mothers club in Paris, they (Jacobin Clubs) formed a net-work virtually receiving order from Paris, developing great talent for concerted action."

(2) *No Influence in Paris*—Paris was the centre of activities of the revolutionaries. The Girondists had no influence over the Commune of Paris and the Mob. Both were opposed to the Girondists and lent no support to them.

The influence of the Girondists was limited to far off places where they were not organised properly. The Commune of Paris and the Mob were strictly controlled by the Jacobins and they were the main source of their power. With the help of these two institutions, the Jacobins succeeded in overthrowing the Girondists.

(3) *The Girondist Leaders*—There is no doubt that the Girondist leaders were wise, patriots and had high ideals. They were mere idealistic and lacked the practical experience of life. They did not adopt illegal means to achieve their aims. On the other hand, the Jacobin leaders were realists and practical. They were ferocious and used even illegal means to gain their end. So, ultimately, they succeeded in annihilating the Girondists.

(4) *No Internal Peace*—The policies followed by the Girondists led to internal disorder and anarchy and it paved the way for their downfall. There were revolts in various parts of France for bread. The inflation resulted in the fall of prices of Assignats and it deepened the financial crisis. People held the Girondists responsible for their hardships and began to hate them. There were uprisings and demonstrations against them which gave a severe blow to their power and influence.

(5) *Defeat in Wars*—Austria and Prussia attacked France. The French army was defeated because of the weak foreign policy of the Girondists. People held the Girondists responsible for their defeat. Their war-policy proved fatal for them. On the other hand, by their war policy, the Jacobins changed their defeat into victory. Their success at home and abroad added to their power and influence and led to the fall of the Girondists.

(6) *Treachery of Pache and Dumouriez*—Louis XVI had admitted Pache and Durmouriez, the Girondist leaders, in his Cabinet. But later on, they joined their opponents Their desertion weakened the Girondists to a large extent.

(7) *Murder of Twenty-nine Members of the Girondists*—The Girondists tried to abolish the Commune of Paris and shift the Convention from Paris to Versailles. This infuriated the Jacobins. They attacked the Convention on May 31, 1793 and got 29 members of the Girondists arrested. Later on, they were put to death according to the verdict of the Revolutionary Tribunal. It gave a severe blow to the power of the Girondists while the Jacobins became more powerful and influential in France.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. The Girondists—Residents of the District of Gironde ; Patriots and men of high ideals ; Idealists and lacked experience ; Pache, Dumouriez. Brissot and Madame Roland were their leaders.
2. The Work of the Girondists—(1) Favoured war against Austria. (2) Supported Louis XVI and were taken in the cabinet (3) France was defeated in the war, (4) Imprisonment of the king and of monarchy in France. (5) They tried to annihilate the influence of the Jacobins by taking advantage of September Massacre but in vain (6) Opposed the execution of Louis XVI. (7) Resolution regarding new constitution. (3) Devaluation of Assignats and problem of bread led to financial crisis and Girondists were held responsible for it (9) Struggle for supremacy between the two parties and the success of the Jacobins therein.
3. Causes of the Fall of the Girondists—(1) Lack of organisation, (2) No influence in Paris. (3) Girondist leaders were idealistic and lacked practical experience, (4) No internal peace. (5) Defeat in wars, (6) Desertion of Pache and Dumouriez, (7) Murder of 29 members of the Girondists weakened them.

The Jacobins

Q. 3. Who were the Jacobins ? What part did they play in the French Revolution ? Why did they fail ?

Or

What were the principal characteristics of the Jacobin Government in France ? Account for their failure.

Ans—1. **The Jacobins**—The Jacobins were opposed to the Girondists in the Legislative Assembly. They were so called because its members belonged to the Jacobin Club. They used to assemble in the club and held discussions on political matters and formulated their policies. They wanted to abolish monarchy in France and establish Republic based on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. As compared to the Girondists, they were coarse, ill-educated and unscrupulous. Their policy was very cruel and ferocious. They were realists and practical. They believed in using all kinds of means, legal or illegal, to achieve their ends. They were practical politicians who were prepared to run great risks. Its leaders belonged to the middle class. They were lawyers, businessmen, clerks and writers etc. Danton, Robespierre, Marat, St. Just and Robert were prominent among them. They were all hot-blooded terrorists. They were good orators and organisers.

They were extremist revolutionaries and more efficiently and thoroughly organised through their clubs spread all over the country. They were highly centralised and worked according to the policy framed by their Central Club. The Jacobins had great influence in politics because of these clubs.

2. **Work of Jacobins**—These clubs believed in the sovereignty of the people. They were of the opinion that law must be based on the will of the people and that the Government should also act according to the will of the people. People must keep an eye on the activities of the government. Those who flouted the public opinion and acted against it were traitors and deserved punishment. These ideals gave rise to rift and dictatorial tendencies in the country. It spread chaos, anarchy and disorder. It led to the establishment of 'Rule of Terror' in France. There were revolts at various places. The robbers and dacoits held sway and there was a sort of civil war in the country. The Jacobins took full advantage of this situation. They brought the National Guard and the Commune of Paris under their control and increased their power and influence. They annihilated the Girondists by the use of force and established their Supremacy in France. It has been rightly said, "*The Jacobins controlled the Paris Commune ; the Paris Commune controlled policies of Paris and the policies of Paris controlled France.*"

After assuming the sovereignty, they established 'Reign of Terror' in France. They were the strong champions of terror. They tried to solve the problems of their country through terror. They suppressed their opponents and enemies and saved their country from internal revolts and foreign aggression. For the success of the 'Reign of Terror' in France, they followed the policy of 'Blood and Iron'. The Committee of Public Safety, the Committee of General Security, Revolutionary Tribunal and Guillotine were the chief organs of their work. Any body could be imprisoned according to the Law of Suspects and punished by the Revolutionary Tribunal. Through these means, they destroyed their enemies,hanged the leaders of the Girondists and put an end to their power and influence. The National Army of Carnot helped them a lot to achieve this end. They tried to control the rising prices by the"*Law of Maximum*'. Metric system was also introduced in France to bring about uniformity in weight and measures. Efforts were also made to prepare a civil code in the country.

The Jacobins tried to reduce the influence of Christianity in France. Herbert proposed the 'Worship of Reason' and Robespierre sponsored the Worship of the Supreme Being. In religious matters, both the leaders of the Jacobin club and the Girondists were diametrically opposed to each other. After their Herbert Rebespierre death, religious freedom was granted to all in France.

The Revolution became a terrorist movement on account of the policy followed by the Jacobins. The chaos, anarchy and the 'Reign of Terror' terrified the people. Their policy proved harmful for the Revolution. But the Jacobins were very successful in their foreign policy. Carnot became the chief war-policy maker. He prepared many useful war plans, organised the army and faced the enemy bravely on war fronts. He was able to check the advance of the enemies by defeating them at many battles. His success enabled him to earn the title of *'Organiser of Victory'*.

From the above description, it is clear that the Jacobins improved the internal condition in France and saved the country from foreign danger but the internal differences among its leaders weakened this party. Its leaders Herbert, Robespierre and St. Just were guillotined. After this, the Reign of Terror came to an end and the reins of the government passed into the hands of Thermidorians.

This incident is known as the Thermidorian Reaction in the history of France and took place on 28th July, 1794, when Robespierre was slaughtered. Thermidorians followed the middle-path. The Revolutionary Tribunal was ended. The Paris Commune and the Jacobin Clubs were dissolved. Powers of the Committee of Public Safety were restricted. In this way, the era of destructions came to an end and peace was restored in France.

Causes of the Downfall of the Jacobins—The following causes led to the downfall of the Jacobins :—(1) The leaders of both the parties were killed during the Revolution and the Reign of Terror. In this way the Reign of Terror came to an end. The Jacobins succeeded in *suppressing internal revolts and external aggression.* Now France was safe internally and extrenally. There was now no need of any terrorist party like the Jacobin Club.

(2) The leaders of the Jacobin club were hot blooded terrorists

and strong advocates of the Reign of Terror. They followed the policy of 'Blood and Iron' to solve all the problems. *People were tired of the Reign of Terror and bloodshed.* Thousands of people had been killed and there was discontentment in France. People had started hating the Jacobins and their faith in these terrosists dwindled fast.

(3) The Jacobins had committed atrocities through the Committee of Public Safety, the Committee of General Security, the Revolutionary Tribunal and Guillotine since they were the chief organs of their operation. *The life and property of the people were not secure.* Their atrocities made the people shudder with fear. The Jacobins had lost all faith and people had no sympathy for them. People were tired of them and wanted to get rid of their rule.

(4) The leaders of the Jacobin club *began to interfere in the religious matters also.* Herbert established 'Religion of Reason' and Robespierre laid great stress on the worship of the Supreme Being. People hated them for their dual policy.

(5) The Jacobins leaders such as Marat, Danton, Herbert and Robespierre were the main source of the strength of this party. With the passage of time, *there was rift in the party.* Each leader organised a group of his own. Danton was in favour of moderate policy. His followers were known as Dantonists. Robespierre was the leader of the extremists and favoured fundamental changes in the religion. His followers were called Robespierrists while the followers of Herbert were known as Herbertists. Mutual jealousy, differences and rift brought about the downfall of this party.

(6) First of all, Robespierre attacked Herbert with the help of Danton. He got a resolution passed in the Convention against Herbert and his followers and succeeded in putting them to death. After that, he preached that the moderate policy followed by Danton was very harmful and got rid of him also. Robespierre's policy of Terror and Suppression struck terror in the minds of the upper class people and they began to hate him and his party.

(7) After the fall of Herbert and Danton, the powers of the party were assumed by Robespierre. He became the Dictator of France. People in general were afraid of him and hated him. He even began to suspect the members of his own party. He prepared a list of his opponents with the help of St. Just. Those persons began to oppose him and made up their minds to put an end to his power. At last, they succeeded in getting him arrested. Later on, he was put to death. *His death shook the very foundations of this party.*

(8) After the death of Robespierre, Thermidorian became powerful. They followed the middle path. Paris Commune was dissolved. Restriction were imposed on the powers of the Committee of Public Safety. In this way the 'Reign of Terror' and Domination of the Jacobin Club came to an end.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **The Jacobins**—Members of the Jacobin club ; Less civilised and un-educated as compared to the Girondists but were realists and practical,' favoured Republic ; had strong organisation ; believed in the sovereignty of people ; Marat, Danton, Herbert and Robespierre were their leaders ; dominated the Paris Commune and the Mob.

2. **Work of the Jacobins**—(1) Established Reign of Terror. (2) Saved France from internal revolts and foreign dangers. (3) Interfered in religious matters. (4) Carnot's successful foreign policy. (5) Mutual rift and Robespierres policy of getting his party members executed. (6) Robespierre's execution. Thermidorian Reaction and end of the power of this party.

3. **Causes of the Downfall**—(1) No need of this party. (2) The Reign of Terror terrified the people. (3) This party lost faith of the people (4) Unnecessary interference in the religion. (5) Mutual rift in the party. (6) Robespierre's death weakened the party. (7) Thermidorian Reaction.

Comparison between the two Parties

Q. 4. What were the ideological differences between the Girondists and the Jacobins ?

Ans. Many political parties and clubs came into being during the Revolution in France who played an important role in the progress of the Revolution. Among these, the Girondists and the Jacobin Club were the most prominent. Both were opposed to each other and there was a struggle between them for establishing their supremacy in France. An attempt is being made below to compare these parties.

1. **Similarities between the two**—Though both the parties were opposed, yet there were many similarities between them.

(1) *Both the parties opposed the monarchical form of government* because they believed that monarchy was responsible for all the political, economic and social hardships of the people. Both favoured democracy, for they thought that democracy alone would lead to the good of the people and put an end to arbitrary rule and social inequality.

(2) *Both were against Louis XVI* and considered him to be the greatest enemy of the Revolution. Both suspected him and believed him to be the root cause of all the problems of France. Both held him responsible for their defeat against Austria because in their opinion, he used to pass on all military secrets to the enemy.

(3) *Both were fired with the zeal of the revolutionary spirit.* Both wanted to spread the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity not only in France but in other countries of Europe also. Both wanted to assume sovereignty to propagate these ideals.

(4) *Both the parties had many able, brave and patriotic leaders.* They were the strong supporters of the revolution and its principles. They were ready to make any sacrifice to further the cause of the revolution.

(5) *Both the parties developed out of political clubs.* It is said that the people of France exhibited keen interest and curiosity in the current national political, social and economic matters, and often

discussed these individually as also in some clubs and circles. Louis XVI summoned the States-General after a long period of abeyance. Members of different estates came to take part in it. Different groups met in clubs to discuss the political policies. In this way, many clubs came into being. These clubs gave birth to political parties like the Girondists and the Jacobins etc

2. Dissimilarities between the Two —

(1) Most of the *leaders and members* of the Girondists belonged to the district of Gironde situated in south-west of France. This is why they were called the Girondists. The Jacobins arose out of the Jacobin Club.

(2) There was a *great difference between the organisation of the two parties.* The Jacobins were thoroughly and efficiently organised. They had a strong net-work of clubs in more than 2,000 towns and villages. They were affiliated to the Central club in Paris and worked according to the policy framed by the Central club. They were highly disciplined. **Hazen** says —

> "*Affiliated with the mother club in Paris, they (Jacobin Clubs) formed a vast net-work, virtually receiving orders from Paris, developing great talent for concerted action. The discipline that held this voluntary organisation together was remarkable and rendered it capable of forced and decisive action.*"

On the other hand, the organisation of the Girondists was loose and they were not disciplined.

(3) The Girondists had no *influence over Paris, the Commue of Paris and the Mob of Paris.* Their influence was restricted to cities other than Paris, provinces and districts, On the other hand, the Paris Commune and the Mob were controlled by the Jacobins. This was the main cause of the success of the Jacobins and conflict between the two parties.

(4) The members of both the parties belonged to the middle class but *the Girondists were richer than the Jacobins.*

(5) There was a *great difference between the ability of the members* of the two parties. As compared with the Girondists, the Jacobins were ill-educated, coarse and unscrupulous, cruel and corrupt.

(6) *The leaders of the Jacobin club were realists and had practical experience of life.* On the contrary, the leaders of the Girondists were idealists and impractical They had a bookish outlook on the world. They got inspiration from the philosophy of Plutarch. They were greatly influenced by the Republics of Rome and Greece and their way of governing the people. Thus they championed the cause of Republicanism. **Hazen** says —

> "*Their (Girondists) was a bookish outlook upon the world. They were fed upon Plutarch and boundless was their admiration for the ancient Greeks and Romans. They were republicans because they imagined that*

in a republic, they would themselves find a better chance to shine and irradiate the world."

(7) The *Girondists were in favour of a moderate policy.* They were opposed to anarchy and the use of force. On the other hand, the Jacobins favoured chaotic conditions and used fair and unfair means to achieve their end. They were terrorists and never hesitated to creat disorder and use force to gain their aim. It is said, "*They were practical and alert politicians who were prepared to venture great risks.*"

(8) The Girondists wanted to abolish monarchy and so sought support not only from France but also from other countries of Europe. So they *liked to wage war against Austria and European countries.* The Jacobins were not in favour of war because that thought that war would increase the power of the Girondists and add to the sufferings of the people.

(9) The leaders of the *Girondists did not want to assume sovereignty by controlling the Paris Commune.* They always opposed the anarchy spread by the Commune and violent methods. They used to say that Paris is one of the 83 departments of France and its influence and power should not exceed the proper limit. A Girondist leader **Isnard** once said, "*Paris be reduced to ashes so that posterity may ask on which side of Seine it stood.*"

The Jacobins wanted to establish their power and annihilate the Girondists through their control over the Paris Commune. They wanted to see the capital grow more powerful. They gave much important to Paris and used to say :—

"*Paris is the centre of light. Paris has made the revolution and when it shall perish, there will no longer be a revolution.*"

(10) *Their attitude and reactions towards September Massacre were different.* The Jacobins held the king and his supporters responsible for the defeat of France against Austria and slaughtered thousands of suspects. The Girondists hated the violence of the Jacobins and wanted to punish the culprits involved in the September Massacre. This created bad blood between the two parties.

(11) *They differed on the question of deciding the fate of Louis XVI.* The Girondists wanted to execute the king after a trial. But the Jacobins executed the king after a formal trial which was a mere eye-wash as a matter of fact.

(12) There were *religious differences* also between the two parties. The Girondists were atheists. They had no faith in God and were deadly opposed to Christianity, the Church of Rome and influence of the Pope. The Jacobins believed in God, worshipped Reason and the Supreme Being.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Similarities—**1. Opposed monarchy and supported republic ; 2. Opposed Louis XVI and thought him to be enemy of the revolution ; 3. Favoured the principles of Revolution and wanted to spread them in the world ; 4,

Leaders of both the parties wete brave and patriotic. 5. Both developed out of clubs.

Dissimilarities—1. The Girondists belonged to the district of Gironde but Jacobins were the members of the Jacobin club ; 2. The organisation of the Jacobins was more efficient than that of the Girondists ; 3, Paris, Paris Commune and the Mob were controlled by the Jacobins and not by the Girondists ; 4. The Girondists were richer than the Jacobins ; 5. As compared to the Girondists, the Jacobins were less civilized and ill-educated ; 6. The Girondists were idealists and impractical while the Jacobins were realists and practical ; 7. The Girondists followed a moderate policy and were not in favour of the use of force. The Jacobins were extremists and favoured the use of violence and force ; 8. The Girondists wanted to wage a war against Austria while the Jacobins opposed it ; 9. The Girondists wanted to dissolve the Paris Commne but the Jacobins wanted to maintain it ; 10. Their attitude towards the September Massacre was also different ; 11. Both differed on the question of deciding the fate of the king ; 12. They were opposed in religious matters.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. Form an estimate of the work of the National Convention in France.
2. Describe briefly the domestic and foreign Policy of National Convention. How far was it successful ?
3. How did the National Convention face internal and external dangers threatening France ?
4. Write a brief note on the 'Reign of Terror' in France.
5. Who were the Girondists ? What role did they play in the French Revolution ?
6. What do you know about the Jacobins ? What part did they play in the French Revolution ?
7. Compare and contrast the Girondists and Jacobins.
8. Why did the Girondists fail in the struggle for power with the Jacobins.
9. Review carefully the work of the Jacobins and the Girondists in the French Revolution. (P.U. 1966 ; D.U. 1958)
10. What were the chief causes of difference between the Jacobins and the Girondists ? Account for the failure of the Girondists. (D.U. 1964)
11. What were the objects of the Girondist Party ? Do you think that with the fall of the Girondists, the cause of liberty in France was lost too ?
12. "Perhaps no Legislative Assembly in history has been called upon to solve such knotty problems as those which confronted the National Convention. It coped with all these questions with infinite industry and much success." (*Hayas*)
    Enumerate these problems and explain how the Convention saved France from internal disruption and foreign invasions ? (A.U. 1962)

PROMINENT LEAERS OF THE REVOLUTION

Q. 1. What part did the following leaders play in the Frenc Revolution—(a) Mirabeau (b) Lafayette (c) Abbe Sieyes (d Danton (e) Dr. Marat (f) Madame Roland (g) Robespierre ?

Or

Estimate the part played by Mirabeau, Danton, Marat and Robes pierre in the French Revolution.

(A.U. 1951, 54, 62

Or

Briefly review the role played by Mirabeau in the early stages o the revolution. Give a critical account of his career and ideas.

Ans.—Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau were the grea political philosophers of France. Their ideals of Liberty, Equality an Fraternity gave birth to the French Revolution in 1786. Being influen ced by these ideas Mirabeau, Lafayette, Abbe Sieyes, Danton, Marat Madame Roland and Robespierre tried to preach these ideals, abolis monarchy, destroy the special rights of the privileged class, establis Republic and set-up a new society based on equality and justice. I is desirable to have a glimpse into the career and work of these leaders To quote Ketelbey." "Only a nation sensitive to ideas and cultur could have produced Montesquiew ,Voltaire and Rousseau or havin produced than, listened to them.

1. Mirabeau (1749-91)

1. Early Life-Mirabeau played an important part in the early stage of the revolution. He was born in the province of Mirabeau in 1749 This city was situated on the bank of Durence river. He belonged to a noble family. He had very ugly features. He was a cripple and hi tongue was malformed. His face had marks of small-Pox. However, he had a strong body and it was said, "*His very ugliness was his power.*"

In spite of many defects, he had his qualities. He was an educated, wise and intelligent person. He was a very capable and efficient statesman. He was a man of great foresight. He had keen interest in history, politics and sociology. He was magnanimous and possessed sharp intellect. He had a brain and heart of fire.

He was neither an idealist nor a theorist. A realist to the very core, Mirabeau was one of the front ranking personalities of the Revolution. It has been rightly said, "He was the adventurer of genius in a dissolving society." A courageous and influential person, he was fiery orator, and was quite capable of infusing 'a new heart and ck'into the dejected hearts by his forceful speeches.

He was very ambitious and violent. He could not get on with relatives. Unscrupulous and cynical, he was sentenced to jail many es because of his illict relations with many women. So he was hated the people.

He was bold and courageous. He joined the Berry Cavalry giment but was imprisoned when this regiment was defeated. He t a chance to travel England, Holland and Prussia and acquired a od experience of life.. Carlyle says —

"In these strange way-farings, what has he not seen and tried"

He was very much impressed by the parliamentary form of the vernment established in England and wanted this type of govern-nt in France also.

His Work—After his travels in foreign countries, Mirabeau came ck to France and began to take active part in politics. In 1789, he ed to become the member of the 1st Estate but he was unsuccessful. en he leaned towards the Third Estate and was elected to it. Hence rth, he took leading part in carrying the revolution forward. He came a famous leader by dint of his qualities of head and art.

Mirabeau was a *strong advocate of monarchy* but was deadly posed to the unlimited powers of the monarch. He was of the view at the king should use his powers for the welfare of the people. When e king summoned the States-General on 23rd June, 1789, he declared at three estates should meet separately. Mirabeau criticised the king r siding with the privileged class and refused to meet separately. hen the members of the Third Estate met in the Tennis Court to take ath, Mirabeau declared that they would not disperse until the king cepted their demands Louis XVI had no other alternative but to gree to their demands and the States-General was transformed into ational Assembly and Mirabeau became its President.

Mirabeau opposed unlimited monarchy but favoured a constitutional monarchy. He was the only member of the National Assembly ho had full knowledge of the situation and the constitutional prolems. He advised Louis XVI to become a constitutional head as also o bless the revolution. He wanted to establish limited monarchy in rance as it prevailed in England. He used to say that strict separaion between the executive and the legislature was very harmful and ould ultimately lead to chaos and anarchy. Many members of the ational Assembly began to suspect him for working hand and glove vith the king.

Mirabeau was the *well-wisher of* the *king* and the royal family. He dvised the king to become the constitutional head. He opposed the eclaration of the Rights of Man and said that more heed should be paid to duties than rights. He advised the king not to encourage wa He also asked him to escape the Mob and fly from France. The ki refused to do so under the influence of his queen. The king and t queen did not extend their co-operation to him as they suspected hi and had no faith in him.

Mirabeau was also *suspected by the National Assembly* becau he was the supporter of monarchy. In order to put a check to his pow and influence, they passed a law in 1789 preventing the members the National Assembly from accepting a post of minister in the king' cabinet. Mirabeau opposed this law tooth and nail. The members the National Assembly turned against him. Mirabeau had a larg sum of money from the king to clear his debts. The result was th the people began to suspect him all the more.

Mirabeau also worked as a *member of Paris Commune and Jacc bin club*, president of National Assembly and commander of th National Guard. Mirabeau's compromise formula between th authority and democracy did not succeed because both the king an the assembly suspected him and even the Jacobins thought of him as traitor. According to **Prof. R.L. Mukerjee**, "*His policy of statesma like compromise was impossible with an introvert king, a jealous assembl and populace leavened by Rousseau's doctrines.*"

Mirabeau left no stone unturned to *save the country*, the king an the people from the violence, bloodshed and evils of the rule of th Mob. However, he remained unsuccessful in his efforts. He expresse his grief in these words before his death.

"It is clear that we are perishing—royalty, authority, the whol nation. The Assembly is killing itself and us with it."

"I carry in my heart the death-dirge of monarchy, the dead remain of it will now be the spoil of the factions."

Mirabeau was a *very popular leader*. He died on 5th April, 1791. His funeral procession was nine miles long and thousands of people and the representatives of the king and the Jacobin Clubs joined it. There was mourning in Paris for three days. All this speaks of his popularity and greatness. It has been rightly said about his greatness.

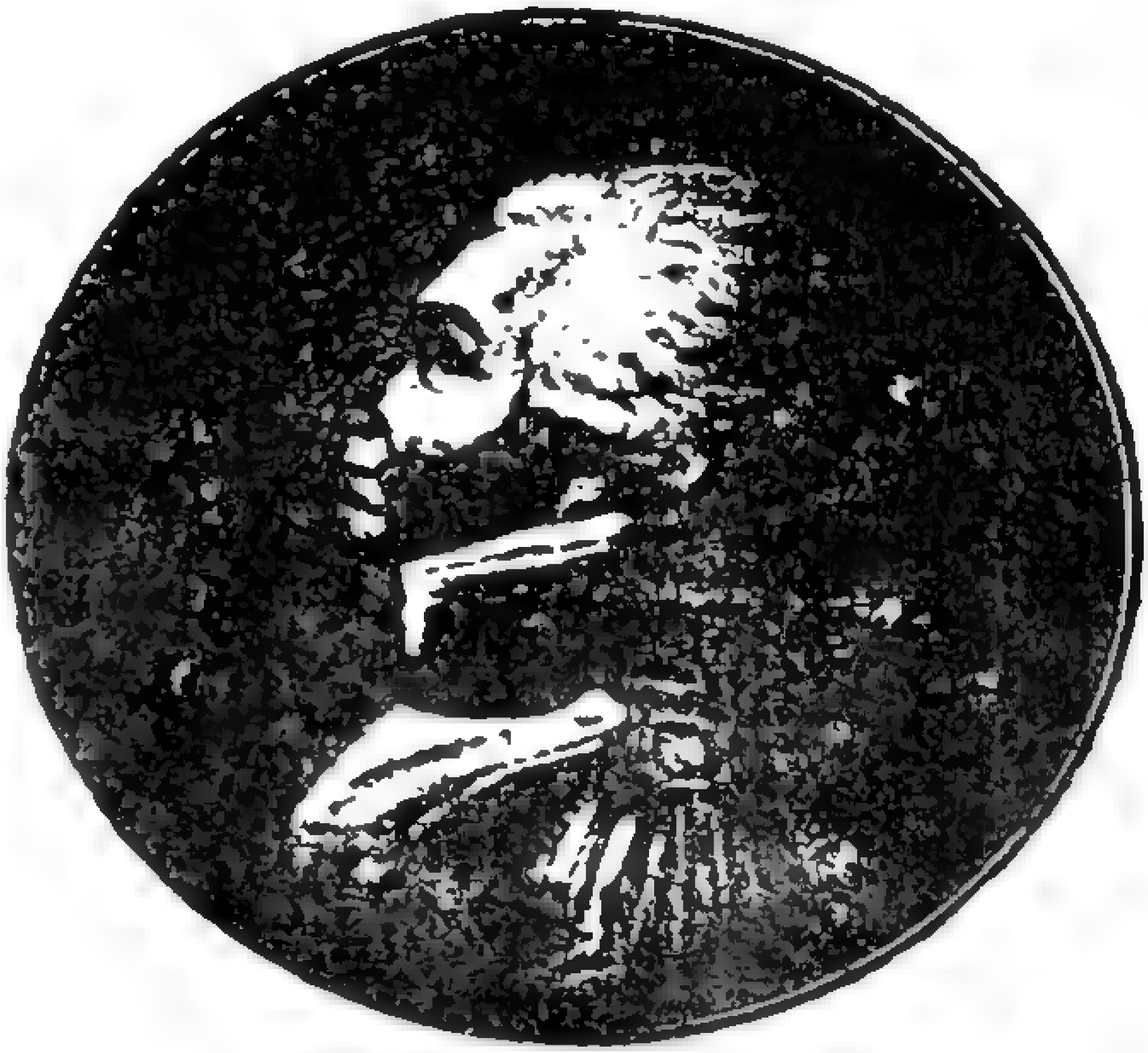
"With him perished greatest man of the revolutionary epoch and the last of the French monarchy."

Lafayette (1757-1834)

1. **His Early Life**—Lafayette was born in an aristocratic family in 1757. Though he belonged to the privileged class, yet he was very much impressed with the 'Social Contract' of Rousseau and his ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. He became the staunch supporter of the revolution. He was a true patriot, brave, bold and courageous. However, he was neither a statesman nor possessed an attractive personality like Mirabeau.

Lafayette was an idealist and a very emotional person. He was very happy when the Americans declared war against England in 1775 under the able leadership of George Washington because he thought that the Americans wanted to give a practical shape to the ideals of Rousseau. He helped the people of the colonies in America and fought gainst the English. Washington and the people of America paid a reat tribute to his bravery and courage. Lafayette wanted to follow he policy of George Washington.

His Work—Lafayette worked with great zeal in the early years of the Revolution and he became very famous. He tried to preach the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity for a long time. He was elected to the States-General in 1789 and he worked wholeheartedly for the establishment of the National Assembly. He made declaration of the fundamental human rights. He worked as the Vice-President of the National Assembly and became popular on account of supporting the new constitution. He believed in the constitutional monarchy and advised Louis XVI to act as a constitutional head, but the king and the queen suspected him and had no faith in him.



Lafayette

After the fall of Bastille, the revolution took a violent turn. Chaos and anarchy spread in Paris. In order to check disorder and to restore peace, Lafayette *founded the National Guard* and became its president. He did praise-worthy work of protecting the life and property of the people. He had great influence in the Paris Commune also. He guarded the palace where the king and the queen were kept as prisoners.

In spite of his good qualities, *Lafayette had certain defects* which earned him a bad name. Louis XVI tried to escape to Austria secretly and the people suspected that Lafayette was helping the king to desert France. The Mob of Paris assembled to demonstrate in favour of the republic and against monarchy. Lafayette ordered the National Guard to fire to disperse the Mob. Thousands of people died and they began to hate Lafayette.,Lafayette was not a man of violent tamperament, so he could not lead the revolutionaries when the revolution took a violent turn. Lafayette lost his fame and popularity when the violent leaders like Danton and others took the leadership of the revolution in their hands. Lafayette retired to the countryside in 1791 to lead a peaceful life.

After leading a peaceful life for some time, he again began to take *active part in politics.* He did not support the mob when it attacked the royal palace on 10th August, 1792. Under these circumstances, he organised an army and attacked Belgium but was defeated. He had to spend some years of his life as a prisoner in Austria and Prussia. He was fortunate enough to get a chance to return to France in 1799.

Lafayette *severely opposed Napoleon* when he took the reins of government in his hands and became the emperor of France. After the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 in the battle of Waterloo, Lafayette tried to destroy the administrative system set up by him. He went to America in 1824. The people gave him a warm welcome and honoured him. He became the leader of the revolution of July, 1830 and worked enthusiastically as a president of the National Guard. He died in 1834 at the age of 77.

3. Abbe Sieyes (1784-1836)

1. His Early Life—Abbe Sieyes was born in 1784. Born in a middle class family, Sieyes' father had been a 'Registrar of Deeds'. Sieyes had sharp intellect and extra-ordinary thinking power. After his education, he began to take part in politics with great enthusiasm. He studied the ideals of the great political philosophers of Europe. He was an idealist philosopher and had his independent views. He was not attached to any political party. His parents wanted to see him as a clergyman but this profession was not to his liking. He had a great passion for politics and considered himself to be a perfect politician. He used to say —

"The science of politics is one in which, I think, I am perfect."

He gave proof of his learning and wisdom by doing praise-worthy work in the formulation of various consititutions during the revolutionary period in France.

His **Work**—He was elected to the States-General as a representative of the clergy but, he advocated the cause of the commoners there. He had compiled his ideas about the Commoners in a book which had been written in question-answer form. These questions and answers are full of deep meanings. He became very famous and popular after the publication of this book and it sold like hot cakes. He himself put the questions and gave their answers. Some of them are given below —

"What is the Third Estate ?" he asked

"Everything."

"What has it been in politics upto now ?"

"Nothing."

"What does it desire ?"

"To become something."

Abbe Sieyes *did a lot of work in the preparation of the new constitution* and the fundamental human rights mentioned in it. But he refused to express his opinion on these topics because he thought that the excited persons were unable to understand his ideas. He also worked as a President of the National Assembly. He was the staunch supporter of the constitutional monarchy.

He was elected as a member of the National Convention in 1792. *He played an important role in framing the new constitution.* He prepared a very useful plan for education but it could not be put into practice for paucity of funds. The Jacobins succeeded in controlling the Paris Commune and the Mob and established 'Reign of Terror' in France. Abbe Sieyes was deadly opposed to this rule. He criticized the policy of 'Blood and Iron' followed by the Jacobins and tried to crush it, but he failed in his design on account of the majorty of the Jacobins. As a result, he remained aloof from the revolution for sometime.

After leading a peaceful life for some time, he again *jumped into the political arena* and began to take part in politics. He also worked as a member of the Committee of Public Safety and helped in the formulation of the Constitution of 1795 as also passage of many laws to check terrorism.

After the dissolution of the Convention on October 26, 1795, the reins of the administration passed into the hands of the Directory which consisted of five members. *Abbe Sieyes was also an elected member of the Directory.* He also served his country under the Consulate. He was very much impressed by Napoleon's ability and thought that he could give a proper lead to the country. He helped Napoleon to become the first Counsel and Emperor of France. He felt disappointed when Napoleon also began to act in an arbitrary manner but, he remained loyal to him. After the fall of Napoleon, he left France but came back in 1830 and gave his best service to the country during the July Revolution of 1830. This great statesman and true patriot died in 1836. Leaders like Mirabea also praised him for his service to the country. The Jacobins also paid tributes to him for his contribution to the cause of the commoners and his revolutionary zeal and called him a **'Revolutionary Man.'**

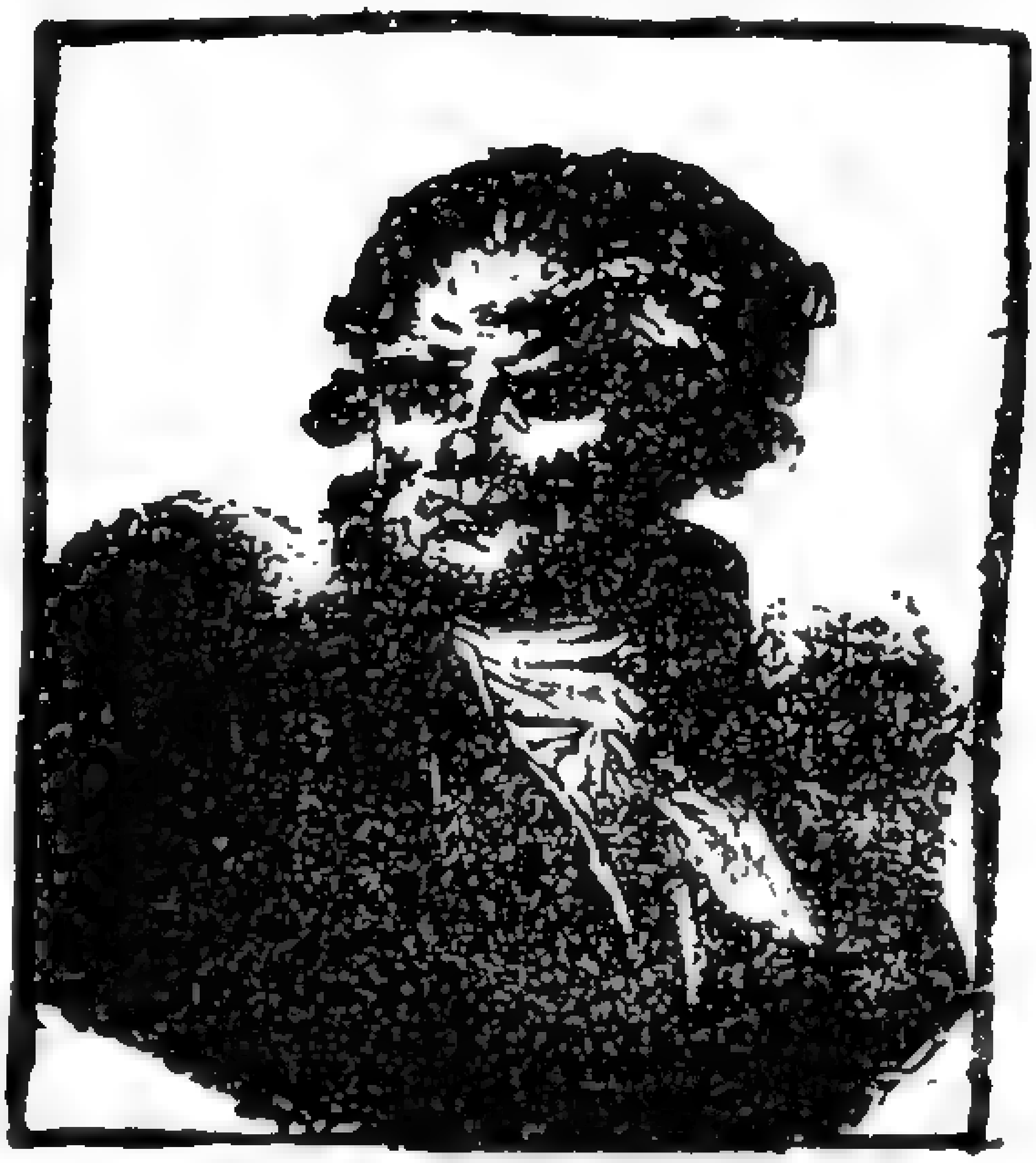
4. Danton (1759-1794)

1. **His Early Life**—Danton was one of the prominent leaders of the Jacobins and the Revolution. He was born in 1759 in Champaigne in the family of a peasant. After getting higher education, he shifted to Paris, and began to practise as a lawyer and soon

became very famous. He used to say, *"Paris is the brain and heart of the country and the sentinel of nation."* He was very fond of literature. He was a very able, learned and wise person. He was a skilful debator and an orator. He could keep his audience spell-bound and infuse new spirit and life into them. He was a practical statesman. He was a patriot to the backbone and worshipper of the Revolution. **Madelin** says :—

"He was French to the very marrow of his bones and was a volcano with the purest flame."

He was obstinate and courageous but not blood-thirsty. He was dutiful, liberal and magnanimous. He had a very kind and soft heart.



Danton, a Jocobin Leader

2. **His Work**—In the beginning, he supported monarchy but king's foolishness and his stupid actions made him a staunch republican. He left no stone unturned for the progress of the Revolution and the establishment of a Republic. This is why he was called the Hercules of the Revolution He belonged to the middle class but he worked for the betterment of the lot of the lower order. People praised him and called him the Mirabeau of the middle class It has been rightly said, *"What the nobleman Mirabeau was to the Bourgeoise, the bourgeoise Danton was to the Parisian Proletariate.*

He *founded the Cordelier Club* with the help of Marat and Desmoulins to oppose the king. He was the member of the Legislative Assembly. He fully understood the importance of the Paris Commune. He wanted to set up democratic form of government with the co-operation of the Paris Commune. He wanted to dominate it and change it into a revolutionary Commnue to further the cause of the Revolution.

In 1792, France had to face grave situation when the army of the Allies were advancing towards France. The commander of the Prussian army, Duke of Brunswick, issued a proclamation threatening to raise Paris to the ground if the people injured any member of the royal family. *Danton faced this situation boldly.* He stormed the king's palace on 10th August 1792 with his followers. He disgraced the king, imprisoned him and put many of his followers to death. To face the external danger, he organised a strong and powerful army with the co-operation of Carnot. Compulsory military training was introduced in the country. In this way, many soldiers were trained and sent to different fronts of war. The French army defeated the Allies at many places. In this way, Danton suppressed the internal and external enemies of France and saved the country and the revolution. Danton was the chairman of the King's Council. In fact, he was the de facto ruler and dictator of France. He dominated the council and the Paris Commune. His policy to annihilate the enemies has been expressed by him in the following words :—

"The Revolution is between the two fires—the enemy at the frontier, and the enemy at home. In my opinion, the way to stop the enemy is to terrify the royalists. Audacity, more audacity, and always greater audacity should be our watch-word."

Louis XVI was called a traitor and after a nominal trial he was guillotined on 21st January, 1793. King's execution created bad blood between the Girondists and the Jacobins. The peasant in the south raised a standard of revolt against the revolutionaries. There were many demonstrations in various cities as well. Many countries of Europe formed a coalition and waged a war against France. To crush the enemies of the revolution, *Danton set up Committee of Public Safety.* Thousands of people were slaughtered through Law of Suspects and the Revolutionary Tribunal. In this way, there started a Reign of Terror in the country.

Danton was not blood thirsty. He did not like to continue the Reign of Terror unnecessarily. He was in favour of following a moderate policy after the defeat of the internal and the external enemies. At this his own companions became his opponents and girded up their loins to put an end to his power and influence. They soon got a chance to do so .France defeated Austria at the battle of Valmy but Dumouriez joined the camp of the enemy. The army sent to conquer Holland returned without any success. Danton was entrusted with the task of investigating into this matter. The Girondists levelled a charge against Danton that he wanted to become the independent ruler and dictator of France with the help of Dumouriez. Danton delivered an eloquent speech in the Convention and proved himself innocent. Robespierre continued conspiring against him because he wanted to become the leader of the revolution and assume sovereignty. At last he succeeded in his designs. Danton was arrested alongwith his companions and put to death on 5th April, 1794. His death was deeply mourned by the people because he loved them. With his fall, France lost a statesman who could possibly have dominated the course of events.

At the time of his death, he said to the hangmen :—
"Show my head to the people. It is worth showing."

Seeing the selfishness of Robespierre, he addressed him saying :
"O, Vile Robespierre, the scaffold claims you too".

Some writers are of the view that Danton was not a man of principles and cannot be given a high place in the history of the revolution. But there is no denying the fact that *he was brave, courageous and liberal.* He was the true lover of the country and the revolution and he worked throughout his life for their safety and protection He set up a strong government in the couatry and defeated the army of Prussia. He tried to remove the differences between the Girondists and the Jacobins and organise the republicans for the welfare of the people. He did not favour endless and useless bloodshed and take the revolution towards anarchy. The importance of his work has been summed up by **Grant** and **Temperley** in the following words :—

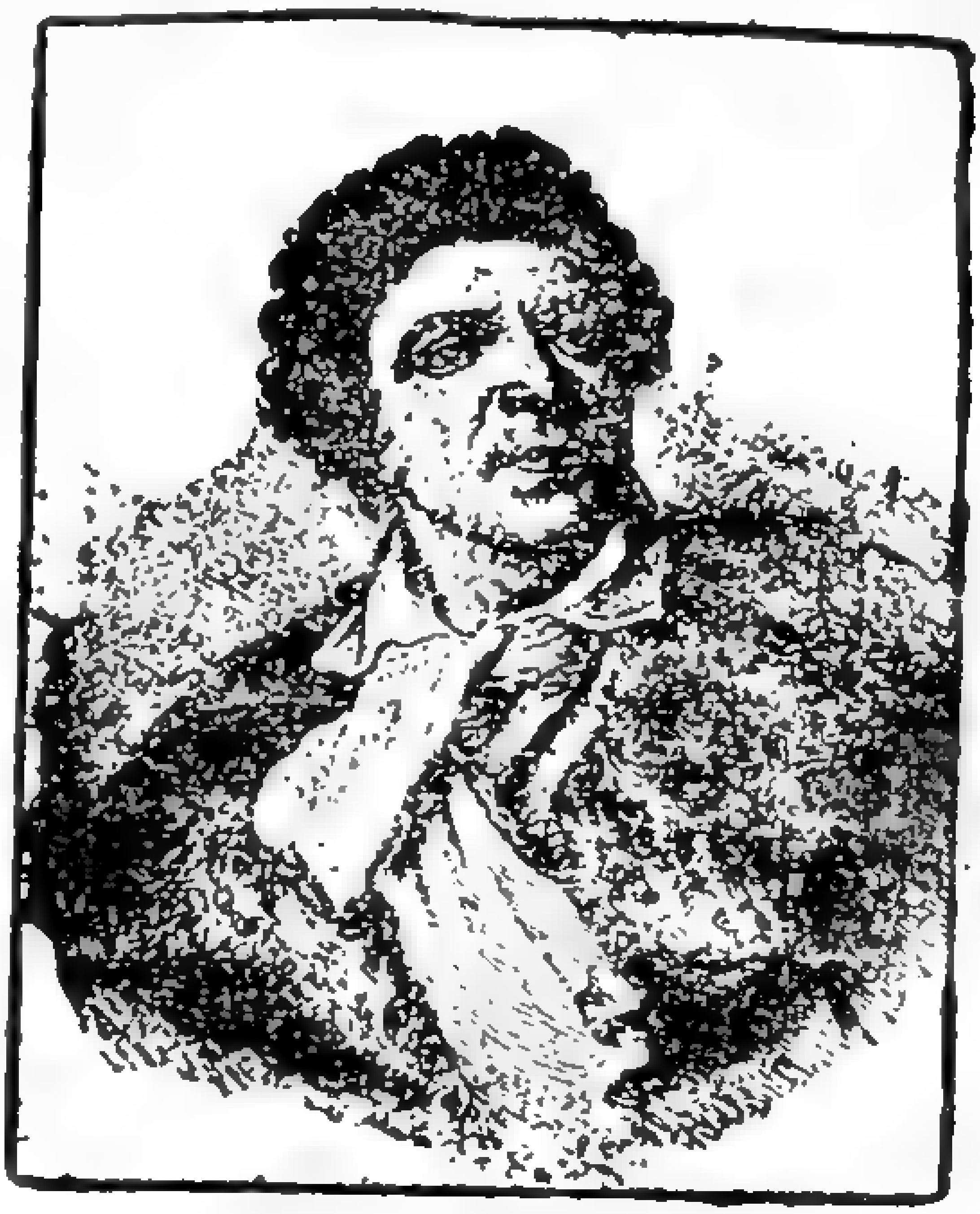
"The figure of Danton is a somewhat strange one in the history of Revolution. He was often regarded as one of the most blood-stained of the Jacobins. He had advocated in the crisis of August 1792, 'Audacity and always audacity'. Yet the more his career is scrutinised the more clearly do we see that, though he was capable of violent action when occasion seemed to call for it, his constant effort was to prevent the revolution from falling into the abyss af anarchy and bloodshed which we knew awaited it. He desisted to return in many ways to ancient methods, he advocated, at a time when it was dangerous to do so, mercy- authority and respect for government. Jacobin with the Girondist party, and he made overtures to them jor that end."

5. Dr. MARAT (1742-1793)

1. His Early Life and Character—Marat was born in 1742 in France. He belonged to an ordinary family. He worked as a doctor and served under Count of Artois for some time. He had great interest in Physics. The University of Scotland honoured him by conferring the degree of Doctrate upon him for his research work in Physics. He was very fond of writing books and editing newspapers. He was very brave, bold and fearless. He championed the cause of the poor and had true sympathy for them He was always ready to make any sacrifice and undergo any hardship for the welfare of the people. He loved the people and the people worshipped him like an angel. The king and the officers tyrannised him in many ways. So he had to live in cells and sewers to escape them. The result was that he caught many skin diseases. But he continued to fight for the cause of the poor.

His Work—Dr. Marat is one of the four *eminent leaders and sponsors of the revolution.* He was attached to the Jacobin club. He began to take active part in the politics of the country after the summoning of the States-General. He was in favour of neither monarchy nor the parliamentary type of government prevailing in England. He favoured only that government which could really serve the people. He was a man of violent temperament. He edited a newspaper from 1719 to 1792. He criticized the king, the court, the clergymen and nobles He instigated the people against the anti-revolutionaries.

In 1792 the Paris Commune took up the leadership of the revolution and assumed sovereignty. It increased the influence of *Marat*



Dr. Marat

and he became an influential leader. The army of Prussia was advancing speedily towards France. Its commander, Duke of Brunswick, issuedt a declaration asking the people of France to surrender and hreatened them with dire consequences if they injured any member of the royal family. The situation became very serious. France had to face the enemy at the frontier and the enemy at home. There were revolts at many places. The Jacobins were determined to protect the country from internal troubles and external aggression. To maintain internal peace and security, the committee of Public Safety was set up and Reign of terror was established in France. Marat was the chief member of the Vigilance Committee. He was bloodthirsty. He took violent actions against the anti-revolutionaries and tried to suppress them with force. He used to say, *"We must establish the despotism of liberty to crush the despotism of king"*

He mady a *plan to terrify the royalists* and execute them on a large scale. He organised a group of marderers and thousands of men and women were slaughtered from 2nd to 6th September. This incident is known as the September Massacre and Marat was its leader. According to **Prof. Hazen** :—

"Day and after from September 2 to September 6, a cold blood murder of non-juring priests, of persons suspected or accused of aristocracy, of the innocent and guilty, of men and women, went in without trial without pity." Regarding his violent temperament, **Hazen** says:—

"He was one of the most blood-thirsty characters of the time."

But there is no denying the fact that whatever he did he did it for the success and safety of the revolution. By his policy of 'Blood and iron' he crushed the enemies of the Revolution and prepared the country to face the external danger.

Marat was elected member of the National Convention. Being tired of his violent policy, the Girondists sued him but they failed in their design. This infuriated Marat and he made up his mind to destroy the influence and power of the Girondists. On June 2, 1793 he besieged the hall where the National Convention was holding its meeting with the help of some soldiers and gunners. In this way he forced the Convention to pass a resolution for the imprisonment of 29 members of the Girondists. Thus the Jacobins became the masters of the Convention About his success, **Prof. Hazen** says :—

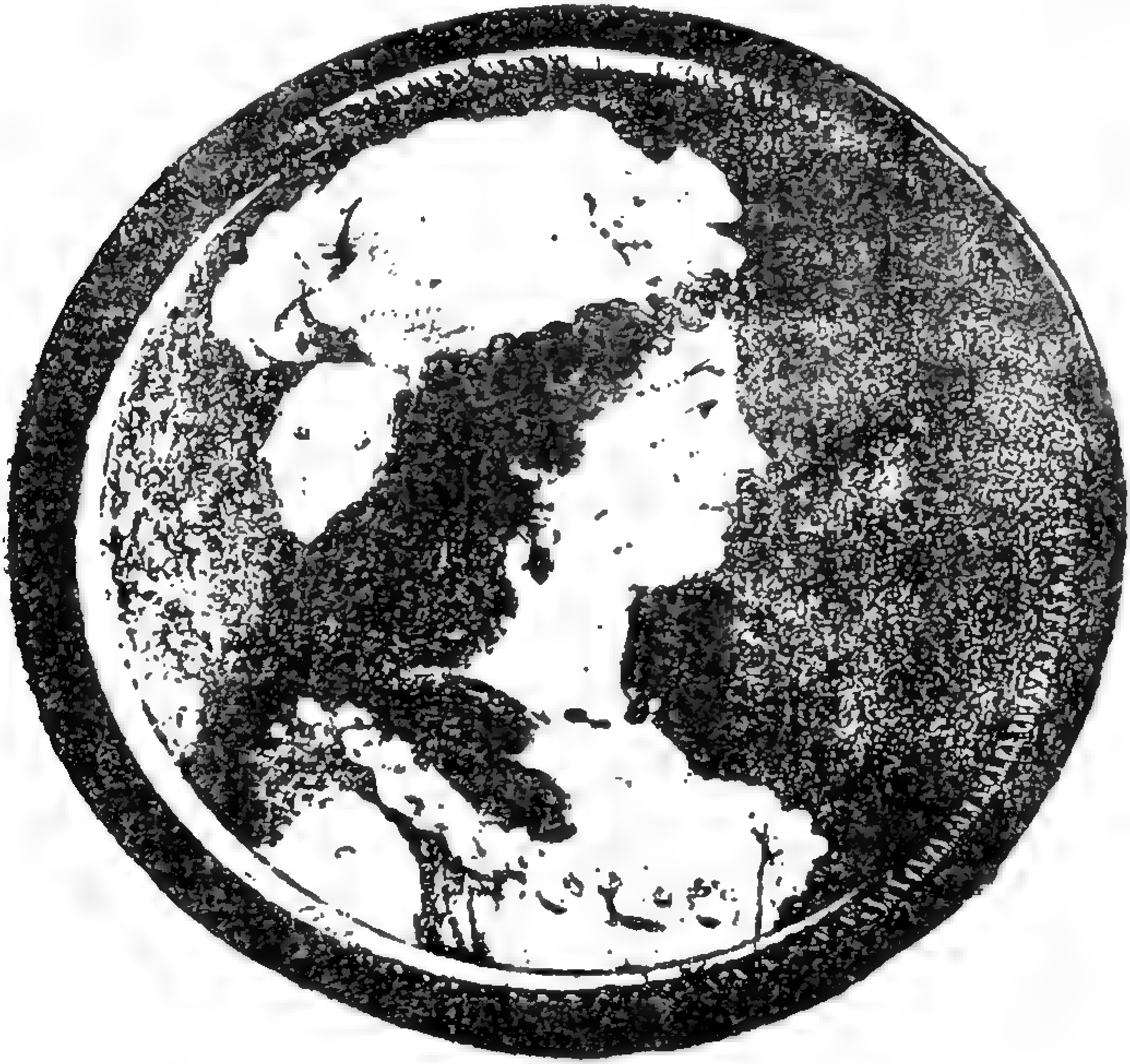
"This was Marat's day. He, self-styled friend of the people, was the leader of the movement from the beginning to the end of the fateful June 2, 1793. By this act, Jaeobins became the masters of the Convention."

People were tired of the tyrannies and violent activities of Marat. They thought him the devil incarnate In 1794, a lady of Nermady named Corday enterd his bathroom and killed him. She was attached to the Girondists. The people were sad at his death and he was deeply mourned by them. In order to honour him, his dead body was kept in the national tomb. His work and achievements have been rightly summed up in these words :—

"Whathever he did, was done only with a view to bring about the victory of the Revolution It was pointed out that with his love of people to guide him, Marat was the only revolutionary leader who had a real understanding of events and power of grasping them as a whole in their intricate bearing on one another. He foresaw what was to come far better than any of his contemporaries."

6. MADAME ROLAND

Madame Roland was a famous revolutionary woman. Her husband was a retired government officer. She was a beautiful and courageous lady. She had keen interest in politics and administration. She was a learned, wise and far-sighted woman. She was a skilful writer. In her writings she was always opposed to the arbitrary powers of the king and queen.



Madame Roland

Roland was very much *influenced by the political ideas of Rousseau* and wanted to establish a republican form of government in France based on these principles. She always spoke and wrote against the special rights of the privileged class.

Under her leadership, the Girondists *did remakable work for the progress of the revolution.* She had much to her credit to organise this party. The Girondist leader Buzot was her lover. The meetings of this party were held in her house and here they discussed political problems and formulated their policy. They assumed sovereignty of the state from March, 1792 to July 1792. Roland was all in all in the cabinet of Buzot. According to **Hazen** :—

"*For the real head of this group* (*Girondists*) *that had its hour upon the stage and then was heard no more in the deafening clamour of the later vevolution was Madame Roland, their bright particular star.*"

Roland *hated the Jacobins,* their terrorism and their leaders Danton, Marat, Robespierre etc. She opposed their 'Reign of Terror.' The Jacobin leaders committed many atrocities and slaughtered thousands of innocent men and women. The king and the queen fell prey to their Reign of Terror and they were murdered in cold blood. Roland was accused of instigating people and was hanged in 1794. At the time of her death, she said, "*Oh Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name.*"

7. ROBESPIERRE (1757-1794)

1. His Early Life and Character—Robespierre was born in 1757 in a city named Arras. He belonged to a middle class family. He took the degree of a Barrister from the Law School of the University of Paris and started his practice in his own town. Soon he became a prominent lawyer. After sometime he was appointed as a Justice of Crimes in a military tribunal but he lacked the courage to pronounce the death sentence on the criminals. So he resigned this post. He began to take active part in politics and organised the Jacobins with the co-operation of Danton and Marat. He was the staunch advocate of the political philosophy of Rousseau.

Robespierre was a *man of old ideas and traditions.* He used to wear silken socks and breeches. He was very fond of putting on fanciful clothes and curly hair. He did not hanker after wealth and the pleasures of life. He was an educated and cultured person. He was a skilful orator and writer. He was honest, truthful and dutiful. **Kropotkin** says :—

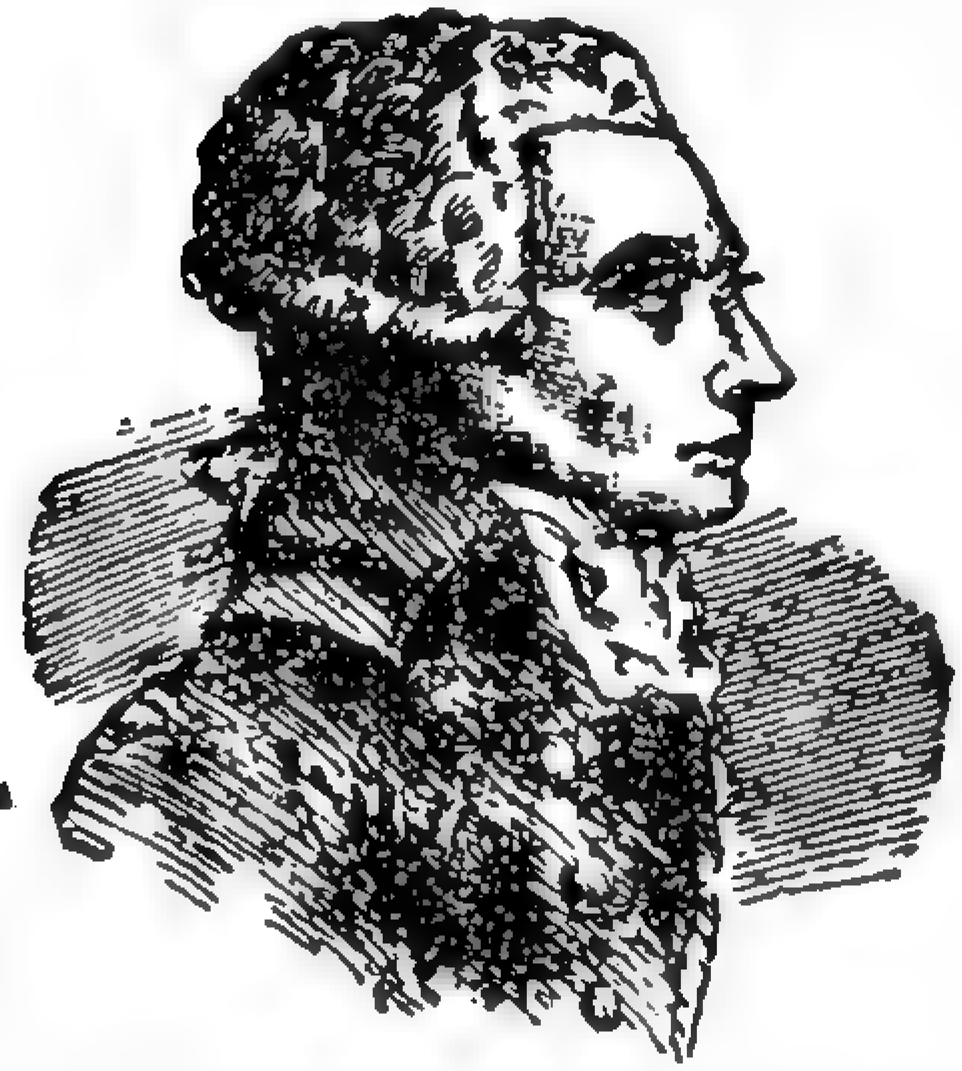
"*The fact is his fanaticism, which sprang from the purity of his intentions, kept him incorruptible in the midst of wide-spread corruption.*"

He was vain, obstinate and stubborn and committed attrocities and tyrannies like obstinate people. **Grant** and **Temperley** say :—

"*He was vain and his vanity was increased by the admiration of his friends. Thus, it comes to pass that during the period which this 'prophet of humanity and disciple of Rousseau dominated France, is also* *a period when the reign of terror was seen at its worst and most destrutive.*"

Robespierre had keen interest in the study of the philosopcal ideas. He was deeply influenced by the democratic principles and ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity as propounded by Rousseau. He had deeply studied 'Social Contract' and regarded Rousseau as his true teacher. He compared 'Social Contract' with the Bible and this book lay at his table upto the last moment of his life. He was honest and a man of high moral standard. He unsuccessfully tried to establish democracy based on the ideas of Rousseau and morality.

2. **His Work**—Robespierre was one of the *prominent leaders of the Revolution.* Before the election of the members of the States-General, he wrote a book in which he described the qualities of an ideal representative. People were very much influenced by it and they elected him member of the States General in 1789. Soon he occupied a foremost place among the leaders of the terrorists. Mirabeau used to call these leaders of the terrorists as 'The Thirty Voices." Mirabeau had a very high opinion of him and predicted that soon he would become a famous leader because he had full faith in his ideals. He was the staunch advocate of democracy and an opponent of monarchy.


Robespierre

He did not ocupy an important place in the National Assembly but was elected to the National Convention by virtue of his merits and sense of duty. He was the member of the Jacobin Club but he had his independent views and did not support all the principles and policies of the Jacobins. After the fall of the liberal leaders, the terrorists dominated the scene and Robespierre became their leader and was all in all in the Jacobin Club when Danton lost his influence. After the execution of the king, the power slipped out of the hands of the Girondists and Robespierre established his control over the Convention, the Paris Commune and the Committee of Public Safety. After taking the reins of administration in his hands, he tried to set up a democratic form of government based on the ideals of Rousseau.

He wanted to establish '*Reign of Virtue*' and to achieve this end he never hesitated to use terroristic methods and took full advantage of the 'Reign of Terror." He fully understood that it was impossible for him to realize the cherished dream of his life without taking recourse to these harsh measures. He used to say :—

"*The main spring of Government in times of peace is virtue ; in* *times of revolution it is virtue and intimidation—virtue without which intimidation is disastrous and intimidation without which virtue is impotent.*"

The Girondists started war against Austria and Prussia. *Robespierre opposed their policy* tooth and nail because he believed that war would be harmful for the cause of the revolution. The armies of Prussia were advancing towards Paris, Their Commander Duke of Brunswick issued a threatening proclamation. The situation became tense and gave. There were enemies at home and abroad. Robespierre was infuriated and he set up 'Reign of Terror' to crush the internal enemies and the external aggressors. In order to restore peace and order and suppress internal revolts, he organised the Committee of Public Safety. With the help of Law of Suspects and the Revolutionary Tribunal thousands of people were put to death. 1376 persons were sentenced to death in Paris alone from June 10 to July 27. There was mass killing in France during the Reign of Terror which continued from June 1793 to July 1794. Heads fell like slates. **Madelin** says :—

"*He killed people in Virtue—Virtue clad in chaste white was stained with blood.*"

Robespierre was *responsible for the establishment of Reign of Terror and mass-killing* With their help, he succeeded in crushing internal revolts and defeating external enemies. But we must remember that although he was not the cause in the establishment of Regin of Terror yet he was responsible in taking it to the extreme. He did not use it to realize his personal ambititions but to give a practical shape to his ideals. He wanted to establish Reign of Virtue, based on the principles of democracy, by using violent means. In support of Reign of Terror, he used to say—

"*Tyrants be set us without on our borders and friends of tyranny conspire within. In such a case the main principle of our policy must be this: to govern the people by reason and enemies of the people by terror. Terror is only justice more prompt, more vigorous, more inexorable and therefore, Virtue's true child.*"

Jacobin leader Herbert was an avowed enemy of Christianity and the Church of Rome. He believed in worship of the Reason. But Robespierre had no faith in it. After the fall of Danton and Herbert he put an end to this religion and sponsored a new religion in its place. It was known as the Worship of the Supreme Being. It preached the doctrine of unity of God, the might of the Supreme Being. His worship and the Immortality of the Soul Robespierre himself used to say :—

"*Atheism is aristocratic The idea of Supreme Being who watches the oppressed, innocent persons and who punishes triumphant crime is thoroughly democratic.*"

Great strees was laid on morality in this new faith. He took this idea from 'Social Contract.' He was of the view that morality is the only means of annihilating vice in the world. In his speeches and writings he preached virtue and morality and tried to bring hom its importance to the people; but his principle of morality was beyon the comprehension of the people. They could not understand hov to give a practical shape to this ideal and he also did not show then the way to do so.

A grand festival was held to inaugurate this new faith. A pro cession was taken out by the members of the Convention under th leadership of Robespierre. A large number of images were burn in the garden of Tuileris. But this new faith could not become popula with the people of France and ended with the death of Robespierre.

Robespierre *favoured the right to property*. To deprive a person of his private property was a great injustice in his eyes. But he could not give a practical shape to his high ideals. After coming to power he became so headstrong that he not only forfeited the property of the people but also slaughtered them ruthlessly.

From the above description it is clear that Robespierre *tried to dominate the political as well as religious sphere in France* and for sometime he remained a dictator and a prophet. There is no denying the fact that his ideas and ambitions were pure and attractive but the means adopted by him were terrifying and hateful. The result was that he earned a bad name and people began to hate him. He had to pay a heavy price for it and at last he was guillotined for his misdeeds.

3. **His Work**—The Jacobin leaders like Danton and Robespierre succeeded in crushing the internal and external enemies of France through the 'Reign of Terror'. After that Danton wanted to follow a moderate policy. Robespierre was opposed to it because he wanted to continue the *'Reign of Terror'*. These differences caused rift among the Jacobins.

Robespierre *wanted to become a dictator and all powerful*. So he was bent upon suppressing his opponents. He sought the cooperation of Danton, accused Herbert of being an atheist and guillotined him. Then he turned towards Danton and he did not like to spare him. He dominated the Convention and succeeded in getting him arrested. He was hanged afterwards. These heinous actions of Robespierre terrified the other leaders of the Jacobins and they began to hate and condemn him. People held him responsible for blood-shed, mass-killing, chaos and anarchy and for the September Massacre. His new faith also increased the number of his enemies. He paid no heed to remove the economic hardships of the people. In this way, he alienated many persons from him and they wanted to see him disgraced and ruined.

His *opponents organised a coup against him*. On 27th July, 1794 he went to the National Convention to deliver a speech. His opponents raised so much noise that he could not address them. There vas a lot of confusion and violence. His opponents moved a resolution for the arrest of Robespierre and his companion. This resolution was carried and consequently they were arrested and sent to jail. But Robespierre still controlled the Paris Commune which in turn controlled all the jails in France. So they succeeded in escaping from he jails and took shelter in Hotel d" Ville. At this the Convention leclared him an outlaw. Some of the officers of the Convention besieged the hotel under the command of Barras. On the advice of his riend Robespierre prepared an appeal to the people to denounce the Convention for its action. But before he could sign this appeal he was arrested on the spot by the soldiers of Barras. His jaw was bloodstained at that time. It is possible thet he might have inflicted that wound himself. He was guillotined on 28th July, 1794. It is said hat he gave a loud shriek at the time of death. With his end the Reign of Terror ended in France.

Many historians and writers have expressed their views about Robespierre. **Allard** says :—

"*Robespierre was a hypocrite and he erected hypocracy as a system of government.*

Lord Acton writes : "*Only this is certain that he remains the most hateful character in the forefront of history.*"

Thibadeau opines : "*There was something of both Mohammad and Cromwell in him. But his devotees called him Messiah.*"

According to **Thomson** : "*He was the little man of humble origin made great by the upheavel of Revolution.*"

Kropotkin writes : "*He was one of the very few physicians of that time who never wavered in their revolutionary faith nor in their love for the democratic republic.*"

Grant and **Temperley** opine :

"*Robesbierre was without question and extremely popular figure in Paris, supported by large number of admiring and devoted friends. It was the tragedy of his life and the cause of his failure that the attempts which he made for the reconstruction and regeneration of France had to be made in an atmosphere of war and violence. Their failure was, probably in any case, certain ; it was under the circumstances almost immediate and fatal to himself.*

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Mirabeau**—(1) Born in a city named Mirabeau in 1749. (2) Ugly appearances; (3) Able, wise statesman, violent and skilful orator; (4) Elected member of Third Estate in 1789 ; (5) Supporter of monarchy but opponent of arbitrary rule (6) President of the National Assembly ; laid great stress on duties than rights ; (7) Suspected by the king and the people alike ; (8) Worked as President of National Assembly and

Jacobin club and commander of the National Guard ; (9) opposed to bloodshed and rule of the Mob ; (10) Died in 1791.

2. **Lafayette** (1757-1834)—(1) Born in 1757 in a noble family but supported the ideas of Rousseau ; (2) Patriot and brave but lacked farsight ; (3) Took part in the American War of Independence. (4) Elected to the States-General as representative of nobility ; (5) Formulated the Fundamental human rights ; (6) Advocated constitutional monarchy ; (7) Commander of the National Guard and great influence in the Paris Commune ; (8) Lost reputation by ordering the National Guard to fire the demonstrators before the king's palace ; (9) Led a secluded life for some time and again returned to France ; (10) Died in 1834.

3. **Abbe Sieyes** (1749-1836)—Born in 1749 in a middle class family ; (2) An idealist, intelligent, skilful statesman and had independent views, (3) Representative of the Clergy in the States-General but wellwisher of the poor ; (4) Supporter of the fundamental human rights, (5) Supporter of constitutional monarchy but opposed freedom of Press, (6) Member of the National Convention. (7) Opponent of the Reign of Terror, (8) Made a great contribution in the formulation of the constitution, (9) Helped Napolean to rise to power, (10) Died in 1836.

4. **Danton** (1759-1794)—(1) Born in 1759 in the family of a peasant, (2) Worked as an advocate, (3) Wise, learned, had interest in literature, orator, patriot and worshipper of the Revolution. (4) Supported monarchy in the beginning but later on favoured a republic, (5) Established Cordelier club and became member of Legislative Assembly. (6) Changed the Paris Commune into a Revolutionary Commune, (7) Favoured the Reign of Terror (8) Led the attack on king's palace and the September Massacre, (9) Favoured a moderate policy after the war but guillotined in 1794 by Robespierre.

5. **Dr. Marat** (1742-1793)—(1) Born in 1742 in an ordinary family, (2) Worked as a physician, (3) Had great interest in writing books and editing newspaper, Brave and dauntless, true servant of the people and the Revolution, (4) Did not favour government of England and wanted to reform monarchy. (5) Powerful leader of the Paris Commune and member of vigilance Committee. (6) Member of the Convention. (7) Played important role in reducing the influence of the Girondists and establishing the supremacy of Jacobins, (8) Killed by a girl named Corday in 1793.

6. **Madame Roland**—(1) Wife of a retired government officer, (2) Beautiful, courageous, politician, farsighted and writer, (3) Opposed monarchy and favoured a republic, (4) Organised the Girondists. (5) Opposed the terrorism of the Jacobins and the Reign of Terror : (6) Guillotined in 1794.

7. **Robespierre** ('1754-1794)—(1) Born in 1754 in a middle class family in Arras. (2) Worked as an advocate and Justice of Crime. (3) Organised the Jacobins with the help of Danton and Marat, (4) Educated writer, orator, honest and dutiful but vain and obstinate, (5) Advocate of Rousseau's ideas and virtue. (6) Elected to the States-General in 1789 as a member of the Third Estate, (7) Supporter of democracy and opponent of Monarchy, (8) Dominated the Convention, Paris Commune and the Committee of Public Safety, (9) Reign of Terror is necessary to establish Reign of Virtue, 10. Established new faith, (11) Favoured the right to private property, (12) Danton's advice to follow moderate policy created rift among the Jacobins, (13) Guillotined Danton and Herbert, (14) Jacobins formed a coup against him got him arrested and guillotined in 1794.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. Form an estimate of the part played by the conspicuous leaders in the French Revolution.
2. Estimate the part played by Mirabeau, Danton, Marat and Robespierre in the French Revolution of 1789. (A.U. 1962)
3. Give a sketch of the career and character of Robespierre and explain why he failed to give a stable government to France ? (D.U. 1965)
4. Briefly review the part played by Mirabeau in the early Stages of the Revolution.

7

REIGN OF THE DIRECTORY (1795-1799)

The National Convention framed a naw republican constitution of France. According to the new constitution, the executive authority of the State was vested in a committee of five Directors. It was known as Directory. The new constitution was introduced in 1795 and the Directory worked upto November 19, 1799 when it was dissolved by Napolean. Every Director worked as the Chairman of the Directory for three months in rotation. During that period he also worked as the President of France. The four years's reign of the Directory was full of internal troubles and conspiracies which ultimately led to its dissolution in 1799. The Directory failed to solve the problems of the country and improve its conditions because the Directors were selfish, and inexperienced and were not dutiful. They lacked ability, honesty and sense of duty and indulged in corruption and bribery. The result was that the condition of France grew from bad to worse during this period.

Q. I. Give a brief history of the Reign of Directory in France and account for its failure.

Or

Give an account of the important events of the Reign of Directory in France. What factors led to its downfall ?

Or

"In the course of four years of its existence, the Directory failed to restore even one ruin and brought many more." Discuss.

Or

Enumerate the factors and circumstances which led to the fall of the Directory and rise to power of the Consulate.

Ans. According to the Constitution of 1795, Directory carried on the government in France from 26th October, 1795 to 19th November, 1799. At last, the Commander of the French army, Napoleon, dissolved it forcibly and became all powerful in France. Directory could not tackle the problems of France for lack of able, honest and experienced leaders. It was the most incompetent and corrupt body that France ever had. Its reign was full of troubles and rebellions. There were many ups and downs in France during this period. Instead of progress, Directory led France towards decline. **Madelin** has rightly said :—

"The Directory was most incompetent and the most corrupt government that was ever set in France."

1. Problems Before Directory—When Directory assumed authority, there were many internal and external problems before the country. (1) France had defeated Prussia, Spain and Holland in the war but she *had still to smash the power of England, Austria and Sardinia.* The French army lacked war material and they were less efficient as compared to the soldiers of the enemies. (2) France had increased the number of soldiers who had acquired experience by taking part in many wars. *In order to keep them engaged* and to increase the wealth and prestige of the country, it was necessary to carry on constant wars. Otherwise these soldiers would have created chaos and anarchy in the country. (3) The Directory *had to solve the economic problems* of the country. (4) It had to *remove social misery and disparities.* (5) The Directory had to *solve the religious problem* which had become very complex.

The Directory had to solve knotty problems but its leaders were selfish and inexperienced. Thus, instead of solving the problems confronting the country they made them more intricate by their folly and brought France on the verge of decline. Had not Napoleon entered the stage it would have been difficult to save both the country and the Revolution.

2 Foreign Policy—The Directory followed the policy of continuing war against England, Austria and Sardinia. It was decided to send two armies toward Austria from two different directions and to surround it from both sides. One French army was to advance across Rhine through Germany and enter Austria and the other was sent across Alps thsough Northern Italy to Vienna. Great generals like Jourden and Moreau were incharge of the army of the Rhine. Napoleon was ordered to invade Italy

(1) **Campaign of Italy** (1796-97)—Napoleon invaded Italy in April 1796. He had to face many difficulties. The soldiers were ill-fed and ill-clothed. They lacked confidence. Napoleon overcome all these difficulties by the dint of his military genius. He inspired his soldiers with new spirit. In his first bulletin he addressed them as under :—

"Soldiers, you are ill-fed and almost naked ; the government owes you much, it can give you nothing ; your patience and courage are worthy of admiration ; but they bring you no atom of glory ; nor a ray is reflected on you. I will conduct you into the most fertile plains in the world ; rich provinces, great cities, will be in your power ; there you will find honour, glory end wealth."

This campaign continued for one year. Napoleon worked wonders. It is said : " *He came, he saw, he conquered.* " He crossed the Alps with lightning speed and defeated the Austrian army and took possession of Northern Italy. He then defeated the Sardinians and forced them to sue for peace. As a result of this victory, he conquered Savoy and Nice. In order to fight against the Austrians, he exhorted his soldiers in the following words :—

> " *Soldier in 15 days you have won six victories, taken twenty-one stands of colour, fifty-five pieces of cannons, and several fortresses and conquered the richest part of Priedmont. You have taken 1500 prisoners and killed or wounded 10,000 men...... But, soilders, you have done nothing, since there remains something for you to do. You have still battles to fight, towns to take, rivers to cross*".

(2) **Campaign against Austria** – After defeating the Sardinians Napoleon turned towards Austrians. Lodi Bridge was a great hurdle in his way. The enemy was firing gunshots from the other side of the bridge. In the teeth of murderous fire he crossed the bridge. About his wonderful success he used to say:—

> " *Of all the actions in which the soldiers under my command have been engaged, none has equalled the tremendous passage of the Bridge of the Lodi.* "

Napoleon besieged the fort of Mantua and entered Milan in triumph. About their successive victories Napoleon's soldiers used to say, " It is our legs that win the battles". The Austrians were terribly beaten in the battles of Arcola and Rivoli and Napoleon succeeded in conquering Venice. Then he crossed Alps and reached Leoban. After the defeat, he forced Francis II, the king of Italy to surrender and sign the treaty of Campo Formio on 17th October, 1797.

Provisions of the Treaty :—

(1) Austria handed over Belgium and Ionian Islands to France. Now it became easy for Napoleon to conquer Egypt.

(2) The boundary of France was now extended upto the Rhine.

(3) Austria gave up her claim on Lombardy.

(4) Napoleon established a Republic consisting of Lombardy, Parma, Modena, Papal territories and Venetia. The Emperor of Austria recognised this republic.

(5) Venice was returned to Austria as compensation for the loss of Netherlands.

(6) Napoleon got the right to realize taxes from the republic and other territories conquered by him.

Criticism of the Treaty—By signing this treaty, Napoleon gave a proof of his farsight and statesmanship. This treaty proved very useful for Franee.

(1) It shattered the First Coalition against France. It left France without any enemy on the Continent and left England without an ally Europe.

(2) France got natural and scientific frontiers.

(3) It enhanced the power and glory of France.

(4) France got Ionian Islands which facilitated the task of conquering Egypt.

(5) It gave a severe blow to the power of Austria and she was unable to face France now.

(6) Napoleon appointed the governers of Belgium and other newly created republics. In this way he clearly violated the principle of self determination as preached by the Revolution.

(7) It added to the personals prestige and glory of Napoleon. It led to sudden rise of Napoleon to fame. He became the talk of the people of France.

Prof. Hazen says :—

"*This ended the famous Italian Campaign which was the stepping stone by which Napoleon started on his triumphant way.*"

Napoleon returned to France victorious. People sang his glory. The government feared him but outwardly flattered him for his victories because he himself had remarked :—

"*What I have done so far is nothing, I am but at the beginning of the career I am to run. Do you think I have triumphed in Italy in order to advance the lawyers of Directory......Let the Directory attempt to deprive me of my command and they will see who is the master. The nation must have a head, who is rendered illustrious by glory.*"

His prophecy came true when after two years he succeeded in assuming the sovereignty in France and become the Emperor later on.

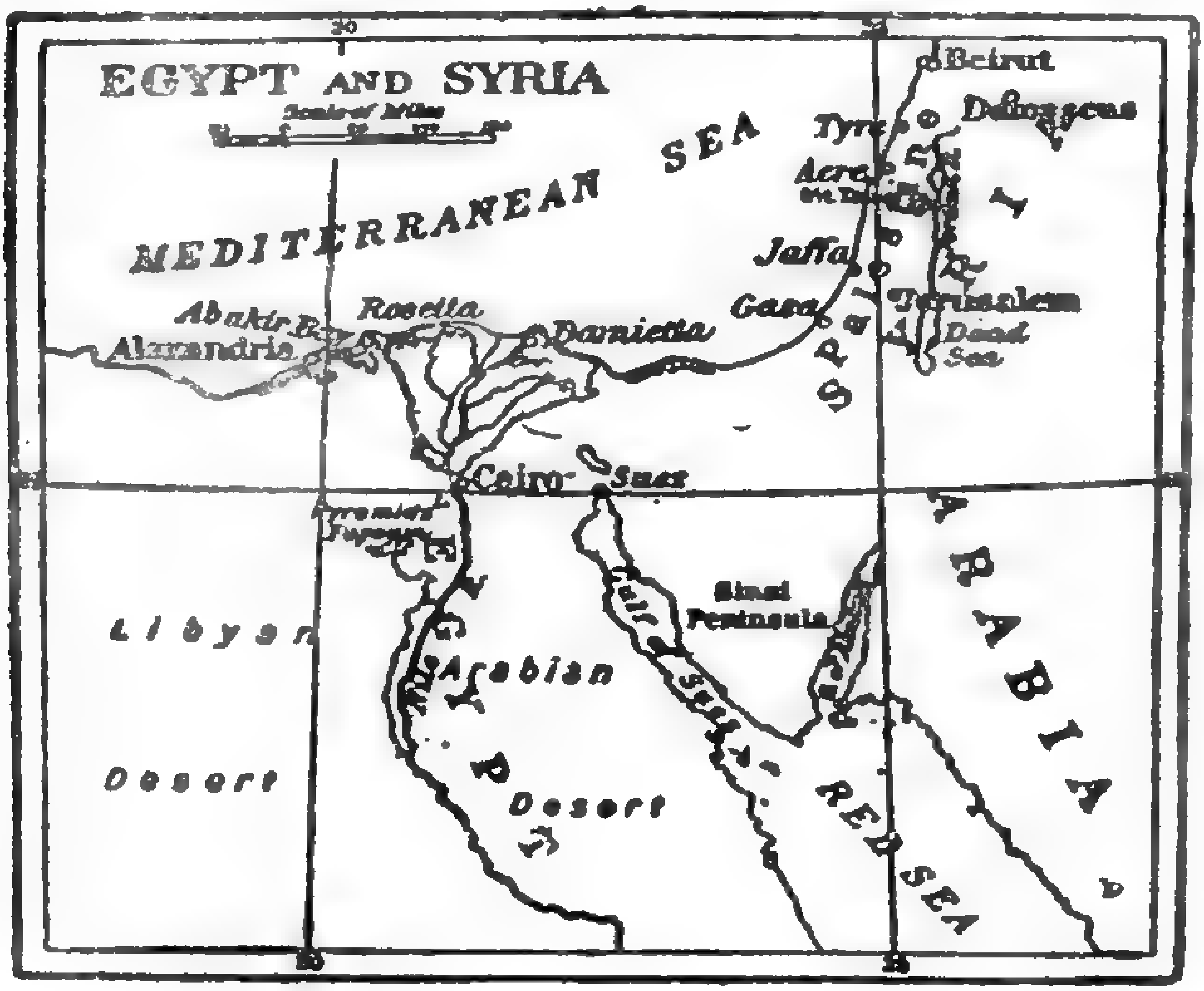
(3) *Expedition to Egypt* 1798—After the fall of Austria and Sardinia, the 1st coalition was shattered and France had now to fight against England alone. The main sources of the strength of England were her wealth, colonies and navy. Napoleon wanted to crush the power of England also. He said :

"*Our government must destroy the English monarchy or it must expect itself to be destroyed by these active islanders. Let us concentrate our energies on navy and annihilate England. That done Europe is at our feet.*"

Napoleon placed his plan to invade England before the Directors. They at once approved his plan and appointed him the commander of the Army of France because they feared him and wanted to send him away from France. Napoleon knew fully well that it was difficult to invade England directly as she had a powerful fleet. So he wanted a weak point to attack England. At last he decided to invade Egypt which was the Key to the East. By invading Egypt he wanted to undermine her supremacy in the East, deprive her of Indian empire and destory her commerce. He himself used to say —

> "*England drew her strength not from English mines and factories, from English brains and characters, but from fabulous wealth of India. Once cut that nerve and the mighty colossus would reel and fall.*"

He invaded Egypt on May 19, 1798 with the help of 38,000 soldiers and a fleet of 400 ships. He succeeded in conquering Malta and Alexandria. He defeated the Mamelukes on July 21, 1798 in the Battle of the Pyramids and captured Cairo. The Commander of the English Navy, Lord Nelson, attacked Napoleon and inflicted a crushing defeat to the French fleet at Aboukar Bay. In history, it is known as the Battle of the Nile. This defeat shattered Napoleon's dream of conquering the eastern empire of the English. It smashed the navy of France and established the supremacy of the English over the seas. It has been rightly remarked. "*The famous Battle of Nile decided the fate of France for ever. It not only established the supremacy of England over the Mediterranean but also had a side shock to Napoleon's hope of conquering her possessions in the East.*"


EGYPT AND SYRIA
Scale of Miles
30
35
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Beirut
Damascus
Tyre
Acre
Jaffa
Gaza
Jerusalem
Dead Sea
Abukir Bay
Rosetta
Alexandria
Damietta
Cairo
Suez
Pyramids
SYRIA
Libyan Desert
Arabian Desert
EGYPT
Sinai Peninsula
Gulf of Suez
RED SEA
ARABIA

In the words of **Prof. Hazen** —

"The Battle of the Nile was of the most decisive sea-fights of this entire period. It was Napoleon's first taste of British sea-power. It was not his last."

The internal condition in France deteriorated in the absence of Napoleon. England had organised the Second Coalition against France. The French army had been turned out of Italy and the enemies were planning to invade France. Directory had earned a bad name due to its inefficient handling of the internal problems. Under these circumstances, Napoleon returned to France leaving his army to its fate in Egypt. In this way, his campaign of Egypt proved an utter failure. **Hazen** has rightly remarked :—

"The Egyptian Campaign of 1798 was spectacular rather than successful."

2. Directory's Failure to solve the Internal Problems—The Directory was successful in conducting the foreign affairs and thus adding to the prestige and glory of France because it got the services of an experienced and capable commander like Napoleon. But it failed miserably to solve the internal problems. Unemployment and poverty prevailed in the country and there was economic and financial crisis in the country. There was social and moral degradation in France. Religious problem had also taken a serious turn.

(1) *The Economic Condition*—The finances of the country had deteriorated during the regime of the Directory. The wealth of the nation was wasted on unnecessary expenditure. Corruption was ripe in the country. Assignats had been printed in large numbers. This led to inflation and devaluation of Assignats. It gave a severe blow to trade and industry. The people stopped the payment of taxes. Napoleon sent a huge sum of money from Italy but Directory failed to improve the economic condition of the people. In 1797, the government declared partial bankruptcy. The people were in great distress and they condemned the Directory and held it responsible for their economic crisis.

(2) *The Social Condition*—The prices of the commodities had shot up and people were dying of hunger. Some selfish persons were still busy in amassing wealth by taking undue advantage of the poverty of the people. Most of the people were on the verge of starvation while a few wealthy persons led a luxurious life. Social condition had declined rapidly and family life had been shattered altogether. The French had degraded morally. Divorce was so easy and had become very popular. Family men had nothing to do with their wives. It is said, *"Due to the ravages of divorce in France, any soldier might come back from war-front covered with glory but find a new husband installed in his house."* Incompetence and selfishness of the Directors resulted in loot on a large scale in France. Paris was the centre

of fanciful gaieties. The rich lived, ate and drank in the hotels and squandered their wealth on luxuries of life. There were 232 theatres in France and they were the centres of corruption. People had degraded morally, and to check this moral degradation was beyond the power of the Directory. Evil, vice and immorality reigned all round. *Medeline* has summoned up the social condition in these words —

> *"In short, vice and perversity reigned supreme in France and there was no longer any morals left in France of those days. It was certain that she would face a terrible calamity."*

(3) *The Religious Condition*—There was chaos in religious sphere also. The Civil Constitution of 1790 had made church a part of the state and France had cut off all connections with the Pope of Rome. This created unrest among the clergymen. The situation aggravated during the reign of the Directory. The clergymen refused to act according to the laws of the National Church. The government tried to suppress them by force. The result was that this problem became more intricate and complex and the Directory failed to solve it.

3. The End of Directory—Napoleon returned to France at the proper time. The Directory had become very unpopular because of its inefficiency and corruption. It was torn by mutual jealousies and hatred of the Directors and the members of legislature. The administration had become very loose and the lives of the people had become miserable. They were tired of this state of affairs. Under these circumstances, Napoleon made a plan to overthrow Directory with the help of Abbe Sieyes.

Napoleon felt sad when he came back to France. On seeing the deterioration in the condition of his country, he oncc spoke to the Secretary of the Directory in these words —

> *"What have you done with this France which I left so brilliant ? I left you peace, I find war. I left you victories, I find defeats. I left you the millions of Italy, I find losses of spoilation and miseries."*

On 10th November, Napoleon's soldiers surrounded the building where the legislators were holding the session. When Napoleon entered the Chamber of the Deputies, he was strongly opposed by its members and they said, "*Outlaw him ! outlaw him. Down with the Dictator, down with the tyrant.*" There was a great confusion in the house and Napoleon was brought out of the Chamber in a state of unconsciousness. His brother, Lucien, who was the presiding officer of the House, helped him a lot. The soldiers stormed the Chamber under the leadership of Marat and the members fled from the House. A small committee of both the Chambers who supported the conspirators passed a resolution dissolving the Directory and establishing Consulate consisting of three Counsuls in its place. Napoleon, Ducos and Abbe Sieyes were the first three Counsels. A committee was set up to formulate a new constitution in France. Thus, Napoleon overthrew the Directory by violence and force. He himself used to say :—

"It is the epoch of my life in which I have shown impossible ability".

4. **Causes of the Failure of the Directory**—The following causes were responsible for the failure of the Directory.

(1) *Inefficiency of the Directors*—There was chaos and disorder in the country. France was confronted with many political, economical and social problems which required able and dutiful leaders to solve them. But, unfortunately, the Directors were incompetent. They could not solve these problems and led to the fall of the Directory.

(2)) *Corruption*—There was lack of honesty among the government officers during the regime of the Directory. Bribery and corruption was rampant during this period. The people had lost faith in the Directory and they began to condemn it.

(3) *Mutual Differences*—There was no harmony between the Directory and the legislature. Their mutual differences and internal strife gave rise to conspiracies and it became difficult to control the situation.

(4) *Weak Home Policy*—The Directory followed a weak home policy. People did not fear laws. This led to revolts in different provinces which, in turn, created chaos and disorder. The Directory could not cope with the situation and became unpopular.

(5) *Dwindling Finances*—During the reign of the Directory, the economic condition deteriorated very much. There was enormous waste in public expenditure. A large part of national wealth was spent on administration and army. National debt increased. The issue of Assignats in large number led to inflation and devaluation which resulted in the rise of prices. France was on the verge of bankruptcy. The people held Directory responsible for this financial and economic crisis.

(6) *Foreign Policy*—The foreign policy of the Directory was aggressive and unprincipled. It failed miserably and gave rise to second Coalition against France which entangled France incessantly in wars.

(7) *Lack of Co-operation among the Directors*—The Directors were not only selfish and corrupt but they lacked unity also. Napoleon removed two Directors because they advocated monarchy. Lack of co-operation and rift among the Directors brought about the end of the Directory. To quote Hazen —

"The history of four years of the Directory was troubled, uncertain and ended in its violent overthrow."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Reign of Directory, 1795-1799

1. **Problems before Directory**—(1) England, Austria and Sardinia continued war against France. (2) To keep law and order it was necessary to keep the soldiers engaged in war. (3) There was economic crisis in the country. (4) Degradation in society. (5) Religious problem was intricate.

2. **Foreign Policy**—(1) France invaded Italy undet the command of Napoleon. (2) Defeat of Sardinia. (3) Defeat of Austria and Treaty of Campo Formio. (4) Napoleon's campaign in Egypt, in 1798, was unsuccessful.

3. **Home Policy**—(1) Economic crisis. (2) Deterioration in society and morality. (3) Religious problem had become complex.

4. **End of the Directory**—(1) Napoleon returned to France. (2) He was upset to see crisis all round. (3) His conspiracy to overthrow the Directory with the help of Abbe Sieyes. (4) Fall of Directory and establishment of Consulate.

5. **Causes of the Failure of the Directory**—(1) Inefficiency of the Directors. (2) Corruption. (3) Mutual differences between the Directory and the legislature. (4) Weak Home Policy. (5) Weak Finances. (6) Aggressive Foreign Policy. (7) Lack of co-operation among the Directors.

Constitution of 1799 or of the Year VIII

Q. 2. Give a critical account of the Constitution of 1799 or of the Year VIII in France.

Ans—After the overthrow of the Directory, a new Constitution was formed under the guidance of Abbe Sieyes. It was prepared within a month and introduced in December, 1799. Napoleon was the chief architect of the new Constitution and its outlines had been drawn by him. Consulate was established in France according to this new Constitution and it remained in power from 1799 to 1804.

1. The Executive—The executive power was vested in three Consuls. They were elected by the senate for ten years and could be re-elected. One of them acted as a First Consul. He enjoyed absolute powers. He had the right to promulgate law, appoint and dismiss all civil and military officials. He could wage or stop war and enter into treaty with other countries with the consent of the legislature. The other two Consuls advised and assisted him. Napoleon was the First Consul and was assisted by Abbe Sieyes and Ducos but later on he dismissed both of them. Napoleon was appointed the First Consul for 10 years but in 1802 he was appointed the First Consul for life. There was a Council of State consisting of 10 members and its main task was to propose legislation. They were appointed by the Senate.

2. The Legislature :—

(1) *Senate*—Senate was the custodian of the Constitution. It was the upper house. It consisted of 80 members who were appointed by the Legislative Body for life and they could not be removed. In

the beginning, it had 60 members and it was proposed to elect 2 members each year and raise its strength to 80 after ten years. It had the power to appoint Consuls and the members of the Tribunate and Legislative Body. It could reject or ratify the laws referred to it by the Consulate and the Legislative Assembly.

(2) *Tribunate*—It conisted of 100 members who were elected by the Senate for a term of 10 years. It had the power to discuss, reject or ratify the laws submitted to it by the Council of State. It could make no amendment in them. All the laws passed by it were submitted to the Legislative Assembly.

(3) *Legislative Assembly*—It consisted of 300 members who were elected by the Senate for 10 years. All the laws passed by the Tribunate were sent to the Legislative Assembly. It had the power to accept or reject them but it could not discuss them. All the laws passed by it were submitted to the Senate for final approval.

3. **Criticism**—The new Constitution was not based on any set ideals or principles. Two factors had been kept in mind at the time of its formulation (1) No one should be appointed to a high post if he did not enjoy the confidence of the people. (2) No official should be elected by the people over whom he is to rule.

The executive authority was vested in the First Consul who enjoyed absolute power. He was a sort of despot who was all in all. Napoleon was the First Consul of France. There was no limit to his powers and rights. But he was an efficient general, able administrator, wise statesman and an influential leader. People had full faith in him and honoured him. He was the only person who could restore peace in the country and remove the miseries of the people. He introduced many political, economic and social reforms ; establised law and order by setting up a strong central government and made the life of people happy.

But the greatest defect in the new constitution was that the First Consul had been given unlimited powers and he was like a dictator. The Constitution was a mere sham. Outwardly, it appeared that there was a democracy in France but in actual practice the new Constitution established a highly centralized despotism in the country. There was still a republican form of government in France, but the sovereignty of the people had disappeared. Democracy and popular government were a mere deception. In fact, the government had become a veiled monarchy. In this regard **Hazen** observes —

> *"The Constitution of 1799 was a sham and deception. Elaborate machinery was designed to keep up the fiction of sovereignty but practically popular sovereignty was gone."*

Napoleon became the real sovereign and his powers were in no way less than those of Louis XVI. A constitution was prepared according to his wishes in 1802. He was made the First Consul for life and was given the right to appoint his successor. In this way, Republic in France assumed the form of disguised monarchy. It is stated that after the proclamation of the new constitution, a lady asked her friend, "What is the new constitution ?" She replied, "There is Bonaparte in it." To quote **Hazen**—

> "*Thus, within the space of ten and half years from the assembling of the States General at Versailles, parliamentary and popular government in France fell beneath the sword. The prediction of Marat and Robespierre were realised. A military dictator had appeared on the scene.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Constitution of 1799—It was introduced in December, 1799.

1. **The Executive**—The executive authority was vested in consulate of 3 Consuls. First Consul was all in all and enjoyed absolute power. He was assisted by two other Consuls and a Council of State.
2. **The Legislature**

(*i*) *Senate*—80 members, Permanent Body ; elected the Consuls and the members of the Tribunate and Legislative body.

(*ii*) *Tribunate*—100 members elected for a term of 10 years ; it could reject or accept the laws.

(*iii*) *Legislative Assembly*—300 members elected for a term of 10 years. It could accept or reject the laws passed by the Tribunate.

Criticism—

(*i*) Not based on ideals (*ii*) Napoleon was all in all (*iii*) Napoleon introduced many reforms (*iv*) Napoleon became dictator as a First Consul (*v*) It established centralized despotism in place of Republic.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. Briefly describe the reign of Directory in France. What led to its fall ?
2. Enumerate the factors that contributed to the fall of the Directory and rise of power of the Consulate.
3. Briefly describe the political events in France between October 26, 1775 and November 9, 1799.
4. Describe Napoleon Bonarpate's campaigns in Italy.
5. What were the reasons of the Egyptian expedition ? Describe Napoleon's campaigns in Egypt and Syria.
6. "In the course of four years of its existence, the Directory failed to restore even one ruin and brought many more." Explain.
7. Give a brief account of the Constitution of the year 1799.
8. Describe the constitutional changes in France between 1789 and 1799. (D.U. 1958

3

NAPOLEON AS A FIRST CONSUL, (1799-1804)

Life Story of Napoleon Bonaparte

Q. 1. Give a brief description of the career of Napoleon Bonaparte.

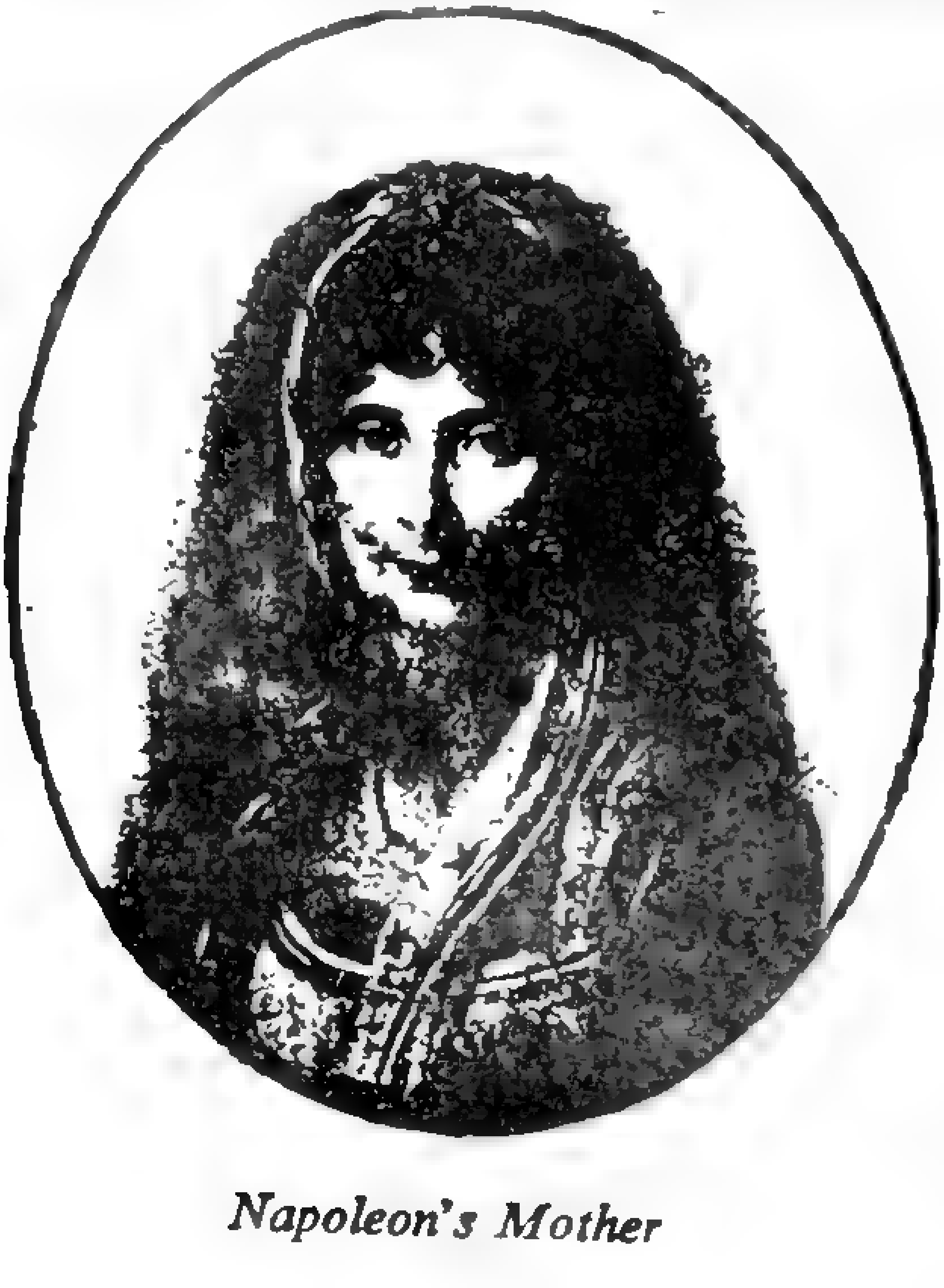
Ans. —Napoleon had been one of the most famous generals of the world and his name goes down not only in the history of France but also of the world. He was born when France was confronted with difficulties and problems. He himself used to say—

"I was born when my country was dying."

Napoleon was born on 15th August, 1769 in Ajacio, the capital of Corsica. His father Charles Bonaparte practised as a lawyer. He was a poor but ease-loving man. His mother Ramolino was a brave and courageous woman. From his early childhood, Napoleon was fond of hearing the stories of war and military generals. He was deeply interested in receiving military education and taking part in battles. To quote him—

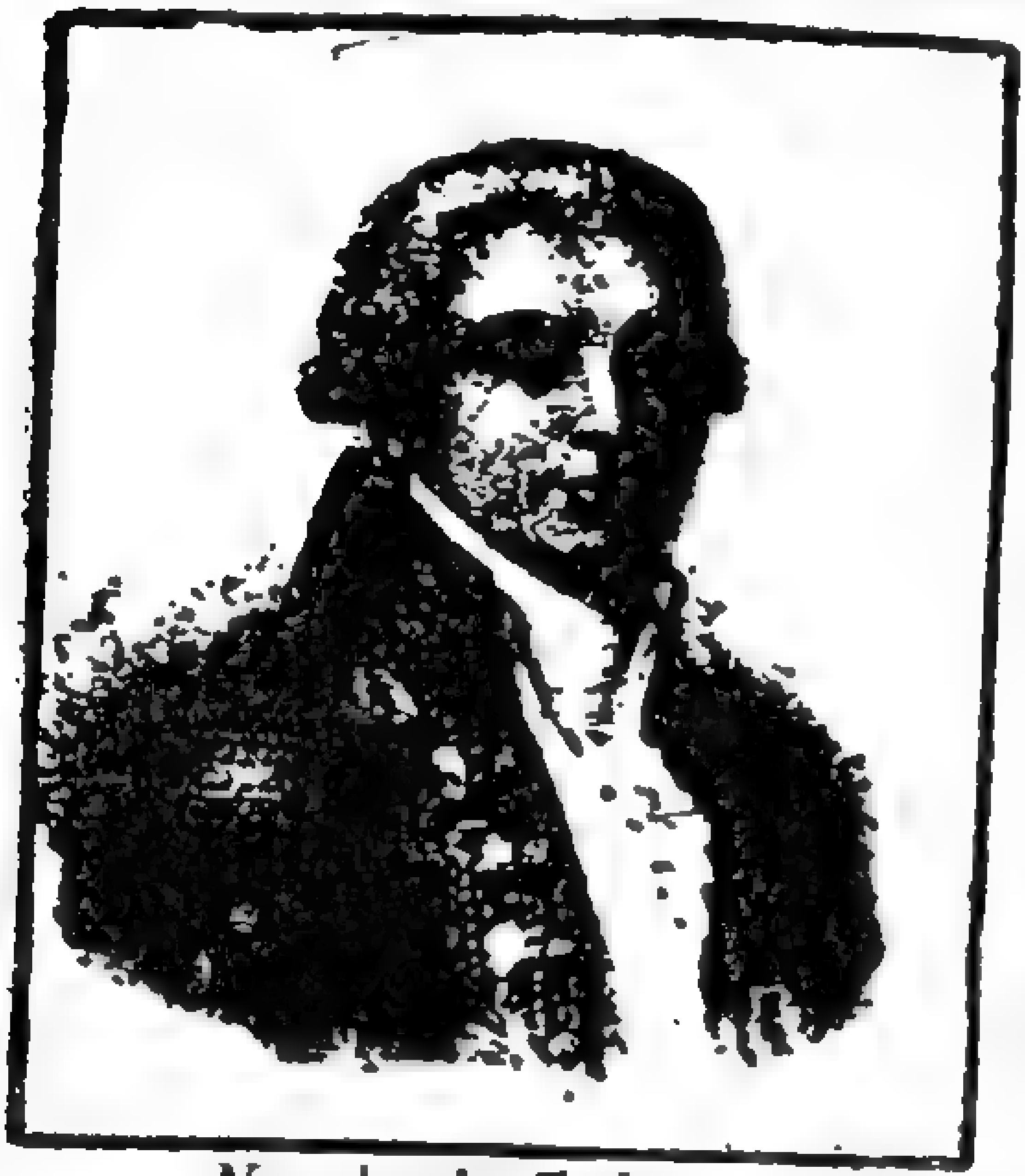
"I must become a soldier and when I become a soldier I shall win every battle."

He was educated in the military schools of Brienne and Paris. He belonged to a poor family and did not understand French well. His class-fellows, who came of a rich family despised him and made fun of him. He



Napoleon's Mother

had become peevish and unpopular on account of ill-treatment of h companions but he was firm like a rock and there was a volcano insid him. One of his teachers said of him, "*The youngster is made of granit and there is a volcano inside him.*"



Napoleon's Father

He had keen interest in Military Science, Mathematics, Histor and Geography. He had studie History deeply and he used to say "*History is the torch of truth an the destroyer of prejudice.*" H never wasted a single minute o his life. He had studied th works and the ideas of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Plat and Plutarch, Biography o Frederick the Great and the constitutions of various countrie of Europe.

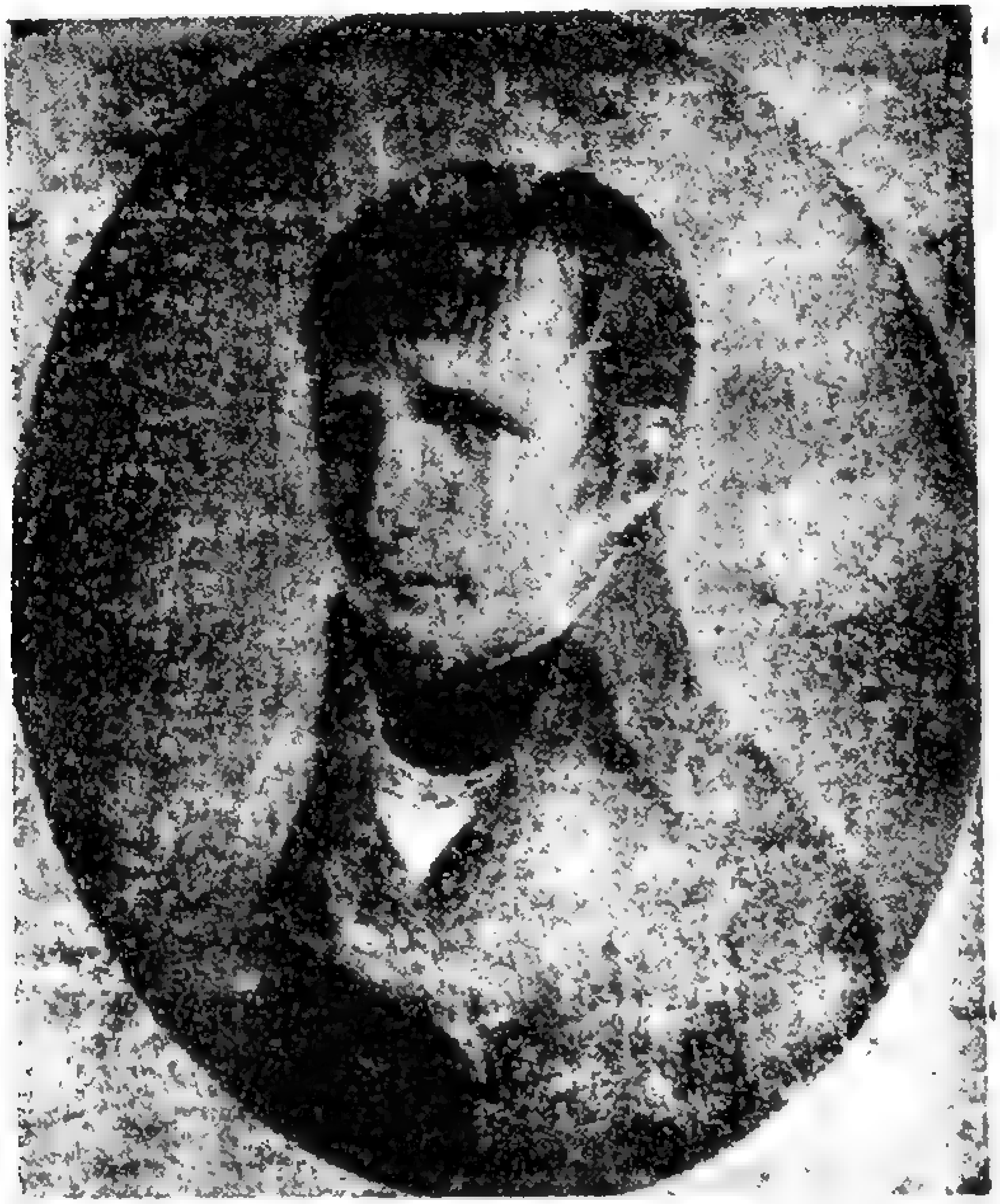
Napoleon led a simple but very hard life. He lived within his means and helped his family. He was not fond of leading a luxurious life. He never visited the clubs, washed his clothes and cooked his meals himself. He was a man of great energy and self-confidence. He was sober and sentimental. He was firm and obstinate. He talked less but was quick to answer any question put to him. He was fearless and resourceful. He was an ambitious fellow and a fatalist He thought that some secret power was leading him towards victory and glory. He had a wonderful memory and remembered the names of his regiments and soldiers. He utilised his valuable time well. He himself used to say —

"*When I have nothing to do, I vaguely think that I have no time to lose.*"

After the completion of his military education, he was appointed as a sub-lieutenant in the Royal Artillery of France in 1793 when he was 24 years old. He gave proof of his military genius by capturing the city of Toulon in 1793. As a result of his brilliant success, he was promoted as a Brigadier General in 1794. In October, 1795, he put down the royalist insurrection of Vendemiaire. In this way, he protected the National Convention from the attack of enemies and added another feather to his cap.

Keeping in view his early victories and successes, Napoleon was appointed the Commander of the French army in Italy. He had to fight many battles against the Austrians and the Sardinians. Two days after assuming the Command of the army, he married his beloved

sephine on 9th March, 1796. She was six years older than Napoleon d was a mother of two children.



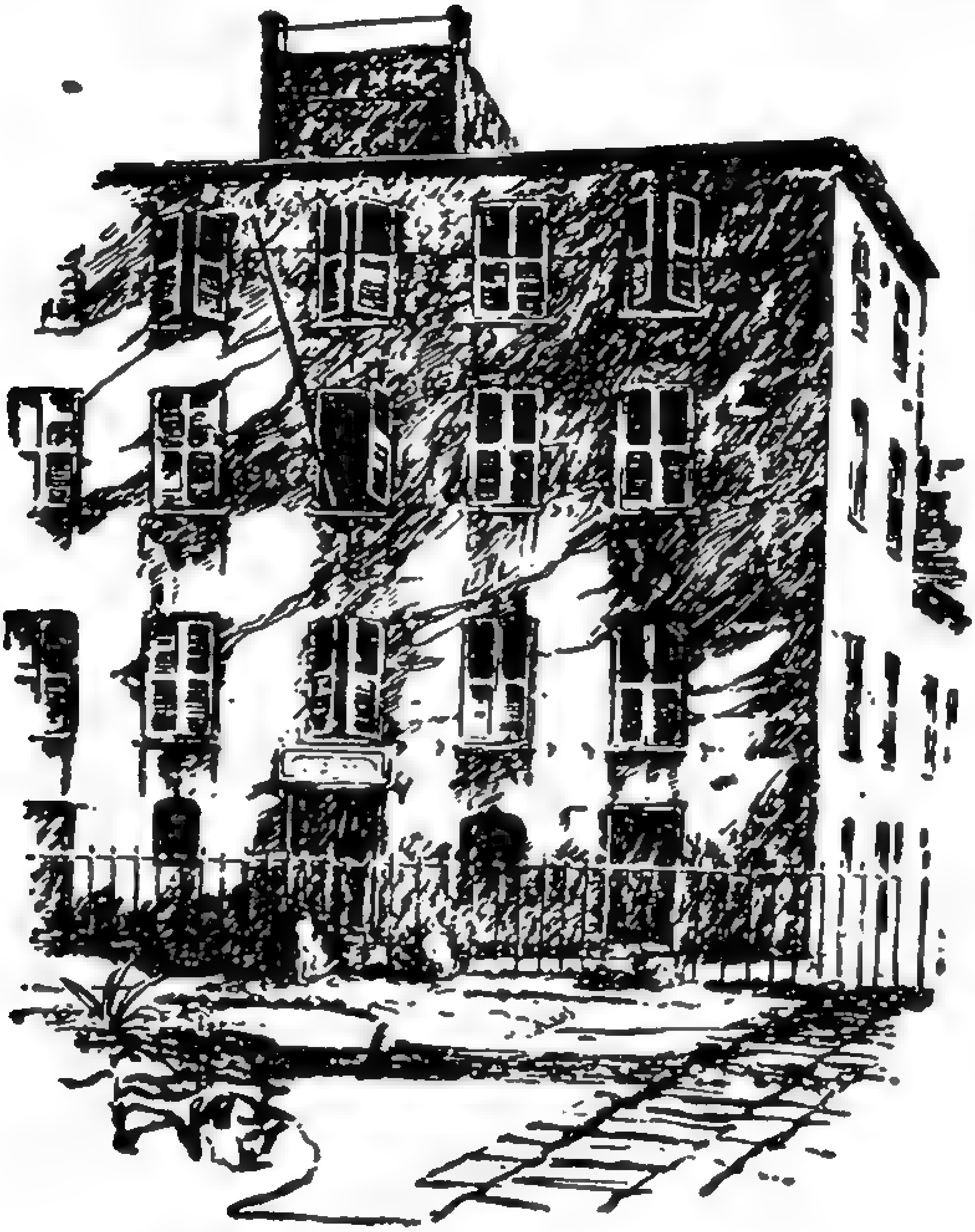
Napoleon Bonaparte

He had to face heavy odds in Italy. The plight of the French soldiers was miserable. They were less in number and were not properly equipped. He inspired a new life into them by issuing a war bulletin. His strategy was not to allow Italy and Sardinia to unite. He fought them separately. First of all, he defeated the army of Sardinia and captured Nice and Savoy. Then, he turned to the Austrians. He crossed the Bridge of Lodi, and took possession of the Austrian artillery. He defeated the Austrian army at Mantua and conquered Milan. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrians in the battle of Arcola and Rivoli and forced them to sign the Treaty of Campo-Farmio. By this treaty, he expanded the French Empire and gained natural and scientific frontiers for France. The French Colours floated for the first time upon the borders of Adriatic. This treaty earned a great name not only for France but also for Napoleon himself. At the same time, it sowed the seeds of future wars.

Markham has remarked —

"It was a brilliant peace for France and Napoleon, but it laid th seeds of future wars."

After this, he conquered the Republic of Venice. He sent tc France thirty crores francs and three hundred masterpieces of art.



The House where Napoleon was born

Napoleon remained in Italy for about a year and defeated Austria in about 26 battles. He then returned to France. At that time, Napoleon was at the height of his prestige and glory. He was honoured by the people of France and his name become the household word for France.

The first coalition against France broke up and England was alone and without an ally now. The Directory appointed Napoleon as the Commander of the Army meant for the invasion of England. It was difficult to invade England directly. So, he planned to storm Egypt in order to deprive England of her empire and commerce in the East which, according to him, were the main source of her strength. He

ttacked Egypt in 1798 and succeeded in conquering Malta and Alexan-
:ria but, later on, he was defeated very badly by the English
ommander, Lord Nelson, in the famous Battle of Nile. It shattered
ll the dreams of Napoleon and he secretly slipped to France.

Napoleon's Wife Josephine

Directory failed to manage the affairs of France and run the administration successfully. Its foreign policy was an utter failure. Due to mutual jealousies, incompetence and selfishness of the Directors, it could not solve the internal problems. Its misrule led to chaos and anarchy and the people began to condemn it. Napoleon took full advantage of this situation. He entered into a conspiracy with Robespierre and overthrew Directory on November 9,1799. About his success, he used to say .—

"At no time of my life have I behaved with greater skill."

After the overthrow of the Directory, a new Constitution was introduced in France in December, 1799 and it was known as Consulate. The executive power was vested in three Consuls. However, in reality, Napoleon, who was the First Consul, enjoyed absolute powers. The other Consuls simply assisted and advised him. He was like a dictator of France. To quote him—

"I am the Revolution, I am France."

His reforms and military achievements as a *First Consul* earned fame for him and made his name immortal. While he was in Egypt, England organised 2nd Coalition against France with the co-operation of Austria and Russia. Napoleon succeeded in alienating Czar of Russia from this coalition. He defeated Austria in the battle of Marengo and forced him to sue for peace. Both the parties were tired of incessant wars and wanted a breathing space. So they signed the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 and the war came to end.

As a First Consul, Napoleon introduced many reforms in the various spheres of life and tried to heal the wounds of the Revolution. He prepared a Civil Code for France, established social equality and granted religious freedom to all. He tried to improve the financial condition of the country by encouraging agriculture, trade and industry. He carried out a large number of reforms in education, literature and art. He left no stone unturned to make the life of people happy and prosperous.

In *1802, Napoleon was made First Consul for life* and given the right to appoint his successor. He was declared the Emperor of France in 1804. This whetted his ambitions. After stabilizing his position and strengthening his country, he began to see the dreams of bringing the whole of Europe under his feet. To realize his aim he began to make preparations for war. The result was that England organised the Third Coalition against France with the help of Austria, Russia and Prussia. The Commander of the English fleet, Lord Nelson, defeated Napoleon badly in the naval battle of Trafalgar in 1805. But Napoleon defeated Austria in the battle of Austerlitz and forced ber to sue for peace. He also defeated Prussia and Russia who entered into treaties with France. By 1807, Napoleon had conquered almost the whole of Europe except England and reached the acme of his power.

Napoleon was *bent upon bringing England to her knees.* For this, he introduced the Continental System by which he wanted to hit at the trade of England because he thought that the prosperity and greatness of England depended upon her colonies and trade. But he failed utterly in his attempt to humble Great Britain. He carried on Peninsular wars against Portugal and Spain from 1806 to 1814. Faced with the shortage of food and possibility of internal insurrection, Russia refused to abide by Continental System in [illegible]. Napoleon invaded Moscow in 1812. His Moscow campaign [illegible] miserably and the French suffered colossal losses. It gave [illegible] blow to finances and military power of France.

England raised the Fourth Coalition against France in 1813. She was joined by Austria, Russia and Prussia. Napoleon was decisively defeated at the Battle of Leipzig or 'the Battle of the Nations' in 1813. Napoleon was imprisoned and exiled to the island of Elba and Louis XVIII, the prince of Bourbon dynasty, was crowned as the emperor of France.

Napoleon escaped from the Elba island, reached France on 18th March, 1815. Thousands of his old soldiers rallied round him. Louis XVIII fled to England once again. Napoleon became the Emperor of France and ruled for 100 days. This period is known as "The Hundred Days" in history. The allies did not allow Napoleon to become powerful and got ready to fight against him. He was completely defeated on 18th June, 1815 in the Battle of Waterloo. It sealed his fate forever. He was exiled to St. Helena, where he died in 1821.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Career of Napoleon Bonaparte—(1) Born in 1769 at Ajacio, the capital of Corsica in an ordinary family. (2) Got military education in the military schools of Brienne and Paris. (3) He was sober, silent, ambitious, self-confident and fearless. (4) Took the command of the French army in Italy in 1796; defeated the Austrians and Sardinians and got natural frontiers for France. (5) Failed in his Egyptian campaign in 1798. (6) Overthrew the Directory in 1799 and worked as First Consul from 1799 to 1804. (7) Recaptured Italy after defeating the Austrians. (8) Introduced various reforms to heal the wounds of the people who had suffered on account of the Revolution (9) Acted as an Emperor of France from 1804 to 1815. (10) Defeated Austria, Russia and Prussia by 1807. (11) Introduced Continental System in 1807. (12) Fought Peninsular wars from 1807 to 1814. (13) His Moscow campaign of 1812 failed miserably. (14) Defeated at the Battle of Leipzig in 1813 and imprisoned in Elba. (15) Escaped from Elba but was finally defeated in the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. (16) Exiled to St. Helena and died there in 1821.

Work of Nepoleon as the First Consul

☞ Q. 2. Give a critical account of the work of the Consulate. (Very Important)

Or

Give a brief account of Napoleon Bonaparte as the First Consul i.e. his work and main achievements as a ruler or civil administrator. (A.U. 1955, 58 ; B.U. 1954)

Or

State briefly the part played by Napoleon Bonaparte in the internal reconstruction of France. How did he internally consolidate France and increase his own power ? (B.U. 1952, 53, 54)

Or

"Napoleon was one of the greatest social reformers of the world." Amplify the statement with reference to reforms of Napoleon as First Consul in France.

Or

How did Napoleon Bonaparte heal the wounds of France ted by its leaders ?

able administrator to heal the wounds of the Revolution and the upt rule. Napoleon provided an able leadership to the country at s critical time. He was not only one of the greatest generals of e world, but also a great administrator and organiser. He devoted his tention to carry out a number of reforms, some of which proved rmanent. It has been rightly remarked :—

"If the conquests of Napoleon were ephemeral or temporary, his ilian work in France was built upon granite."

He carried out many reforms—

1. **Principle of Equality**—Napoleon had his firm and definite ews about the revolution, the people of France and his ambitions. e was inclined towards the principle of liberty. During his youth, was greatly influenced by the idea of liberty as propounded by usseau but the circumstances brought about a great change in him. quote him—

"What the French needed above all things was equality and not erty."

Napoleon recognised only the principle of liberty and laid great ess on it. He tried to give equal rights to all by absolishing special vileges and differences based on birth, caste and creed. All the ple were equal before law and government. All were provided with al opportunities to rise in life. Everybody could hold the highest and military posts by dint of his capability, labour and service. never favoured anybody in this respect. Napoleon's Marshalls h as Massena, Ney and Murat belonged to ordinary families. The licy followed by him can be summed up as follows—

"Every avenue was kept open to ambition and energy."

All the illegal taxes were abolished and all were taxed equally. ght taxes were imposed on the peasants. They were not required pay taxes to the landed nobles now. All enjoyed equal commercial, dustrial and educational rights and facilities. He invited the emigres ck to France and promised to restore their property if it had not en already sold. Nobody had the right to enslave anybody. He ed to regenerate and reconstruct society on the ideal of equality. **of. Hazen says**—

"Napoleon maintained equality before law, that priceless acquisition the Revolution."

He had recognised the principle of equality because he himself s risen through it and the people of France were deeply influenced it.

2. **Administrative Reforms** :—The country had been plunged o a chaotic state and so Napoleon set-up a strong centralized vernment to restore peace and order.

(1) *Reform in the Local Government*—Local government was comp- tely centralized and it was dominated by the central government.

The people had no hand in the administration of local affairs now. Every department was governed by a Prefect, every Arrondisement by a Sub-Prefect and every Commune was under a Mayor. But they were all appointed by the central government, received orders from it and were responsible to it for their work. These units had elected Councils but their rights and powers were limited. They met only for four days during the year and the realization of taxes was their main function. They had no control over the Prefects, Sub-Prefects and the Mayors. Napoleon succeeded in establishing a highly centralized administration because people had full faith in him, since they had suffered much during the Revolution and wanted peace and stability.

(2) *Legion of Honour*—Napoleon started the practice of conferring a degree of honour on the person who rendered useful services to the state and society. This practice is still in vogue in France. Some people criticized Napoleon because they thought that he wanted to organise a group of persons loyal to him by taking recourse to this system. This honour was granted to both civil and military officials. To quote **Southgate**—

> *"A Legion of Honour, which was founded in the time of Consulate, was continued under the Empire and this distinction was awarded alike for civil and military services to the state."*

(3) *Land Reforms*—During the revolutionary period, the land of the nobles and church had been confiscated. This land had been sold to the peasants at cheap rates. Both Napoleon and the Pope awarded their recognition to it. This system proved very useful for the farmers. Indeed, in Napoleon they found their well wisher.

(4) *The Codes*—The most durable part of his work was the legal codes. Of all the codes, his civil code, known as Code Napoleon, is the most famous. This is his greatest contribution to France. To quote him—

> *"My real glory is not having won forty battles ; what will never be effaced, what will endure forever is my Civil Code."*

Before this, many legal systems prevailed in France, there was no uniformity in laws. They differed from place to place. They were complex, contrary to one another and beyond the comprehension of people. In short, the legal system in France was very defective. Napoleon appointed the committees of jurists, experts and eminent persons to prepare these codes. After four months hard labour, his Civil Code (Code Napoleon) was prepared by three learned men of France. His code was very simple, clear and based upon the principles of justice and equality. According to **Hazen**—

> *"The Code to which Napoleon attached his name preserved the principle of civil equality established by the Revolution."*

According to the Civil Code, every family had a head who had absolute authority over the members of the family. Women had been placed under the strict control of their husbands. It was necessary for every woman to obey her husband. She could not buy or sell property without the consent of her husband. Both could divorce each other by mutual consent because of the immorality and grave criminal offences. No one had the right to dispose off more than half of his property. The rate of interest was also fixed by law.

His second code was known as the Code of Civil Procedure. It laid stress on compromise and conciliation before taking recourse to law. His third code, Criminal Procedure Code dealt with criminal cases. His fourth code was known as Penal Code. Provision for punishment for different offences was made in it. His Penal Code was severe, rigorous and deterrent. There was provision for capital punishment, imprisonment or deportation for life, branding and confiscation of property. Jury system also prevailed in France. The accused could take the help of the lawyers and produce witnesses to prove themselves innocent. The accused were tried in public and not in camera. The accused had no right to get himself released by a writ of Habeas Corpus. The 'Assize Courts' and the 'Circuit Courts' also helped in dispensing justice to the people. His fifth code, the Commerical Code, dealt with general commerce, maritime commerce and mercantile laws etc.

His codes gave rapid, cheap and equal justice to all. It was based on the principles of the Revolution and civil equality. It established social equality in the eyes of law and secured religious toleration for all. The present judicial system of France is based on it. Due to this code, Napoleon became famous as Modern Justinian in Europe. **Southgate** says—

"The civil code strengthened Napoleon's reputation as a Modern Justinian."

The famous Code strengthened Napoleon as an orderly, systematic and compact codifier of the laws of France. **Hazen** has summoned his views about it as under—

"The famous Code Napoleon was an orderly, systematic, compact statement of the laws of France. Pre-Revolution France had been governed by a perplexing number of systems of law of different historical origins. Then had come, with the Revolution, a flood of new legislation. It was desirable to shift and harmonize all these statues, and to present to the people of France a body of laws, clear, rational, and logically arranged, so that henceforth all the doubts, uncertainty and confusion which had hitherto characterized the administration of justice, might be avoided and every Frenchman might easily know what his legal rights and relations were, with reference to the state and his fellow citizens."

(5) *Suppression of Liberty*—Many of his reforms marked a return to the old regime. He was of the view that social and economic inequality gave birth to the Revolution. Thus, he attached no value to political liberty and did not approve of the atrocities committed in the name of liberty. He curtailed political liberty because it created disturbance and prevented the efficiency of the state. He imposed

many restrictions on the freedom of speech and press. Only one newspaper was published in every Department under the strict supervision of the Prefect. The news of his defeat in the battle of Trafalgar in 1805 was not published in any newspaper till his fall. The rebels and conspirators were severely dealt with. In the words of **Marriot**—

"Of Liberty, he retained nothing but husk ; but virtual autocracy was continued with a large measure of social and fiscal equality."

Herald has expressed his opinion about his administrative capacity, ability and zeal for reforms in these words—

"The utter fearlessness with which the young and inexperienced general addressed himself to problems, seemingly beyond a simple man's scope characterized the heroic element in Napoleon's mind. There is something of a Hercules in it. Consider, for instance, how the thirty years old First Consul, with a few weeks after taking power, established a civil administration which proved to be the one and only stable political institution France has had in the past century and a half."

3. Economic Reforms—Napoleon knew fully well that financial crisis was responsible for the downfall of the monarchy and the Directory. So he wanted to guard his regime against any financial crisis. He took many steps to stabilize the economic condition of the Consulate.

(1) He *improved the structure of taxation* in the country. Taxation was based on the principle of justice. People had to pay taxes according to their income. Taxes were collected rigorously. Arrears were realized and deposited in the treasury. Corrupt and dishonest officers were punished severely.

(2) *Strict economy was observed in public expenditure.* Unnecessary expenditure on administration was avoided.

(3) Funds were raised from the vanquished countries to meet the expenses of the army. He made his enemies pay the expenses of the war.

(4) Provision was made for severe punishments for the black marketeers, profiteers and speculators.

(5) To improve the economic condition of the country and to provide commercial facilities to the traders, he established the Bank of France in 1804. According to **Hazen**—*"It was one of the soundest financial institutions of the world."*

About his economic policy, **Ketelbey** says—

"He checked the speculation in depreciated currency, regulated the Stock Exchange and founded the Bank of France."

4. Educational Reforms—Napoleon realized the importance of education in national regeneration and in building-up national character. With this end in view, he introduced many reforms in education.

(1) *Primary Schools* were opened in every Commune. They were run under the supervision of the Prefect or Sub-Prefect.

(2) *Secondary and Grammar Schools*, whether private or governmental, were kept under the control of the Central Government. French, Latin and Elementary Science were taught in them.

(3) *Government High Schools* called '*Lycees*' were opened in all important towns. The teachers of these schools were appointed by the government.

(4) Special schools such as *technical schools*, military schools and civil service schools were under the control of the government.

(5) The *University of France* was established to bring uniformity in education and to control the institutions meant for higher education. Its chief officials were appointed by the First Consul. No body could open a new school or work as a teacher in it without getting a license from this university.

(6) A Normal School was opened in Paris to impart *training to the teachers*. Facilities were also provided for research work.

The whole educational policy was based on three principles. (i) Loyalty to the head of the state. (ii) Faith in Christianity and (iii) Obedience to the rules and regulations of the Department of Education and University.

5. Works of Public Utility—Napoleon was deeply interested in the welfare of the people. He wanted to infuse life and new spirit into every department of government and the lives of people.

(1) To improve the means of communication and trade, he *constructed many roads*. There were about 229 roads in France in 1811. Thirty roads connected Paris with the frontier of France. He constructed many bridges and dams.

(2) *Barren land was brought under cultivation*. The marshes were drained. To provide the means of irrigation, a net work of canals and waterways was laid. Old canals were repaired and many new ones were dug.

(3) The *sea-ports of Toulon and Cherbourg were enlarged* for commerical and naval purposes. Special arrangement for their safety was also made.

(4) Napoleon was very fond of *constructing buildings*. He built many new buildings and renovated and refurnished various old palaces and buildings.

(5) He did *praise-worthy work to increase the grandeur and splendour af Paris*. He made Paris a magnificent city by constructing many roads, bazars, bridges and arches etc.

(6) To *encourage art and craft*, he set-up the 'Society for the Encouragement of National Industries'. Due to the efforts of this society, the trade in sugar, cotton, silk etc. flourished very much.

(7) He turned his *attention to remove unemployment* from the country. Everybody was given the freedom to choose his profession

according to his taste. He encouraged various industries such as shoe-making, hat-making, tailoring etc. to provide job to the jobless persons.

(8) Napoleon took great measures for the progress of *art and literature* in France. Once he said, "*People complain that we have no literature. That is the fault of the Minister of Interior.*"

Art and literature were at the height of their glory in England and Germany. Napoleon got a list of painters, sculptors, architects, writers, poets and musicians etc. prepared and extended state patronage to them. He rendered useful service for the promotion of art and literature by granting patronage to the genius of the country.

About Napoleon's works of public utility, **Prof. Hazen** says—

"*This period of Consulate is that part of Bonaparte's career which was most contributory to the welfare of his country.*"

6. Religious Reforms—The civil Constitution of the clergy had made many clergymen seek shelter in other countries. Most of the people in France were Catholics. They were against this constitution. These clergymen still had hold on the Catholics in France. Napoleon wanted to use their influence for the welfare of the State. According to Napoleon, religion works as a unifying force among the political matters. He wanted that the head of the State should be a guide in religious affairs also. He expressed his religious policy in the following words—

"*The people must have a religion and that religion must be under the control of the government. People will say that I am a Papist. I am nothing. I was a Mohammedan in Egypt. I shall be a Catholic in France for the good of the people. I do not believe in religion......but the idea of God.*"

According to Napoleon, "*A state without a religion is like a ship without a compass.*" In order to remove the breach between the Catholics and the state, he followed a policy of religious toleration and freedom. In order to establish firm relationship between the Church and the State, he entered into an agreement known as Concordat in 1801 with the Pope of Rome. The terms of the Concordat were :—

(i) The Catholic Church was established as the official church of the country.

(ii) People reconciled themselves to the confiscation of the property of the church and the clergymen who had fled away from France.

(iii) The First Consul would nominate the Bishops who would be invested by the Pope.

(iv) The Priests would be appointed by the Bishops.

(v) The Bishops had to take an oath of allegiance to the State.

(vi) The Bishops and the Priests would be paid out of the royal treasury.

By his religious policy, Napoleon healed the schism between the church and the state.

By re-establishing Catholicism, he got the support of Catholics to establish his political ascendency in France. The Concordat governed the relations between the church and the state in France for 103 years. The church became a part of state and in future it created discord between the two.

In support of his religious policy, **Napoleon** used to say—

"Society is impossible without inequality, intolerable without a code of morality, and a code of morality unacceptable without religion. The people need a religion ; the religion must be in the hands of the state."

7. An Estimate of Napoleon's Reforms—From the above description, it is clear that Napoleon did much useful work as a First Consul. After analysing the fundamental aspects of the Revolution and seeing its terrible results, he based his administration on the Revolutionary theory of equality of all men but deprived the people of their right of liberty. He used to say—

"What the French need above all things is Equality, not Liberty."

He was deadly opposed to the principle of liberty and the people had no hand in the administration. He could not consolidate the Revolution completely and failed to secure to the people all its valuable fruits. He could not establish a new political set-up in place of the old regime.

In spite of this, it cannot be denied that he changed the old social order and set-up a new one based on the principle of equality and carried out far-reaching reforms which ushered in an era of progress and prosperity. He introduced reforms in varoius spheres of life and tried to consolidate whatever was good in the Revolution and healed the wounds of the people who had suffered at its hands. Although he was a dictator and enjoyed absolute power, yet he had the good of the people at heart. By his successful foreign policy, he subdued England and Austria and raised France to the height of its prestige and glory. He used his powers for the welfare of the people. His claim to greatness does not rest on his military achievements but on his peaceful reforms which he carried out in internal sphere. He laid great stress on merit, energy and honesty in administrative matters. He was very hard-working and used to work 18 hours a day. By his untiring zeal and capacity, he set-up an efficient system of administration in France. His judicial, economic and educational reforms and his religious agreement endured for a long time and that is a great tribute to his organising capabilities. Many of his reforms served as a tower of light to other countries of Europe just as his Codes and Bank of France etc. He has been rightly called the creator of Modern France because of his reforms.

According to **Ketelbey**—"*More important at this time, however, than foreign policy, and more permanent than all the conquests which Napoleon was ever to make, were the measures he introduced for the internal government of France. The efficiency, industry and incorruptibility of which he himself was an example, he demanded and instilled throughout the administration.*"

In the words of **Southgate** —

"*Old problems were solved by him (Napoleon) and he worked for the prosperity of France. His achievements as a conqueror came in the end to nothing, his empire was over-thrown. But his works as an administrator were too solid to be discarded, his system of government survived him and he must be given credit for much that is of permanent value in French life to-day.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Napoleon as a First Consul

1. **Foreign Policy—Campaigns** against Austria, wars with England; Treaty of Amiens.

2. **Home Policy**—*(1) Laid great stress on equality. (2) Administrative Reforms* (i) Reforms in local government (ii) Legion of Honour (iii) Land Reforms (iv) Legal Codes (v) Suppression of liberty.

3. **Economic Reforms**—Tax-structure based on equality; cut in public expenditure; expenses of Army on conquered countries; Commercial facilities; Bank of France.

4. **Reforms in Education**—Establishment of Primary, Secondary, Grammar and High schools; Technical Schools; Normal schools; University of France.

5. **Work of Public Utility**—Construction of roads, bridges and dams; cultivation of barren land and marshes; enlargement of Sea-Ports; Buildings; enhancing the grandeur of Paris; encouraged art and craft; removed unemployment; promoted art and literature.

6. **Religious Reforms**—He wanted to bring church under state Concordat with Pope to consolidate his authority in politics; it created discord in the end between the Church and the state.

7. Estimate of his greatness which depends on his reforms.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. Discuss critically the work of the Consulate.
2. Give a brief account of Napoleon's services to France as a First Consul.
3. Napoleon was one of the greatest social reformers and legislators of the modern age." Amplify. (A.U. 1961)
4. "The period of the Consulate was the period of Bonaparte's greatest and most enduring contributions to the development of French institutions." Elucidate.
5. How far is it correct to say that Napoleon was the child and heir of the French Revolution?

6. How did Napoleon preserve the fruits, gains and achieveme of the Revolution ?
7. How did Napoleon solve the problems inherited from French Revolution or Directory. (P. U. 1966, D. U. 19
8. "If the conquests of Napoleon were ephemeral, his civili work was built on granite." Discuss. (P. U. 1966, D. U. 196
9. Napoleon's civil work was more important and lasting th his military conquests. Discuss. (P. U. 196
10. "Napoleon was the child of Revolution, but in many wa he reversed the aims and principles of the movement fro which he sprang." Comment (D. U. 1959, 6
11. Was Napoleon greater as an administrator of France than a soldier fighting for the principles of the French Revolution Give reasons for your answer. (D. U. 196
12. "Bonaporte disciplined France and established order...... helped to modernize France." Comment. (D. U. 196
13. Explain and discuss the major reforms introduced Napoleon in France. (Pb. B.A. 197
14. "Napoleon was the child of the French Revolution as we as a product of its reaction." Describe the reforms Napoleon in the light of the above statement. (Pb. M.A. 197
15. Discuss the major reforms introduced by Napoleon in France (Pb. B.A. 1972

9

NAPOLEON AS AN EMPEROR, 1804-1814

Napoleon took the reins of government in 1799 as a First Consul. 1802, he was made the First Consul for life and granted the right nomiate his successor. In 1804, the Senate declared him the Emperor f France according to the new constitution. This step was considered bsolutely in the interest of France. To quote him—

"I found the crown of France lying on the ground and I picked it up ith my sword."

Napoleon ruled as the Emperor of France from 1804 to 1814. He as defeated in the Battle of Leipzig in 1814 and exiled to the island f Elba. He escaped from the jail and reached France. He ruled rance again for a period of 100 days. He was finally defeated in the attle of Waterloo in 1815 and imprisoned in the Island of St. Helena here he died in 1821.

Napoleon was an imperialist and a very ambitious ruler. Having et the internal affairs in order, he embarked on an ambitious venture f spreading his influence in Europe. He wanted to glorify his country nd himself and rule not only over France but Europe and the whole world. In order to realize his ideals, he adopted an aggressive and orward policy and continued wars incessantly for 10 years. Between 1804 and 1811, he gained splendid military achievements and his mpire reached its zenith. He considered himself as great as Alexander, Caesar and Charlemagne. After that, started his decline and the year 1815 sealed his fate as well as of France.

Main Aims of the Foreign Policy of Napoleon

Q. 1. Describe the main aims of the foreign policy of Napoleon. How far was he successful in it ? (P.U. 1964)

Ans. Napoleon wanted to boost up the French influence and his personal influence in the Continent and gain international fame by following a spirited and rigorous foreign policy. According to **Hazen —**

"Napoleon wanted to make France a La Grande Nation of Europe and for this a spirited and vigorous foreign policy of constant militarism was very essential."

Napoleon's expansionism and militarism plunged the whole of Europe in war which continued from 1804 to 1815.

Almost the entire Europe came under his sway and this period came to be known as the Napoleonic Era. The following were the main aims and principles of his foreign policy :—

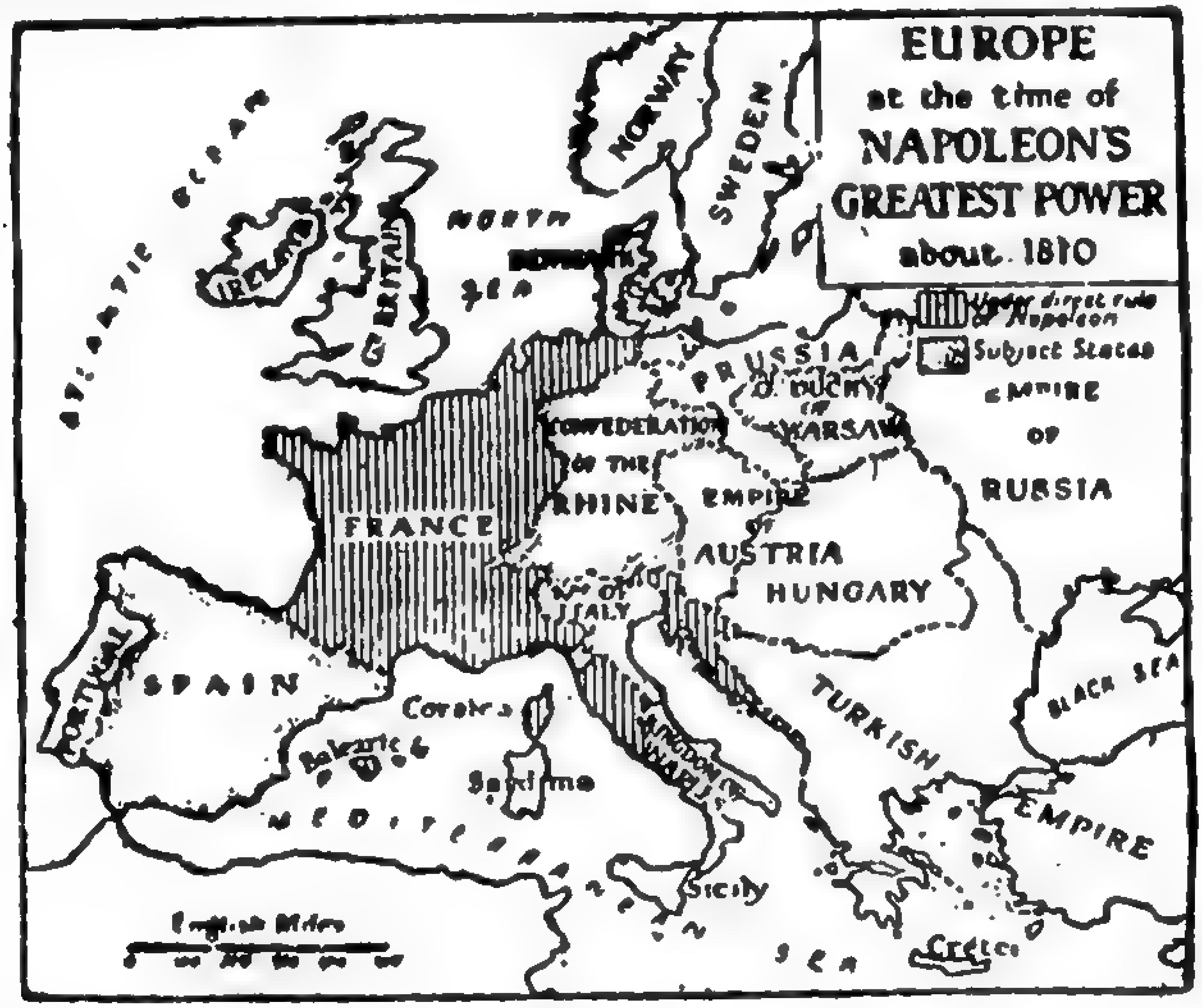
1. **Restoration of the Glory of France**—Napoleon was very ambitious and saw the dreams of conquering the whole world. Like Louis XIV, he wanted to elevate the glory of France and regain its lost prestige and fame. He left no stone unturned to achieve this ideal. This is why the people of France tolerated his despotic rule and raised no voice against him even when he deprived the people of their liberty.

2. **Restoration of the Colonial Empire of France**—France set-up its colonies in America and India during the reign of Louis XIV and its colonial empire was quite large. France had to lose many colonies on account of the weak foreign policy of Louis XV. On coming to power, Napoleon tried to revive the colonial Empire of France. He acquired the vast territory of Louisiana in America from Spain in 1800 and formed a French Empire there. Napoleon sent expeditions to recover the islands of Hayti and San Domingo in West Indies. He despatched armies to Syria and Egzpt with this aim. He entered into negotiation with Tipu Sultan to deprive the English of their colonial Empire in India. In order to set-up French supremacy in India, he captured the Cape of Good Hope and the island of Mauritius. His colonial enterprises enraged the English who started war against France in 1803.

3. **Trade Policy**—England was the avowed enemy of France. France knew fully well that the main source of the strength of the English was their sea-borne trade. He called them the nation of traders and wanted to smash their trade altogether. To achieve this aim, he established toll barriers in France and tribulary states levied heavy duties on English goods. Thus, the Treaty of Amiens was thrown to winds and war broke out between England and France in 1803. In order to give a crushing blow to the trade and commerce of England, he established Continental Sytem, blockaded the coast of England and forbade the tribulary states to carry on trade with England. His Continental System failed badly for want of naval strength and powerful fleet, and it was one of the major causes of his downfall.

4. **Policy of Aggressiveness and Interference**—In order to expand the French Empire, he followed an aggressive and forward policy and began to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. He assumed the role of a second Charlemagne and began to create many dependent kingdoms. He annexed Piedmont. He changed the Cisalpine Republic into the kingdom of Italy and crowned himself the king of Italy. Unitary constitution in Switzerland was substituted by a federal constitution. Holland was also annexed by him and his brother, Louis Bonaparte, became her king. He established six Republics in Europe and posted French armies there. His attempts for the expansion of the French Empire by interfering in the internal affairs of other countries created serious doubts in the minds of the English and they became hostile to France.

5. End of the Naval Power of England—Napoleon regarded England as his greatest enemy because she was the main hurdle in the realization of his ambitions. So he wanted to destroy the naval power of England. The English had established their supremacy over the sea because of their superior navy. It was not easy to invade England with the help of land force because English Channel was a great obstacle between England and France. So he made up his mind to put an end to their colonial empire in India. England had promised to hand over the Island of Malta to France according to the terms of the Treaty of Amiens. But keeping in view the design and ambitions of Napoleon, the English refused to evacuate Malta. This created bad blood between the two nations and war between them became imminent and inevitable.


EUROPE
at the time of
NAPOLEON'S
GREATEST POWER
about 1810
Under direct rule of Napoleon
Subject States
ATLANTIC OCEAN
IRELAND
BRITAIN
NORTH SEA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
PRUSSIA
D. DUCHY OF WARSAW
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
FRANCE
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA HUNGARY
EMPIRE OF RUSSIA
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Corsica
Balearic Is.
Sardinia
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
Sicily
TURKISH EMPIRE
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Crete
English Miles

6. Organization of the French Forces—When England refused to evacuate Malta, Napoleon attacked Hanover and conquered it. He wanted to defeat England at all costs. This was the main aim of his foreign policy because England did not allow him to achieve his ambitions and create a large colonial Empire for France. In order to inflict a crushing defeat on England, he began to organize and strengthen his military forces. He created a strong naval force consisting of 1½ lac soldiers and posted it at Boulogne in 1803-1804 to launch a severe attack on England after crossing the English Channel. Holland, Spain and Italy also helped him in this matter.

From the above description, it is clear that Napoleon was a ruler of high ambitions. He wanted to dominate the whole of Europe and set-up a colonial Empire for France. England was a big obstacle in his way. In order to crush the naval power of England and to destroy her commerce, he followed a dynamic and rigorous foreign policy and carried on war for ten years. In the beginning, he achieved remarkable success and by 1814 almost the whole of Europe came under his sway However, ultimately his policy of aggressiveness and militarism proved an utter failure and England raised Fourth Coalition against him with the co-operation of Russia, Prussia and Austria. They defeated Napolean completely in 1815 in the Battle of Waterloo and shattered all his dreams.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Aims of the Foreign Policy of Napoleon :—(1) Restoration of the glory of France (2) Restoration of Colonial Empire of France. (3) Commercial Policy. (4) Policy of aggressiveness and interference. (5) To crush the British Naval Power (6) Organization of the French forces to defeat England. But, he failed to realize his ambitions in the long run.

Relations between France and England from 1803-1807.

Q. 2. Give an account of the war between France and England from 1803 to 1807.

Or

Throw some light on the relations of Napoleon with England from 1803 to 1807.

Or

What led to the formations of the Third Coalition (1805-1807) against France ?

Ans.—England and France had signed the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. It did not prove permanent but only provided breathing space to both the countries to prepare for future wars. This Treaty failed to put a check to the aggressive policy of Napoleon and lessen the tension between the two countries. It remained in foree for one year only and war started between the two countries again in 1803.

Causes of the War—The following were the causes of this war :—

(1) By the Treaties of Campo Formio and Lunevile, Napoleon had *expanded his empire* and annexed territories up to the western coast of Rhine.

(2) Napoleon had *annexed a large part of Italy and Belgium.* England always opposed his policy of expansionism.

(3) Napoleon's *intentions in Egypt were viewed with great suspicion by England* as she thought that Napoleon might try to reconquer it and prove a danger to her Eastern Empire.

(4) Napoleon had imposed many *restrictions on British goods* over all the sea-ports from Hanover to Italy.

(5) The *occupation of Holland* presented a serious threat to British commerce.

(6) England had entered into a Commercial Treaty with France to safeguard her commercial interests. Napoleon wanted to encourage industry in France and capture the markets of Europe. The *French refused to renew Anglo-French Commercial Treaty* and levied heavy taxes on British goods. This policy proved harmful for British trade.

(7) England had agreed to hand over the *Island of Malta* to France, in accordance with the Treaty of Amiens. But keeping in view Napoleon's undue interference in Italian affairs and his design in Egypt, she refused to evacuate Malta. Under these circumstances, war between the two countries became inevitable.

Events—War started between the two countries again on 17th May, 1803. Napoleon made a plan to invade England. He organized his army and posted it at Boulogne from where he wanted to attack England. He also collected a large number of ships, boats and frigates for this purpose. One of the French fleet was at Toulon while the other was at Brest. Spanish fleet was posted at Cadiz. If the three fleets could control the English Channel it was easy to invade England. **Napoleon** used to say —

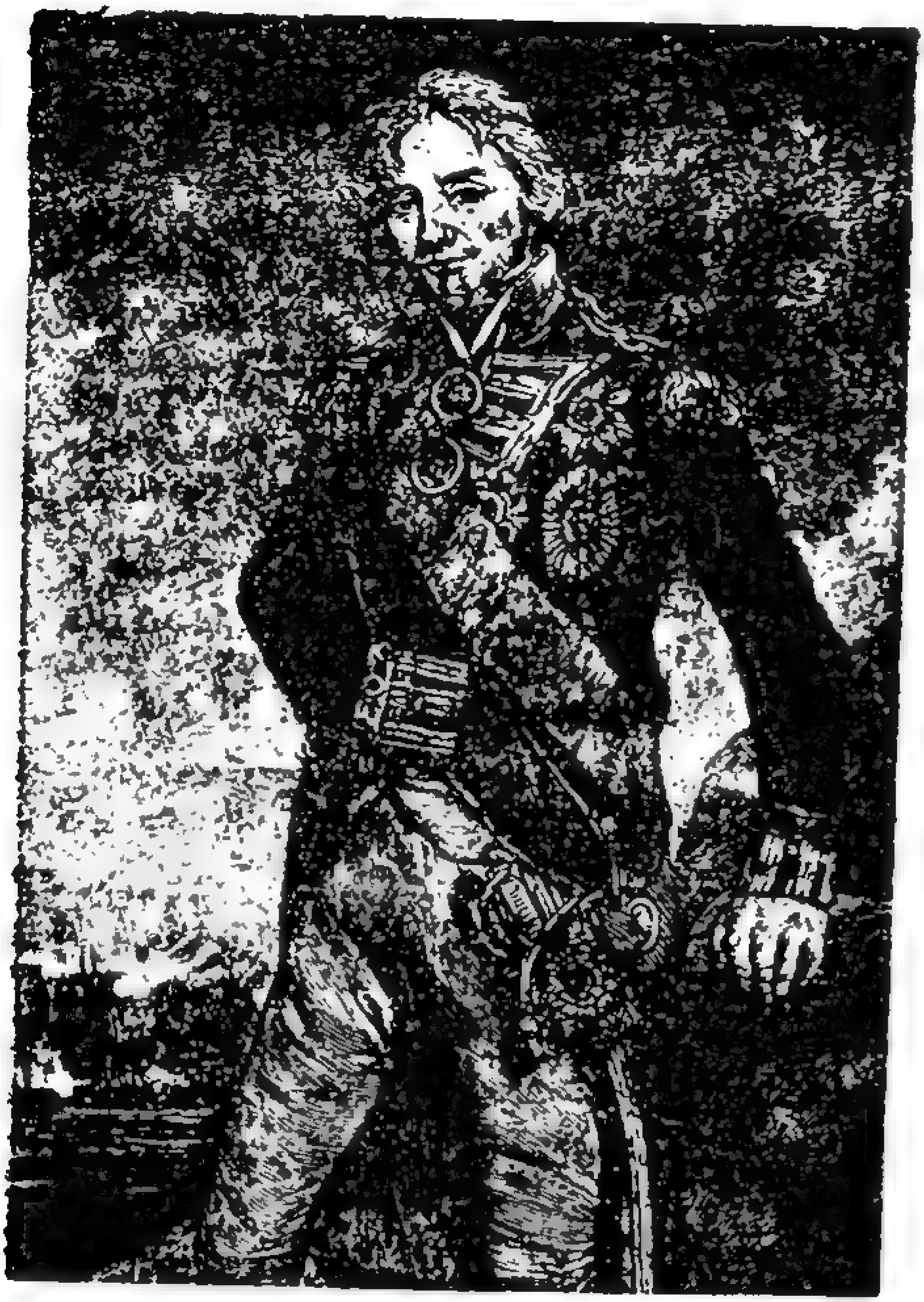
'If we control English Channel for six hours we can conquer the whole world.''

According to the plan of Napoleon, the French Admiral, Villeneuve, set sail from Toulon and joined the Spanish fleet at Cadiz. Then both the fleets sailed towards the West Indies. Lord Nelson, commander of the British fleet, pursued them. Napoleon ordered Villeneuve to sail back to France because he wanted to invade England in conjunction with the fleet at Brest in the absence of Nelson.

When Villenevue was sailing back, he was intercepted and defeated at the battle of Cape Finisterre by an English commander Calder. The French fleet was allowed to retire to Cadiz. This defeat shattered all dreams and plans of Napoleon. On the contrary the English navy besieged the French fleets at Toulon and Brest, and captured many ships, French Islands and Dutch possessions. Napoleon gave up the idea of invading England and turned to Austria.

The Third Coalition—Pitt the Younger, became the Prime Minister of England again in 1804. He organised the Third Coalition with the help of Austria, Russia, Prussia, in 1805. Russia joined it because she wanted to increase her influence in the Black Sea at the cost of Turkey. England promised to give liberal subsidies to Russia to raise armies. Austria joined it because she was annoyed with Napoleon's domination in Italy. Prussia was forced to join the Coalition because Napoleon's army violated the Prussian territory.

Battle of Trafalgar, 1805—After the defeat of French an Spanish fleets, Napoleon abandoned the idea of invading England. O the other hand, Nelso prepared a nice plan an pursued the French navy He defeated the Frenc navy decisively in th Battle of Trafalgar i 1805. Nelson died i this battle but he accomp lished his task before hi death. Before his death, he said, "*Thank God, I have done my duty*."



Lord Nelson

This victory enabled England to establish her domination on the sea and save her colonies and trade. French navy was utterly destroyed. About this victory, **Pitt** said—

> "*England has saved herself by her exertion, she will, I trust, save Europe by her example.*"

Napoleon could not dare face the English navy after this defeat but French army once again swept everything before them by winning remarkable victories on land. The French defeated the Austrian army at Ulm on 20th October, 1805. Napoleon succeeded in entering Vienna. Then, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the combined armies of Austria and Russia on 2nd December, 1805 at Austerlitz. Austria sued for peace and signed the treaty of Pressburg with Napoleon. After its defeat at the battle of Friedland, Russia also entered into Treaty of Tilsit with France. In this way, the Third Coalition also came to an end.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Relations between France & England between 1803 to 1807—(1) Reason for the break-up of the Treaty of Amiens (2) War between England & France started in 1803 (3) Napoleon's plan to invade England. (4) Naval battles between England & France. (5) Third Coalition against France. (6) England's victory in the battle of Trafalgar in 1805 crushed the naval power of France and Spain. (7) Defeat of Austria & Russia and end of Third Coalition.

Napoleon's Struggle against Austria

Q. 3. Give an account of Napoleon's policy towards Austria om 1805 to 1815 A.D.

Or

Briefly narrate the struggle of Austria and Napoleon from 805 to the Treaty of Tilist (1807 A.D.)

Ans.—The Emperor of France, Louis XVI, had entered into atrimonial alliance with Austria. He had married Marie Antoinette ho was the sister of Joseph II, the then king of Austria and daughter f Maria Theresa. She was very beautiful and charming but was easeoving and extravagant lady. She had full control over Louis XVI and ould force him to commit all proper or improper actions. Her influnce over her husband proved fatal for the king, the queen and France. he king of Austria helped Louis XVI during the period of Revolution nd antagonised the revolutionaries. Thus, the relations between rance and Austria were strained. A struggle ensued between the wo countries in 1792 and it continued upto 1815. This struggle took a serious turn during Napoleon's ascendency in France. Napoleon defeated Austria five times.

I. Causes of the Struggle—There were many causes of struggle—

(1) France defeated Austria twice from 1792 to 1800. *Austria wanted to avenge* these defeats and regain her honour and fame.

(2) *Napoleon's domination in Italy* was viewed with grave suspicion by Austria. She wanted to reduce French influence in Italy.

(3) Pitt the Younger, the Prime Minister of England, raised the *Third Coalition* against France in 1805. Austria also joined it. Under these circumstances, the war between the two countries became imminent and inevitable.

(4) After her defeat in the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805, Austria had to sign a disgraceful Treaty of Pressburg with France. She had to yield many territories to France and lost her honour and prestige also. She was deprived of her possessions in Italy, Switzerland and Rhine. Austria continued *her efforts to regain her lost territories* and honour and this led to a long drawn-out struggle between the two countries.

(5) Napoleon was busy with his life and death *struggle in Spain* with 3,00,000 soldiers. Austria wanted to take full advantage of this opportunity and started making preparations for war against France. In 1809, she made military training compulsory for all men between the age of 19 and 25.

(6) *Napoleon's defeat in Spain encouraged Austria* to wage war against France. She was also assured help by England and Germany.

(7) After her defeat in the Battle of Wagran in 1809, Austria had to enter into an insulting treaty with France. It gave a fatal blow to her honour and prestige. To avenge this defeat and insult, she joined the *Fourth Coalition* against France in 1813. This struggle came to an end only in 1815 after the defeat of Napoleon in the battle of Waterloo.

2. **Events**—During the reign of the Directory, Napoleon took part in the war against Austria. After his success in the Battle of Arcola and Rivoli, he compelled Austria to sign the Treaty of Campo Formio and yield much of the territory under her domination in Italy. On assuming the authority of First Consul, he continued war against Austria. He inflicted defeats on Austria in the battles of Morengo and Hohenlinden and she was forced to sue for peace and sign the Treaty of Luneville in 1801 and confirm the provisions of the treaty of Campo Formio.

Battle of Ulm, 1805—Austria joined the Third Coalition against France in 1805. It was difficult to attack England and Russia. Therefore Napoleon turned his attention to Austria first. Without waiting for the Russian help, Austria sent 80,000 soldiers under the command of General Mack up the river Danube. Mack took up the position at Ulma with the hope that Napoleon would come through Black Forest. But Napoleon avoided this direct route. Napoleon ordered his huge army to cross Germany and advance from north to south. He covered this long distance of 500 miles after a continued march of 23 days. Mack was quite ignorant of his strategy. So Napoleon over-took Mack from the rear and cut off the line of communication. Napoleon defeated him easily on 20th October, 1805 at Ulm and forced him to surrender. About his victory, he wrote to his wife Josephine—

"I have accomplished what I set out to do. I have destroyed the Austrian army by means of marches alone."

Napoleon imprisoned 60,000 soldiers and 30 generals of the Austrian army and captured 130 guns, while he lost only 1,500 men in this battle.

The Battle of Austerlitz, Dec. 2, 1805—After his success in the battle of Ulm, Napoleon entered Vienna as a victor. Francis II, the Emperor of Austria fled from his capital. A fierce battle was fought by Napoleon against the combined armies of Austria and Russia. Napoleon won this famous battle of Austerlitz on 2nd December, 1805 because of his superior generalship and experience. The enemy lost a large number of men and artillery in this battle. After his victory, he addressed his men thus—

"Soldiers, I am satisfied with you. In the battle of Austerlitz, you have justified all my expectations by intrepedity ; you have adorned your eagles with immortal glory."

To quote Napoleon—

"The battle of Austerlitz is the most splendid of all I have fought."

On hearing the news of Napoleon's glorious and important victory, Pitt was aggrieved very much. Seeing the map of Europe on the wall before him he said—

"Roll up that map, it will not be wanted these ten years."

Austria's defeat shocked Pitt so much that he expired in 1805. Before his death, he uttered these words—

"My country, how I leave my country."

Treaty of Pressburg, 1805—After his astounding victory, Napoleon compelled Austria to sign the Treaty of Pressburg. The main terms of this treaty were as under—

(1) Austria ceded *Venetio, Istria and Dalimatia* to France.

(2) Austria was allowed to retain only the port of Trieste in Adriatic. In this way, France estalished her influence in the Adriatic.

(3) To reduce her influence and power in Germany, Austria was forced to cede *Tyrol and Swabia to Bavaria*

(4) The king of Austria was deprived of his title of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

(5) Napoleon created four kingdoms by this treaty. *Bavaria and Wurtemberg were raised to the status of kingdoms and Baden was raised to the level of Grand Duchy.* Naples had sided with the enemy in this war. So the Bourbon King of Naples was removed from the throne of Naples and Napoleon's brother, *Joseph, was crowned as the king of Naples.* The Republic of Holland was changed into a monarchy. Napoleon's brother, *Louis was put on the throne* of Holland. Holy Roman Empire was abolished and *confederation of Rhine* consisting of 16 states of Western Germany was established in its place.

Importance—The treaty of Pressburg has its special significance. Austria was utterly defeated and reduced to a 2nd class power. She lost her prestige and glory. She lost many territories. She was shunted out of Italy and Adriatic. She lost 3,000,000 subjects. This defeat broke up the Third Coalition against France. On the contrary, Napoleon regained honour and prestige for France. This victory made him the master of almost the whole Europe.

The Battle of Wagram, 1809—To avenge her defeat in the battle of Austerlitz, Austria began to organise her army. At that time, Napoleon was busy in his campaigns in Spain and his condition there was very critical. Taking advantage of his difficulties, Austria declared war against Napoleon in 1809. This was the fourth war of Austria against France. Austria was defeated very badly this time also. The Austrian army fought under the command of Arch Duke Charles, the brother of the Emperor of Austria. Napoleon fought five battles in five days. He defeated the Austrian army at Ekmuhl and entered Vienna. But the Austrians defeated Napoleon in the battle of Aspern Essling. This spectacular victory of Austria delighted all the countries of Europe and it shattered their belief of Napoleon's invincibility. A fierce battle was fought at Wagram on July 6, 1809. Napoleon won this battle and avenged his previous defeat. Austria was compelled to sue for peace and sign the treaty of Vienna on October 10, 1809.

As a result of the Treaty of Vienna, Austria had to cede some territory under her domination in Germany, Poland and Italy. She lost 50 lac subjects. She had to pay a heavy sum as war-indemnity. She could not keep more than 1½ lac soldiers. She had to accept the Continental System and recognise the new kingdom of Spain.

Napoleon's wife Josephine bore no son. So Napoleon entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Hapsburg dynasty of Austria and married the princess Marie Louis. He divorced Josephine. Marie Louis gave birth to a son after a year of her marriage and the title of king of Rome was bestowed on him.

Battle of Dresden, 1813—It was hoped that the matrimonial alliance would bind the two countries together and put an end to the enmity between them. But these hopes were belied because Austria could not support Napoleon in realizing his high ambitions. The Prime Minister of Austria, Metternich, tried his level best to cement the gulf between Austria and France but he failed in his efforts and the relations between the two countries still remained strained. Austria agreed to join the Fourth Coalition against France in 1813. So, the struggle between the two countries started again. Napoleon defeated the Austrians for the fifth time in 1813 in the battle of Dresden. This was his last victory over Austria. He was defeated by the armies of the allies in 1814 at the Battle of Nations. After his defeat in the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, Napoleon surrendered to the Allies who imprisoned him in the Island of St. Helena where he died in 1821.

Results of the War—From the above description, it is clear that the two countries were engaged in a long struggle which proved fatal to both. They had to suffer a heavy loss both in men and money. Both lost thousands of soldiers and military officials in the war and spent huge sums of money in it. Austria was defeated every time and her defeat gave severe blow to her honour and prestige and power. She had to sign various insulting treaties with France. To avenge her defeats, she had to enter the different coalitions, formed against France from time to time. As a consequence, Napoleon spent much of his time and energy in fighting against Austria and he could not pay heed to other countries and fight successfully against them. The matrimonial alliance could not bring them nearer to each other. Thus enmity and long struggle proved harmful for both. None gained anything out of it.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Relations between Austria and France—A long struggle between the two.

1. **Reasons of War**: Defeat of Austria; French domination over Italy; Third Coalition; Austria's defeat at Austerlitz; Spirit of revenge and organisation of military strength; Napoleon's reverses in Spain; defeat of Austria at Wagram.

2. **Events**—Napoleon's success against Austria during the reign of Directory and as First Consul ; Battle of Ulm ; Austria's defeat in the Battle of Austerlitz and Treaty of Pressburg in 1805. Battle of Wagram and Treaty of Vienna ; Battle of Dresden in 1813 and defeat of Austria.

3. **Results of War**—Fatal for both the countries ; Huge loss of men and material ; Blow to honour and power of Austria ; Austria joined all the coalitions against France , Napoleon spent much of his time and energy in wars against Austria ; Matrimonial alliance failed to cement the gulf between the two.

Treaty of Tilsit, 1807 A.D.

Q. 4. Give an account of the relation between France and Russia upto the Treaty of Tilsit of 1807 A.D. (Important)

Or

What were the main causes of the Treaty of Tilsit ? Discuss its significance also.

Ans.—The Treaty of Amiens proved temporary and war started again between England and Napoleon in 1803. Napoleon's plans to invade England failed badly. England raised the Third Coalition against France in 1805 with the co-operation of Austria, Russia and Prussia. Russia joined the coalition because she wanted to increase her influence in the Mediterranean Sea which was a key to East and at the same time she wanted to dominate the Sultan of Turkey. Russia had no money to raise armies. Pitt helped her to overcome this difficulty. Napoleon defeated the combined armies of Austria and Russia in the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805. He forced Austria to sign the Treaty of Pressburg but Russia did not enter into any treaty with him and deserted the former.

Battles of Eylau and Friedland, 1807—Napoleon defeated Prussia in 1806 in the Battle of Jena. Russia was a close friend of Prussia but she did not take part in this battle because the Prussian army did not wait for the Russians. After his success against Prussia, Napoleon turned towards Russia. Both the armies fought each other at the battle of Eylau on 8th February, 1807. It was a fierce battle and Napoleon lost 35,000 soldiers in it but the battle remained indecisive.

To quote Napoleon —

"*What carnage and no results.*"

Napoleon's loss in the Battle of Eylau delighted the Allies and they saw a new ray of hope. But their happiness remained shortlived and their hopes were shattered when Napoleon inflicted a crushing defeat on the Russins in the Battle of Friedland on June 14, 1807. This battle proved decisive. The Russians hoped that England would send her army to Adriatic to divert the attention of Napoleon but Russians were defeated before the arrival of the English army. The Czar of Russia, Alexander I, was so much shocked that he sued for peace and signed the Treaty of Tilsit with Napoleon in 1807. This was a splendid victory of Napoleon. He wrote to Josephine—

"The victory at Friedland is the worthy sister of Marengo, Austerlitz and Jena."

The Treaty of Tilsit, 1807 A.D.—This treaty was signed by Napoleon and Czar of Russia after their talk in a boat in Niemen river. Both were much impressed by the mutual talk and personality of each other. Czar was very handsome, loving and sentimental. Napoleon used to say, "*Had he (Czar) been a woman, I would have fallen in love with her.*" Czar was fascinated by the personality, extraordinary genius and plans of Napoleon. He said, "Why did we not meet earlier ?" By this treaty, Napoleon wanted to gain co-operation and sympathy of Russia against England. This treaty had two aspects (i) Public Treaty and (ii) Private Treaty.

(*a*) *Provisions of the Public Treaty*—The main aim of this treaty was to dismember Prussia.

(*i*) Prussian territories west of river Elbe were formed into a kingdom of Westphalia and Napoleon's brother, Jerome Bonaparte was to rule over it.

(*ii*) Prussia's Polish provinces were taken away to form the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Duke of Saxony, an ally of Napoleon, was made its ruler.

(*iii*) The Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Westphalia joined the confederation of the Rhine.

(*iv*) Czar recognised the two kingdoms created by Napoleon.

(*v*) Prussian army was reduced to 42,000 soldiers.

(*iv*) A heavy war indemnity was imposed on Russia, and a French army was to remain there till it was paid. The expenses of the army were to be borne by Prussia.

(*vii*) Russia agreed to accept the Continental System.

(*b*) *Private Treaty*—It expressed their intentions. Its terms concerned Russia. Russia was not humiliated like Prussia. Its main provisions were as under :—

(*i*) Czar promised to act as mediator between England and France and help France to have friendly relations with England. If England refused to make peace, Czar would support France in his economic and commercial fight with England.

(*ii*) Napoleon agreed to allow Czar to occupy Finland which was under the domination of Sweden.

(*iii*) Napoleon promised to help Czar in his designs against Turkey.

(*iv*) In order to crush the naval power of England, both would seek the co-operation of Sweden, Denmark and Portugal.

(*v*) Both made a plan to divide Europe between them. According to this plan, Napoleon was to rule over the Western part and Czar over the Eastern part of Europe. Napoleon remarked—

"What is Europe ? Where is it, if it is not you and I ?"

Czar sought his co-operation to annex Constantinople from Turkey. Napoleon, however, gave a flat refusal because he did not like to increase the influence and power of Russia beyond limit.

Napoleon said—

"Constantinople ; Never ! Never ! That would make him the master of the world."

Importance of the Treaty of Tilsit—Napoleon was at the zenith of power and the Treaty of Tilsit was the high watermark of Napoleon's success. The whole Continent lay at his feet. He had humbled Austria and Prussia and rendered them powerless. He annexed much of their territory and their population was reduced. He extended the frontiers of his empire. Small states of Europe feared him. He held sway over all the countries of Europe except England. He was the master of almost the whole of Europe.

His successes and victories enhanced his influcnce in France. People worshipped him like an angel. He wanted to perpetuate the rule of his family and make it powerful and prosperous. Keeping this thing in view, he crowned his brother Joseph as the ruler of Naples; Louis was made the ruler of Holland and Jerome was made to rule over the kingdom of Westphalia. By this treaty, Czar and Napoleon agreed to divide Europe. Eastern Europe was placed under the domination of Czar while Western Europe was to be occupied by Napoleon. But this treaty did not prove permanent because both suspected each other and Russia joined the Fourth Coalition in 1813. **Grant** and **Temperley** observe—

"The territories of Napoleon received considerable additions after this date. They reached their maximum in the year 1811. But 1807 marks the zenith of his power. Had he died in that year, his career would have seemed to be the most miraculous in the military annals of Europe and perhaps of the world. He had succeeded in every task and overthrown every enemy. He had arranged Europe according to his liking. He had no military rival and he was, as is apparent, in closed and friendly alliance with the Czar of Russia. The French Revolution was left far behind now. It was not French but Napoleon who commanded in Europe. And he had carried with him his family to wealth, fame and power......Pitt, Napoleon's most determined and most capable enemy, was dead. He seemed a God to kill and to make alive."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Treaty of Tilsit, 1807 A.D.—It was signed between Czar of Russia and Napoleon.

(1) **Terms of the Public Treaty**—Establishment of the kingdom of Westphalia and Grand Duchy of Warsaw; their recognition by the Czar; war indem-

nity imposed on Prussia ; Prussian army reduced ; Prussia was to bear the expenses of the French army in Prussia ; Czar accepted Continental system.

(2) **Terms of the Private Treaty**—Czar to act as a mediator between England and France ; Czar allowed to annex Finland ; Czar was promised help in Turkey ; agreement to crush Naval power of England ; Plan to divide Europe.

(3) **Importance of Treaty**—Napoleon at the zenith of his power ; Expansion of French Empire: Austria & Prussia made powerless; Czar became an ally of France. it enhanced Napoleon's influence at home ; Efforts by Napoleon to perpetuate the rule of his dynasty.

Relations between France and Prussia

Q. 5. Give an account of the relations between France and Prussia from 1806 to 1813 A.D.

Or

Critically discuss the Prussian regeneration from 1807 to 1813.

Or

Explain the rise of Prussia after the battle of Jena and describe the part played by her in the Europeon struggle from 1807 to 1815.

Ans. -1. Relations before 1806—Napoleon first defeated Austria in the battles of Arcola and Rivoli and then in the battles of Morengo and forced her to sign the Treaties of Lunevile and Amiens respectively. France annexed the territories on the west of Rhine. It reduced the number of states in Germany. Germany consisted of 360 states in 1792 but in 1802, it comprised of only 82 states. After the defeat of Austria in the battle of Austrelitz in 1805, Confederation of Rhine consisting of 16 states was set-up in 1806. It was independent of Prussia and Russia. Napoleon was to act as its protector. The confederation signed an offensive and defensive treaty with Napoleon who was responsible for conducting its foreign policy. Emperor Francis gave up his title and the Holy Roman Empire came to an end.

2. War between France and Prussia, 1806—With the passage of time, the relations between Prussia and France became more and more strained and the persons who were in favour of war against France gained supremacy in Prussia due to the weak policy of Fredrick William III. The leadership of this group of war-mongers passed into the hands of Queen Louis. The Queen and the other Prussian military leaders as thought that they could defeat France as was done by Fredrick the Great. They held a demonstration in front of the French Chancery in Berlin and compelled their emperor to send an ultimatum to France. As a result of this, war ensued between the two countries. Napoleon inflicted crushing defeats on the army of Prussia in the Battles of Jena (1806) and Aurustadt. He gave a severe blow to her military power, imprisoned a large number of soldiers and captured many forts. Prussia was humbled completely and became powerless. **Hazen** says—

"Their whole army was disorganised ; became panic-stricken, streamed from the field of battle as best as it could, no longer receiving or obeying order ; many throwing away their arms, fleeing in every direction. Thousands of prisoners were taken. The collapse was complete. There was no longer any Prussian army. One after another all the fortresses fell."

Napoleon entered Berlin on October 25, 1806 in triumph and declared his domination over the kingdom of Prussia. He imposed heavy war-indemnity on Prussia. From here he issued his famous Berlin Decrees, ordered his vassal states to accept Continental System and declared the blockade of British Isles forbidding all commerce with them. Napoleon defeated Russia in the Battle of Friedland in 1807 and forced her to sign the Treaty of Tilsit. Very hard terms were imposed on Prussia by this treaty and she was rendered powerless and her empire was dismembered completely.

3. **Regeneration of Prussia (1807-1813)**—Prussia had to tolerate insults heaped on her by the Treaty of Tilsit. Napoleon stationed his troops in Prussia and crushed the power of Prussia completely and she became a third-class power in Europe. Out of the very depths of this national degeneration, came Prussia's salvation. Her noblest spirits were roused to seek the causes of this unexpected national calamity and tried to remedy them. Poets, writers, philosophers, teachers and preachers of Prussia had a great hand in the reconstruction of their country. The names of Schiller, Wolf, Fichte, Arndt, F.L. Jahan etc. are worth mentioning. They roused the spirit of patriotism in the youth of Prussia. Institutions like Tugenbund and League of Virtue played a significant role in promoting the cause of regeneration of Prussia. The Berlin University was established by the efforts of the Education Minister, Wilhelm Von Humbolt in 1809. This university became a source of inspiration for the people and did wonderful work in arousing the spirit of nationalism among the masses. In 1811, he set up the university of Breslaw and introduced common school system. These universities and educational institutions strengthened the feelings of patriotism and nationalism. Gymnastic Society helped to organise public opinion.

Besides the writers and philosophers, Fredrick William III's minister's such as Baron Vom Stein, Hardenburg and Sharnhorst etc. made remarkable contribution in the salvation and reconstruction of Prussia. According to Stein, the Prime Minister and Home Minister of Prussia, defective social institutions were responsible for the degeneration of Prussia. Of these, serfdom was the most harmful. Many restrictions had been imposed on the serfs. **Stein** used to say, "*Patriots cannot be made out of serfs.*" He compelled the king to issue the Edict of Emancipation abolishing serfdom in the country. After its abolition, he said, "*The Prussian king was no longer the king of slaves but of free men.*"

The serfs were freed from forced labour. Capital punishment could not be awarded to them. The special privileges of the aristocrats were abolished and a classless society based on the revolutionary principles of equality, liberty and fraternity was established in Prussia. In order to encourage industries, he removed many restrictions imposed on them. Freedom of choice of profession was granted to all. Stein was in favour of free-trade. Legal barriers between towns of Prussia and the rest of the country were broken down. People were given the right to govern themselves through local self-government. The Municipal Councils were set up in towns and cities. Stein wanted to establish limited monarchy in place of despotic rule in Prussia but he failed to do so on account of the opposition of the emperor. Hardenburg made farmers the owners of land which they tilled themselves. They were also granted the right of buying and selling land. The serfdom and landlordism ended in Prussia by 1811.

The credit for introducing reforms in military and organising the military strength of Prussia goes to Scharnhorst, Gneisenau and Clausewitz. Napoleon had reduced the military strength of Prussia to 42,000 soldiers. Military training was made compulsory for all men between the age of 18 to 30 years. Short service system was introduced. After their service in the army for some years, the soldiers were sent to the Reserve force and fresh ones were recruited in their place. By this system, Prussia was able to raise an army of 1,50,000 soldiers by 1812. The foreigners were excluded from the army and the Prussian army became completely national. Promotions in the army were based on merit and ability. The system ended all corruption and bribery in military. In order to infuse national sentiments among the soldiers, the practice of awarding disgracing punishments was also abolished. Prussia reaped the fruits of reorganisation of military in the future wars.

From the above description, it is clear that Prussia was deeply influenced by the French Revolution. Prussians tried to establish a new social set-up based on the revolutionary principles of equality, liberty and fraternity and introduced various agrarian, military, educational and social reforms for the regeneration of Prussia. For the introduction of these reforms, they got inspiration from France. But there was a vast difference of principles between the two countries. There was reform in Prussia but no Revolution. At the same time, the credit for reform in Prussia goes to the king and not to the people. **Prof. Hazen** has rightly remarked—

> *"In Prussia, it was the king who made the reforms, not the people."*

Though the scheme of reforms could not be put into practice completely, yet these reforms had special significance in awakening the spirit of patriotism, nationalism and idealism among the Prussians.

To quote **Prof. Hazen**—

> *"Reforms were not carried out completely, owing to opposition from*

ithin the kingdom and from without. But, though incomplete, these reforms ere very vitalizing."

3. Struggle between Prussia and Napoleon (1807-1815)—russia's defeat at the Battle of Jena and Treaty of Tilsit curtailed er power and lowered her national prestige and glory. Napoleon nnexed half of her kingdom. He reduced her military strength and ompelled he- to accept the Continental System. Prussia was on the ook out for opportunity to avenge this humiliating defeat and recover er lost territory. Thus, struggle between Prussia and France was nevitable. Napoleon attacked Moscow in 1812. His Moscow campaign ailed utterly. His disaster sent a thrill of hope among the Prussians nd they realized that the hour of revenge had come. The Commander f the Prussian army, General York, entered into a treaty with Russia nown as the Convention of Tauroggan in December, 1812. It was ettled that Prussia would help Russia and Sweden against Napoleon and in return Russia and Sweden would help Prussia in her regeneration and in regaining her lost provinces from Napoleon. After his return from Moscow, Napoleon had declared that he would reach River Niemen in spring but he failed to do so. On the other hand, Frederick William III declared Prussia's independence from the yoke of Napoleon on 27th February, 1813. Russia and Prussia recognised the Treaty of Kalisch and joined the Fourth Coalition against Napoleon and declared war against him. Napoleon defeated the combined armies of Russia and Prussia in the battles of Lutzen and Bantzen and recovered Dresden. But he could not follow up his victories and agreed to sign the Armistice of Pleswitz with them. This treaty proved fatal for him. Now, Austria also joined the coalition. The Allies defeated Napoleon in 1813 at the Battle of Leipzig, known as the 'Battle of Nations' in the history. This battle proved decisive and Napoleon was driven to the other side of Rhine and his political structure in Germany collapsed. The confederation of Rhine was dissolved. The Allies invaded France and Paris fell on March 30, 1814. The Allies entered Paris in triumph. Napoleon was forced to abdicate and retire to the island of Elba. Napoleon suddenly escaped from Elba and landed in France. The people gave him a warm welcome and his old soldiers also joined him. He started war again against the Allies but was defeated in the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. He was taken prisoner and sent to St. Helena where he died in 1821.

Thus, we see that Prussia took part in the defeat and destruction of Napoleon by her active co-operation with the allies.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Relations between Prussia and France

(1) *Relations before 1805*—(1) According to the Treaties of Campo Formia and Lunevile, Prussia ceded much territory to France. (2) Her defeat at Jena in 1806 and Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 dismembered her empire and she became powerless.

(2) *Regeneration of Prussia*—(1) Poets, writers, reformers, philosophers Prussia had great hand in her regeneration (2) Universities of Berlin a Breslaw established by Humbolt produced the spirit of patriotism and natio alism. (3) Stein abolished serfdom; gave land to farmers; encourag industry and trade; tried a set-up to classless society on the principles Equality, Liberty & Fraternity. (4) Hardenburg made farmers the owne of land. (5) Scharnhorst, Gneisenau and Clausewitz organised t military strength of Prussia, by introducing compulsory military traini and Reserve Force System. (6) The French Revolution greatly influenc the regeneration of Prussia.

(3) *War between Prussia and Napoleon*—After her defeat, Prussia continued h struggle; Moscow disaster encouraged Prussia; recognized the Treaty Kalisch in 1813 and joined the Fourth Coalition; Defeat of Russia Prussia in May, 1813; Victories of Allies in the Battles of Leipzig (181 and Waterloo (1815) and fall of Napoleon.

The Continental System of Napoleon

☞**Q. 6. Describe the Continental System of Napoleon. Wh did it fail? Why was it one of the greatest blunders of Napoleon (V. Imp.)**

Or

Why did Napoleon adopt the Continental System? Ho did it operate? How did it affect his empire and other states o Europe?

Or

What was the Continental System? How far was it responsible for Napoleon's downfall?

Ans.—I. Why did Napoleon adopt the Continental System?—By 1807, Napoleon had humbled Russia, Prussia and Austria. England was his only enemy which could not be subdued. He had still to deal with the English. He made a plan to invade England in 1803 but he failed miserably. The English ruined his fleet in the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805 and smashed the Navy of France. He was fully convinced that it is difficult to defeat England with the help of French fleet and armies. If the French armies had established their superiority on land, the British Navy had established its supremacy over the sea. Napoleon was bent upon bringing England to his knees. But, English Channel and navy were a great hurdle in his way. To quote him—

"It is easier to send troops from Paris to Delhi than from Boulogne to Folkestone."

After his failure to attack England directly, he thought of invading her indirectly. He was of the view that the source of the strength of England was her trade. He called the English a Nation of shopkeepers and so he wanted to carry on economic war against them and destroy their prosperity which depended on trade. Such an advice was given to Napoleon by **Montgaillard** in these words—

"It is through her commerce that England must be attacked ; to leave her of her gains in Europe, Asia and America is to leave her arms, to render conflicts and wars eternal. To destroy British commerce is to strike England to the heart."

Napoleon thought that if he could ruin her trade and commerce and close foreign markets to British goods, her prosperity would be destroyed, her factories would close down and thousands of labourers would be thrown out of employment and there would be internal disorder and revolts in England. By killing her trade, he wanted to bring England on the verge of bankruptcy and make it impossible for her to carry on incessant war against France. By crippling her economy, he thought of forcing England to sue for peace. He used to say—

"The closing of foreign markets might well produce commercial bankruptcy, unemployment and political unrest enough to force the government to sue for peace."

He devised a new method of hitting at Great Britain. To ruin her trade and commerce, he introduced the Continental System which involved the economic blockade of England. It was his last weapon and upon it depended his success or failure. To quote **Marriot** :—

"It was the last throw of a political gambler compelled by the exigencies of the game to rise or ruin."

2. The Continental System—Napoleon's plan of bringing England to her knees by ruining her trade and shattering her economic structure is known as the Continental System. This plan was announced by him in November 1806 through his famous Berlin Decrees. According to this plan, he declared the blockade of British Isles. France and her allies stopped trade with England and boy-cotted the British goods. Ports of France and her allies were closed to the British ships. The British traders were arrested and British goods within the borders of Frnce and her allies were confiscated.

Great Britain hit back by issuing "*Orders in Council*" on 7th January, 1807. According to these orders, all ships trading with France and her allies were liable to be siezed. Neutral vessels were ordered to touch at a British port before sailing to any port of Europe.

Napoleon strengthened and extended his Continental System by issuing various decrees. The Warsaw Decree issued on 25th January, 1807 led to complete boycott of British goods in the commercial towns of France and her allies. Napoleon issued decrees from Milan in 1807. Under this declaration, Napoleon threatened to capture neutral vessels sailing from British port or her colonies. By Trianon Tariff rules issued on 5th August 1808, Napoleon decided to impose 50% duty on the smuggled British goods sold in the British colonies. By the Decree of Fontainebleau (1810), Napoleon ordered to confiscate or bur all British manufactured goods if found in the French Empire. Specia Tribunals were established to try those persons who violated thi decree. He ordered his officials to enforce it strictly. He wrote t his Commander Junot—

"It is a contest of life and death between France and England. . must look for the most cordial support of all those by whom I an surrounded."

3. Operation of the Continental System—In order to destro British trade and her prosperity, Napoleon thought it essential t enforce Continental System simultaneously and continuously at al places. He knew fully well that by closing the ports of France and he allies to British goods he could not succeed in his designs. He did no want to provide even the smallest space to England to unload her good on the shores of Europe. It was necessary to seek the co-operation o all the coastal states in Europe to achieve this aim. To get this co-operation he used both peaceful means and force.

(1) After the Treaty of Tilsit, Russia accepted the Continenta System and promised to exclude British goods from his dominions Austria and Prussia also gave assent to this system though they backe out of their promise later on.

(2) Napoleon himself enforced these decrees in *France, Italy, Confederation of Rhine and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw* as he had complet domination over them.

(3) Fearing the power of Napoleon, Denmark also recognise this system.

(4) Gustavas IV, the king of *Sweden* refused to accept the Continental System because he wanted to have friendly relations wit England. Napoleon instigated Russia to occupy all the ports o Finland. After the defeat of Sweden, all her ports were closed t British goods.

(5) Napoleon's brother Joseph carried out his will in Naples. Jerome in Westphalia and Elise in Tuscany.

(6) Napoleon's brother, Louis Bonaparte who was the king o Holland refused to abide by these decrees as he regarded them suicida to Holland. He was deposed and *Holland was annexed to France.*

(7) *Pope of Rome* refused to accept it and declared his neutralit in this struggle between England and France. Napoleon annexed the Papal States to French Empire. At this, Pope turned him out o Christianity and instigated the Christian world against Napoleon. Napoleon was infuriated and he imprisoned the Pope. By his action, Napoleon antagonised the Christian world.

(8) *Prince John Regent of Portugal* also refused to siege all British subjects and stop all trade with England. Napoleon ordered his commander Junot to invade Portugal. He failed to capture the prince

nd the royal family. This resulted in the Peninsular War which roved fatal to Napoleon and was one of the chief causes of his ownfall.

(9) In 1810, Napoleon took *the entire North Western Coast of Germany* because British goods were smuggled into this territory. It ncluded the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg which was in the possession of Grand Duke, the brother-in-law of Czar of Russia. This infuriated Czar and he withdrew his assent to Continental System. By and by Prussia, Austria and other countries followed suit and joined the Fourth Coalition against France. Thus, this system failed badly and brought about the downfall of Napoleon.

4. Fatal Effects of Continental System—Napoleon wanted to destroy British trade and commerce through Continental System and bring her to her knees but he failed to achieve his aim. On the contrary the Continental System proved fatal for him.

(1) In the beginning, *it hit British trade adversely* and its goods could not go to European markets due to blockade in Europe. Many factories were closed and too many workers were thrown out of employment. They created unrest in the country. Prices of wheat also shot up and it increased the suffering of the people.

(2) The Continental System did not affect England so adversely as it affected *other countries of Europe*. Their trade and industry was hit hard. Industries of Holland and Switzerland were shattered very badly. It created panic in the countries around the Baltic Sea. In Hamburg alone only one or two sugar mills out of 428 were in working condition.

(3) This system greatly ruined the trade and industries of Europe. *It led to rise in prices* of articles of daily use. People lost their means of livelihood and were surrounded by destruction on all sides. The enhanced prices of sugar, tobacco, coffee and cotton etc. added to the suffering of the people without harming the people of England.

(4) The people of Europe had to suffer terrible hardships. This created discontentment among the people of the various countries of Europe. *They turned against Napoleon*. They began to hate him because he was selfish and tyrannical and interefered in the private life of the people. Both Napoleon and his system became very unpopular.

(5) To enforce this system, Napoleon had to fight *Peninsular war* against Portugal and Spain which proved very harmful and brought about his fall.

(6) The Continental System *added to the sufferings and difficulties of Napoleon's allies*. Instead of helping them to solve their problems and remove their hardships, he took strong measures against them. It created discontent among them. As a result of this Napoleon lost the sympathies of Russia, Prussia, Portugal, Holland and Italy and they turned against him.

(7) For the success of the Continental System, *he had to fight many destructive wars with* the Allies. Portugal was the first to give lead and other countries followed suit later on. The incessant war in which he was entangled resulted in a heavy loss of men and money. **Hazen** says :—

"*It (the Continental System) involved him inevitably and in the end disastrously in a policy of systematic and widespread aggressions upon other countries, consequently in a costly succession of war.*"

These wars proved very destructive and costly and within three years (1812, 1813, 1814) his empire was shattered like a wall of sand. His Continental System was an utter failure and became the principal cause of his downfall. **Madelin** says :—

"*The Continental System of Napoleon was the principal tragedy in the drama of his fall.*"

5. Causes of the Failure of the Continental System—The Continental System failed due to many causes—

(1) It was practically difficult to enforce Continental System as Napoleon *did not possess a powerful fleet.* In the absence of powerful navy it was not only difficult but impossible to force the countries of Europe to boycott English goods and cut off all commercial relations with England.

(2) *The British Navy* was supreme and had established their undisputed superiority on sea. It successfully carried out the blockade of Europe and almost starved France and her allies.

(3) The people of Europe depended on England. They used English goods and could not live without her. It led to smuggling of English goods to European countries. Napoleon was compelled to issue special permits to import English goods. English goods found its way in France through Trianon Tariff. It is said that even France violated this system and imported cloth and leather for the French army from England. To quote **Edwards :**—

"*It was a fantastic scheme which transgressed the limits of practical statesmanship. It was based in the fundamental error that Napoleon's subject would sacrifice their personal comforts to enable him to crush his hated and invincible enemy, Great Britain, which was economically indispensable to Europe.*"

(4) It was difficult for the Germans of the Confederation of Rhine to live without *coffee, tea and sugar* etc. and England had monopoly over these commodities.

(5) *The prices of the articles of daily use rose very high.* The people of Europe had to face many difficulties and hardships and they held Napoleon responsible for them. This created discontent in them and they began to hate Napoleon and his Continental System.

(6) Napoleon committed a great blunder. He tried to check the import of British goods into European countries but *he paid no heed to check the export of European wheat to England.* Had he done so, he might have starved the English and forced them to surrender and sue for peace. Napoleon failed miserably in this respect. **Hazen** says—

"*The Continental System was a great blunder on the part of Napoleon.*"

It has been rightly remarked—"*The Continental System acted as a boomerang and destroyed its author.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Continental System

1. **Reasons**—By 1807, Napoleon had over-run almost the whole of Europe except England which was his greatest enemy. He could not subdue England because of her superior navy. He wanted to destroy her trade which was the source of her prosperity and power. So he enforced the Continental System.
2. **Definition**—The plan adopted by Napoleon to ruin British commerce is known as the Continental System. It was declared by Berlin Decree in 1806. It was further strengthened by Warsaw and Milan Decrees of 1807, Trianon Tariff and Decree of Fontainelebeau of 1810.
3. **Its enforcement**—(1) Russia, Prussia and Austria accepted it after their defeats. (2) It was enforced in the French Empire, Italy, Warsaw and Confederation of Rhine. (3) Denmark. (4) Sweden (5) Napoleon's brothers also carried his will. (6) Holland refused to adhere, so she was annexed (7) Pope also refused to accept it; Papal State was also annexed. (8) Peninsular war. (9) Enforced in the territory to the North-Western Coast of Germany.
4. **Results**—(1) Loss to England. (2) Destroyed the trade and industry of neutral countries. (3) Rise in prices added to the suffering of the people. (4) Europeans became hostile to Napoleon. (5) It led to Peninsular war (6) It antagonised Russia, Prussia, Italy, Holland Portugal etc. (7) It led to destructive wars.
5. **Cause of Its Failure**—(1) Napoleon had no strong navy. (2) Superior Navy of England. (3) Europeans were dependent on England. (4) The Germans of Rhine used English goods. (5) Rise in prices, Europeans began to hate Napoleon and the Continental System. (6) Napoleon failed to check the export of European wheat to England. It was the greatest blunder of Napoleon and the principal cause of his downfall.

The Peninsular War, 1808-1814

☞Q. 7. Give an account of the Peninsular War. What were the causes of the French reverses in Spain ? How did these wars affect the fortunes of Napoleon ? (Important)

Or

"While Napoleon was able to defeat Italy, Austria and Germany with comparative ease, he failed badly in Spain." Discuss the statement.

Or

Assess the importance of Peninsular Wars on the fortunes of Napoleon and his empire.

Ans :—Napoleon was at the zenith of his power in 1807. He had defeated countries like Austria, Prussia and Russia and compelled them to sign insulting treaties with France. He had dismembered them, humbled them and smashed their power. Now he held under sway almost the whole of Europe. But he was a great imperialist and very ambitious. He wanted to conquer the whole world. His successes had turned his head. With a view to establishing his domination over Portugal and Spain, he started war against them in 1808 which is known in the history as the Peninsular War. This war proved fatal to Napoleon and his empire. *Ketelbey* has significantly stated in this regard—"*The Spanish imbroglio was one of Napoleon's most serious mistakes, and one of the principal causes of his fall.*"

I. Causes of the Peninsular War— The following causes led to the outbreak of the Peninsular War—

(1) In 1808, Napoleon asked Portugal to accept the Continental System, to close its ports to British goods and seige all British subjects and their property in Portugal. *Portugal refused to oblige* Napoleon by breaking off all economic and political ties with England. At this rebuff, Napoleon invaded Portugal.

(2) *Napoleon was an avowed enemy of the Bourbon dynasty.* He had put an end to the rule of this dynasty in France and put his brother on the throne of Naples in place of the king of this dynasty. The king of Spain, Charles IV, also belonged to the Bourbon dynasty. Napoleon wanted to dethrone him also.

(3) King Charles IV of Spain was an inefficient ruler and had no interest in improving affairs of his state. His queen was very immoral and ease-loving. The administration was in the hands of Godoy, a lover of the queen. All these persons were very unpopular and their incompetence had led to *chaos and anarchy in Spain.* Napoleon wanted to take full advantage of this situation by establishing his rule there.

(4) *Napoleon had dethroned the Pope and imprisoned him.* By his action against the Pope, he had antagonised the Catholics. The Catholic Bishops in Spain started a vicious propaganda in Spain against Napoleon.

(5) *Napoleon was an imperialist and very ambitious.* He cherished the dreams of becoming the conqueror of the World. His ambition for the expansion of his colonial empire made him bring all the European countries under his sway.

(6) Ferdinand, the son of king Charles IV of Spain, was popular in Spain because he opposed the king, the queen and her lover Godoy. *Napoleon took advantage of their rift* and made a plan to occupy the throne of Spain. He invited Charles IV and Ferdinand to a conference at Boyonne to settle their dispute. By threats, treachery and deceit he forced Charles IV to abdicate and imprisoned Fredinand and his brothers. Then Napoleon placed his

brother Joseph on the throne of Spain. *Napoleon* wrote to Ferdinand—

> *"Countries full of monks like your age are easy to subdue. There may be some riots, but the Spaniards will quiet down when they see that I offer them the integrity of the boundaries of their kingdom, a liberal constitution and the preservation of their religion and their national customs."*

The imposition of Joseph on Spaniards hurt their national pride and they took to arms against him.

2. Events of War—After the Portugal's refusal to accept the Continental System, Napoleon made an alliance with Spain with view to the partition of Portugal and got her consent to send his troops to Portugal through Spain. The armies of both the countries marched toward Portugal and occupied it. The King of Portugal, however, succeeded in escaping. Under this situation, England came to the help of Portugal and sent her armies under the Command of Sir Aurther Wellesley and Duke of Wellington.

The situation in Spain was also changing rapidly. The French troops attacked Spain through Portugal. The Spaniards thought it a mischief on the part of King Charles IV and there were revolts in Spain. Under these circumstances, Napoleon deposed Charles IV, imprisoned Ferdinand and installed his brother Joseph on the throne of Spain. It hurt the pride, nationalism and patriotism of the people of Spain. They were prepared to make any sacrifice to safeguard their freedom. They raised the banner of revolt against Napoleon in 1808. Napoleon considered it a petty revolt which, he thought, could be subdued easily. To quote him—

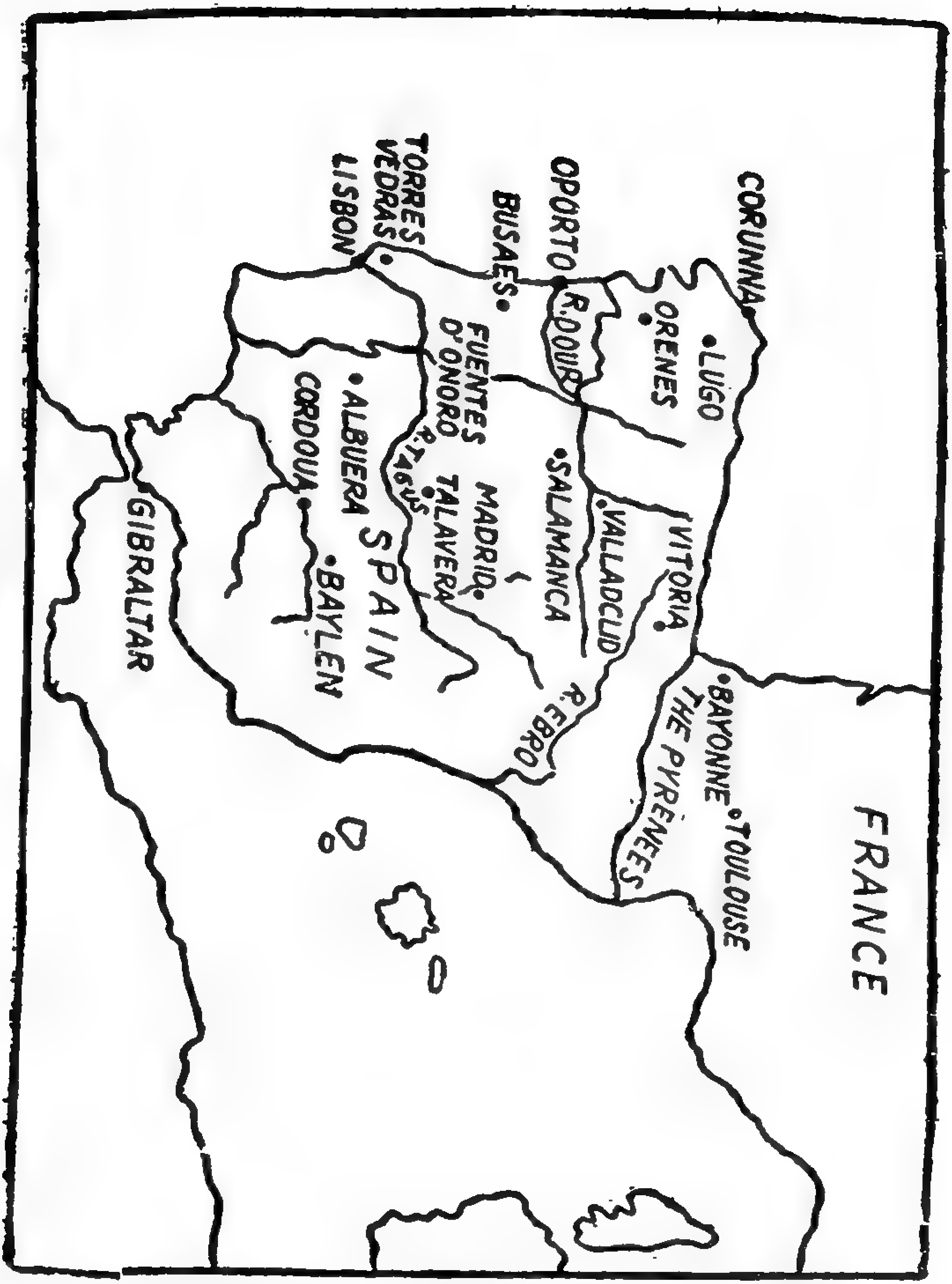
> *"If it would cost me 80,000 men to conquer Spain, I would not attempt it but it will not take more than 12,000."*

But his estimation of the strength of the Spaniards proved wrong. He lost 3,00,000 men and remained unsuccessful in the end. This failure proved suicidal for him.

The condition of Spain at this time was very critical. The members of the royal family were in jail. She had no men and money to continue the struggle. They lacked government in the country and had no leader to guide their destiny at this critical juncture. In this state of utter helplessness, they followed the guerilla warfare and shattered all dreams of Napoleon. **Prof. Hazen** says—

> *"Napoleon had aroused two mighty forces, which were to dug his footsteps henceforth, that of religious zeal and that of the spirit of nationality, each with a fanaticism of its own."*

It was difficult for Napoleon's troops to fight on mountainous ranges, passes and valleys. The Spaniards defeated the French Commander, General Dupont, at Baylen and forced him to surrender along with 20,000 soldiers. This defeat gave a severe blow to French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MADRID
TALAVERA
SALAMANCA
VALLADCLID
VITORIA
SPAIN
GIBRALTAR
BAYLEN
R.EBRO
BAYONNE
TOULOUSE
THE PYRENEES
FRANCE

The Peninsular War

arms and prestige. Joseph had to flee from Madrid. He wrote to Napoleon :—

> *"Spain was like no other country, that we must have an army of 50,000 to do the fighting, another of 50,000 to keep open the line of communication and 1,00,000 gallows for traitors and scoundrels."*

At this stage, Spain sought England's help and got it. The English General, Duke of Wellington, defeated the French at Vimario in 1808 and their Commander Junot had to vacate Portugal according to the Treaty of Cintra signed between the two countries.

This defeat had great influence on European countries and gave a fatal blow to Napoleon's reputation. He made up his mind to march into Spain himself to avenge this humilitating defeat. Before embarking on this campaign, he entered into a secret treaty with the Czar of Russia known as Erfurt Interview to strengthen his position. In December, 1808, he marched into Spain at the head of a strong army of 2,00,000 soldiers. After gaining some victories, he entered Madrid. The French reverses in Spain emboldened the Austrians to rise against Napoleon. So Napoleon had to march back to face Austria. Before returning from Spain he handed over the Command of the amry to Soult. The English Commander Sir John Moore defeated the French army at the Battle of Corunna on 16th January, 1809. He died in this battle. To quote **Hazen**—

"The Spanish rising was the first of a series of popular national instinctive movements that were to end in Napoleon's undoing."

Meanwhile, Wellesley resumed the command of the British and Portuguese forces and defeated the French at Talavera after making the line of Torres Vedras. In 1811, Wellington inflicted a crushing blow on the French Commander Messena who dared not attack Portugal after that. Napoleon was so busy in his struggle against Austria that he could not reinforce his army in Spain. On July 22, 1812, Sir Arthur Wellesley, now Duke of Wellington, defeated the French at Salamanca on July 22, 1812 and entered Madrid. Then he marched towards Spain and gained a victory against Joseph at Vitoria in 1813. After these successive reverses, the French resistance completely collapsed and they were compelled to leave Spain.

3. **Causes of Napoleon's Defeat**—There were various reasons of Napoleon's defeat in the Peninsular War :

(1) Upto this time, Napoleon had to face various governments and their armies. But now he had to face the *people who were ready to make any sacrifice to safeguard their freedom.* Napoleon's treachery and fraud had aroused the spirit of patriotism, nationalism and self sacrifice among the Spaniards and the whole nation was up in arms against Napoleon. Spanish war was just like a national movement and the Spaniards fought like true patriots for their freedom. **Hazen** says—

"Previously Napoleon had waged war with governments only and their armies, not with peoples rising as one man, resolved to die rather than suffer the loss of their independence."

(2) *The physical features of Spain disfavoured the French.* The country was hilly and poor. It lacked good roads. It was difficult for the French army to secure food and transport for a large army

and fight successfully on mountaneous ranges ~~regions~~, in passes and valleys. Spain was a typical country where large armies starved and small armies got beaten. **Prof. Hazen** has remarked rightly—

> *"The country was admirable for the defensive but difficult for the offensive."*

(3) The physical features of the country were also suitable for Guerilla warfare. The Spaniards had great aptitude and skill in it. They adopted it and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. The French soldiers could not face the Spaniards as they were quite unfamiliar with it. To quote **Prof. Hazen**—

> *"Poor and without large armies, they fought as guerillas, little bands not very formidable in themselves individually, but appearing now here, now everywhere, plucking off small detachments, then disappearing into their mountain fortresses."*

(4) The *Catholic bishops* and preists also came into the field against Napoleon. They painted him as a dacoit, robber, unjust and tyrant and instigated the people against him by creating religious fervour in them.

(5) *England* helped Spain and Portugal in their struggle against Napoleon. Their commanders defeated the French generals and armies at many battles and their victories taught Europe that Napoleon was not invincible.

(6) *British Naval power* was superior to that of France. It had established its supremacy over the sea. It could help the English soldiers at any time and at any place. Duke of Wellington came to the rescue of the Spaniards at a critical juncture and shattered Napoleon's fanciful dreams of becoming a world conqueror.

(7) The French reverses in the beginning compelled Napoleon to march into Spain himself and he succeeded in entering Madrid. But he had to come back because of revolt of Austrians against him. He remained so busy in war with Austria that *he could not send any kind of help in Spain.* If he had remained in Spain for a longer period, he might have succeeded there. But it did not happen so.

(8) After the Austrian revolt in 1809, he hurried back to France. *It reduced the strength of the French army in Spain* and they could not conduct the war successfully.

(9) *The English soldiers were better disciplined and trained in war-fare.* The Spanish and Portuguese troops fought bravely and artfully in association with the British troops and defeated the French armies badly.

(10) *The English Generals* like the Duke of Wellington were more capable and competent than the French Generals like Dupont and Massena etc. The French Generals were jealous of one another and hated one another. They lacked the spirit of co-operation and unity of action. They never fought unitedly under a well thought out plan and so they were defeated.

(11) *Napoleon under estimated the strength of Spanish national resistance* and did not throw all his resources into this campaign and so he could not conduct the war successfully.

4. **Effects**—The Peninsular war had far-reaching effects on Napoleon, his empire and France. After bringing the whole of Europe under his knees, he tried to over-run Portugal and Spain also. He was involved in a long exhausting war there. About 3,00,000 soldiers were killed in this war and it drained his resources. He was badly defeated there. This defeat gave a fatal blow to his honour, power and glory and shattered all his ambitions and dreams. By installing his brother, Joseph, on the throne of Spain he produced an outburst of national feeling. The Spaniards organised popular and national resistance before which Napoleon had to give way. His reverses in Spain produced a glimpse of new hope among the European countries and they began to think that it was not difficult to defeat, Napoleon. They raised the Fourth Coalition against him, defeated him and imprisoned him in 1815. This war brought about his downfall. In his last days, he used to say—

"*It was the Spanish ulcer that ruined me.*" Repenting on his folly he once remarked—

"*I embarked very badly on the Spanish affair, I confess, the immorality of it was too potent and the injustice too cynical.*"

To quote **Thomson,** "*Napoleon's Spanish enterprise was his first step towards ruin, for there he was faced with national resistance, the only kind that he could not deal with by diplomacy or bribes.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Peninsular War

1. **Causes**—(1) Portugal was forced to accept the Continental System (2) Napoleon's desire to eradicate Bourbon Dynasty from Spain (3) Political chaos and anarchy in Spain (4) Pope ill-treated. (5) Napoleon's high ambitions (6) Installed Joseph on the throne of Spain.

2. **Events**—Napoleon captured Portugal ; Wellesley defeated the French there ; National reistance in Spain against Napoleon ; Joseph fled from Spain ; Defeat of French General Dupont ; England helped Spain ; Defeat of Junot at the hands of English general Wellington ; Napoleon's march into Spain ; Napoleon's return on account of Austria's revolt ; France's defeat at Talavera, Salamanca and Vitoria and retreat from Spain.

3. **Causes of Napoleon's Defeat**—(1) National resistance in Spain (2) Geographical features of Spain (3) Guerilla war-fare of the Spaniards (4) Opposition of Catholic Clergymen (5) England helped Spain (6) Superior navy of England (7) Austrian revolt against Napoleon (8) Reduction of army strength in Spain. (9) The English soldiers were better disciplined and trained in war-fare than the French troops (10) Lack of unity among the French Generals (11) Under-estimation of the strength of the Spainards.

4. **Effects** : It gave a blow to Napoleon's honour and power ; shattered his dreams and brought about his downfall.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the main aims of the Foreign policy of Napoleon.
2. What do you know about the struggle between France and European powers from 1803 to 1807.
3. Briefly narrate the struggle of Austria and Napoleon from 1805 to the 'Treaty of Tilsit."
4. What was Napoleon's Policy towards Prussia.
5. What were the main clauses of the Treaty of Tilsit (in 1807 A.D.) ? What was its significance ?
6. Why was Napoleon considered to be at the height of power at the time of the Treaty of Tilsit.
7. Why did Napoleon, in spite of his vast resources, fail in the Peninsular war ?
8. What causes led to the intervention of Napoleon in Spain ? Account for his ultimate failure. (D.U. 1950)
9. What was the Continental System ? How did Napoleon seek to enforce it and with what results ?
10. Why did Napoleon enforce the Continental System ? How did it work ? How did it affect his empire and other states of Europe ?
11. What was the Continental System ? How far was it responsible for Napoleon' downfall ? (A U. 1957, 54)
12. Estimate the reasons for the failure of Napoleon's Continental System. (D.U. 1960)
13. Briefly describe the causes and events of the Peninsular War. How did it affect the fortunes of Napoleon ? (Pb. B.A. 1927) (P.U. 1969)

9

THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON, 1811-15 A.D.

Napoleon had reached the climax of his honour and glory by 1810. Almost the whole of Europe lay at his feet. He dominated over a vast colonial empire. In order to make England surrender, he compelled his vassal states to accept the Continental System. To attain this aim, he fought Peninsular wars against Portugal and Spain. The Continental System and the Peninsular wars proved fatal for him. His Policy created hatred and discontentment against him in European countries. Even the people of France began to hate and condemn him for his despotic and tyrannical rule. They were tired of his policy of incessant wars. At this juncture, he invaded Moscow in 1812 and invited his downfall.

The Moscow Campaign

☞Q. 1. Describe briefly Napoleon's Russia or Moscow campaign of 1812. Discuss its causes and consequences as well.
(Important)

Or

What were the causes of rupture between Napoleon and the Czar Alexander of Russia that led to Napoleon's campaign of Moscow in 1812 ?

Or

Describe the relations between Russia and France from 1807 to 1815.

Ans. The friendship between Russia and France after the Treaty of Tilsit lasted only for five years. From the very beginning, the Czar of Russia suspected Napoleon. With the passage of time, the bond of friendship loosened and Napoleon invaded Russia in 1812.

1. Causes of the Moscow Campaign of 1812—The following causes were responsible for the campaign of 1812—

(1) After the Treaty of Tilsit, the Czar of Russia seized Finland from Sweden and a vast territory on the bank of Danube from Turkey. *He hoped to gain nothing more than this.* He was in favour of the partition of Turkey but Napoleon was deadly opposed to it.

(2) *The Czar wanted to establish his domination over Constantinople* but Napoleon did not allow this. He replied—

"Constantinople ! No ! Never ! Never ! That will give him the mastery of the world."

(3) The *Czar was angry with Napoleon* because he had not helped him in his wars against Sweden, Poland and Turkey.

(4) According to the terms of the Treaty of Vienna of 1809, *Grand Duchy of Warsaw* was created. The Czar feared that Napoleon's object was to re-establish Poland and encourage Polish Nationalism. Czar did not approve of it because in case of the revival of Kingdom of Poland, he would have to return the Polish territory which was, till then under the control of Russia. Creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was a thorn in the eyes of the Czar and this estranged the relations between the two.

(5) In 1811, *Napoleon annexed the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg* to his colonial empire. It belonged to the brother-in-law of the Czar. Naturally, the Czar began to hate, condemn and distrust Napoleon.

(6) Napoleon wanted to marry the Russian princess, Grand Duchess Anne and establish matrimonial alliance with Russia. *His proposal for marriage was rejected* by the Royal Mother of Russia. Napoleon took it to be a great insult and was displeased with the Czar.

(7) When the Czar refused to establish matrimonial relation with Napoleon, he married Maria Louis, the Princess of Austria. This offended the Czar very much and *he could not tolerate cordial relations between Austria and France.*

(8) *The influential people of Russia especially the feudal lords and the rich opposed the friendship between the Czar and Napoleon* because they hated Napoleon who had deprived the privileged class of their special rights in France.

(9) The Czar of Russia accepted the Continental System in 1807. It adversely affected the Russians and their trade. The whole economy of Russia was upset. There were protests by the angry grain merchants. The Czar had to bow before these popular demands and *refused to abide by the Continental System in 1810.* He opened his ports to the ships of the neutral countries, and imposed heavy taxes on French goods. In this way, Russian wheat found its way in the markets of England and other European countries. This infuriated Napoleon and he declared war against Russia in these words—

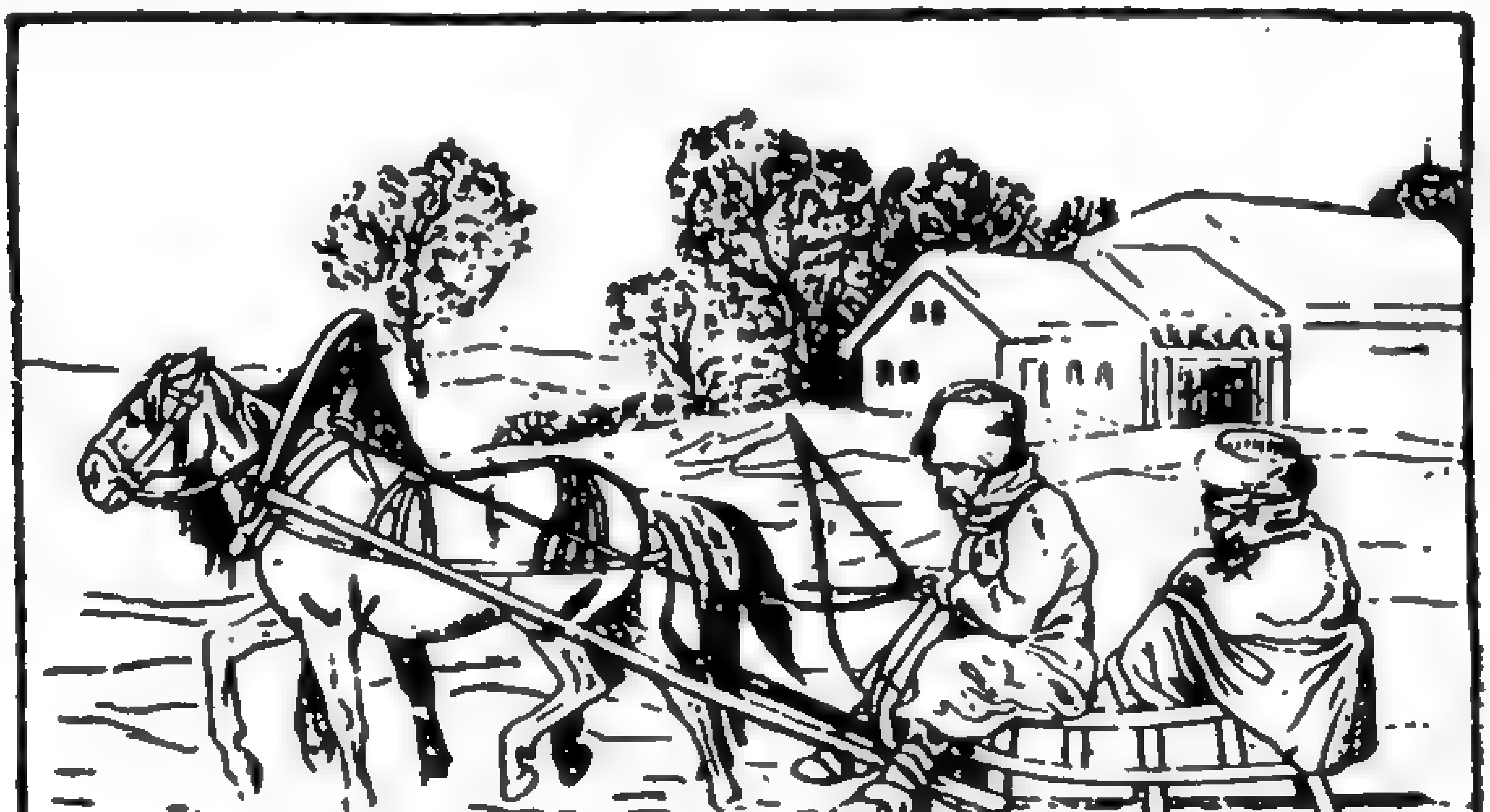
"I shall have war with Russia on grounds which lie beyond human possibilities, because they are rooted in the case itself."

2. Events of the Campaign—In order to invade Russia, Napoleon made preparations on a large scale and prepared an army of 5,00,000 soldiers. He possessed 1,00,000 horse-men and a powerful artillery. Half of his soldiers came from the Vassal states. So the Russians called it an "Army of Twenty Nations". Czar too made preparations to resist Napoleon and raised an army of 2,00,000 soldiers. About his Russian Campaign, Napoleon once remarked—*"It (Moscow Expedition) is the last Act of the Play."*

Napoleon embarked on this enterprise on June 24, 1812, after crossing the River Niemen. He was a brave and dauntless general and said—*"Moscow is the half-way house to India."*

Czar fully realized that Russian army was ill-equipped and not well-trained. So instead of fighting, he adopted the strategy of retreating and devastating the crops, villages and towns so that the enemy might not take advantage of them. When Napoleon *reached the cities of Vilna and Smolensk*, he found them in ruins. Napoleon had to face many hardships because of the Russian strategy. He got no food and clothes for his soldiers and no corn for his houses. Czar declared that he would go on retreating upto the boundaries of Asia but will not allow the enemy to force them to sign a humiliating treaty on their holy soil.

Napoleon continued his march towards Moscow and defeated the Russians at *Borodino* on 7th Sepetember, 1812. In this way, Napoleon was *successful in entering Moscow* on 14th September, 1812. Before retreating the Russians had set Moscow on fire. Out of 2,50,000, persons only 16,000 were left behind. Napoleon lay there for five weeks with the hope that Czar would sue for peace but all his calculations and plans failed.



Napoleon returing to France from Russia

Under these circumstances, Napoleon was forced to retreat. During the retreat, his army was exposed to many hardships. The Russians harrassed the retreating army with their guerilla war-fare. Thousands of soldiers were killed by hunger, exhaustion, severe winter, rain, sleet and snow. To quote **Hayes** and **Cole** —

"Napoleon's retreat from Moscow is one of the most tragic and horrible episodes of human victory. Down-pours of rain changed to

sleet and snow. Swollen streams checked his march. Food was short. The French forces abandoned their baggage. They ran out of ammunition. They froze to death in snow drifts. They fell from exhaustion. The retreat became a raut and the disaster."

Napoleon reached France on 18th December, 1812. The strength of his army had been reduced to 20,000. According of **Hazen**—

"The vast machine (Army) cracked beneath its own weight."

3. Causes of Napoleon's Defeat—The Physical features of Russia disfavoured Napoleon. The *Russians adopted the Guerilla Warfare* and harrassed the French soldiers. The French were ignorant of the physical features of Russia and could not stand before this war-fare.

(2) The *winter in Russia* was very severe and unbearable for the French soldiers and they began to die in large number. It was difficult for them to fight in bitter cold. Russian prisoners of war clearly told the French, *"In a fortnight's time your nails will drop off and your weapons will fall from your benumbed and half-dead fingers."*

(3) The *French army could not face the Russian strategy.* They (the Russians) did not fight at all and kept on retreating.

(4) While retreating, the *Russians went on devastating their fields, crops, villages, towns and forts* etc. With the result, Napoleon's army ran short of food, clothes and ammunition. This shortage brought about his ruin because he could not conduct the war properly.

(5) *Napoleon was in a hurry.* He planned to conquer a large country in a year. It was his big blunder because it was not easy to conquer such a big country in such a short time.

(6) Napoleon seized Vilna and Smolensk easily. But he did not stay there and soon marched towards Moscow. He committed a great mistake. *He should have waited there and studied Czar's plan, behaviour and strategy and acted accordingly.* But he did not do so and suffered in the long run.

(7) By invading Russia, *Napolean roused the feelings of Nationalism in the Russians* and they considered no sacrifice too great for the sake of their motherland. Napoleon could not face the national upsurge in Russia.

4. Effects of Napoleon's Defeat —

(1) Moscow campaign proved very *harmful and suicidal to Napoleon* and became the major cause of his downfall.

It has rightly been said —

"This calamity proved the chief cause of Napoleon's overthrow."

To quote him —

"The Spanish ulcer and Russian Campaign have ruined me."

(2) This failure *gave a severe blow to his honour, fame, prestige and glory.* He fell even in the estimation of his own countrymen.

(3) This ill-fated expedition *shattered the military power of Napoleon* because most of his trained and capable generals and soldiers died in it and it became difficult for him to conduct future wars.

(4) There was a time when it was thought that Napoleon was invincible. But the failure of this campaign *encouraged the powers of the Central Europe* to shake off his domination and form a strong coalition against him.

(5) Russia took advantage of his defeat and began to interfere in the *affairs of Germany and Poland* and left no stone unturned to destroy his power and influence in these countries.

(6) This expedition *gave birth to all future wars* which proved fatal for Napoleon and his large empire. England, Russia and Prussia organised the Fourth Coalition and started a 'war of liberation' against him and at last defeated him completely.

From the above description, it is clear that Napoleon's Moscow Campaign was his greatest blunder which ruined him. About this expedition, he used to say—

"*Perhaps I made a mistake in going to Moscow. Perhaps I should not have stayed there long, but there is only a step from the sublime to the ridiculous, and it is upto posterity to judge.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Napoleon's Moscow Campaign of 1812

1. **Causes:**—(1) Napoleon's opposition to partition of Turkey. (2) Napoleon did not help Czar against Turkey and Sweden. (3) Napoleon did not allow Czar to seize Constantinople. (4) Establishment of Grand Duchy of Warsaw. (5) Napoleon annexed Grand Duchy of Oldenburg. (6) Czar refused to have Matrimonial Alliance with Napoleon. (7) Napoleon married Austrian princess. (8) Opposition of the influential people of Russia. (9) Czar refused to abide by the Continental System.
2. **Events:**—Invaded Moscow in June 1812 (2) Capture of the cities of Vilna and Smolensk. (3) Russian adopted the strategy of retreat and devastation. (5) Napoleon defeated Russians at Borodino. (4) His entry in Moscow on September 14, 1812 (6) Napoleon was forced to retreat.
3. **Causes of Napoleon's Defeat**—(1) Guerilla warfare of Russians. (2) Bitter cold. (3) Russian Strategy of retreat. (4) Shortage of food, clothes and ammunition. (5) Napoleon's hurry. (6) Did not study Czar's behaviour. (7) Upsurge of Nationalism in Russia.
4. **Effects of Napoleon's Defeat**—(1) Main cause of his downfall. (2) Severe blow to his power and prestige. (3) Shattered his military power. (4) Encouragement to his enemies. (5) Reduction of French influence in Germany and Poland. (6) War of Liberation.

Abdication Of Throne By Napoleon

Q. 2. Give an account of the circumstances under which Napoleon had to abidcate the throne of France.

Ans. —Napoleon's Moscow Campaign was an utter failure. It lowered his prestige and demoralized the French army. On his return to France, he declared that he would launch the 2nd attack on Russia in spring but he could not do so. His defeat sent a ray of hope among his enemies. They began to think that Napoleon was not invincible.

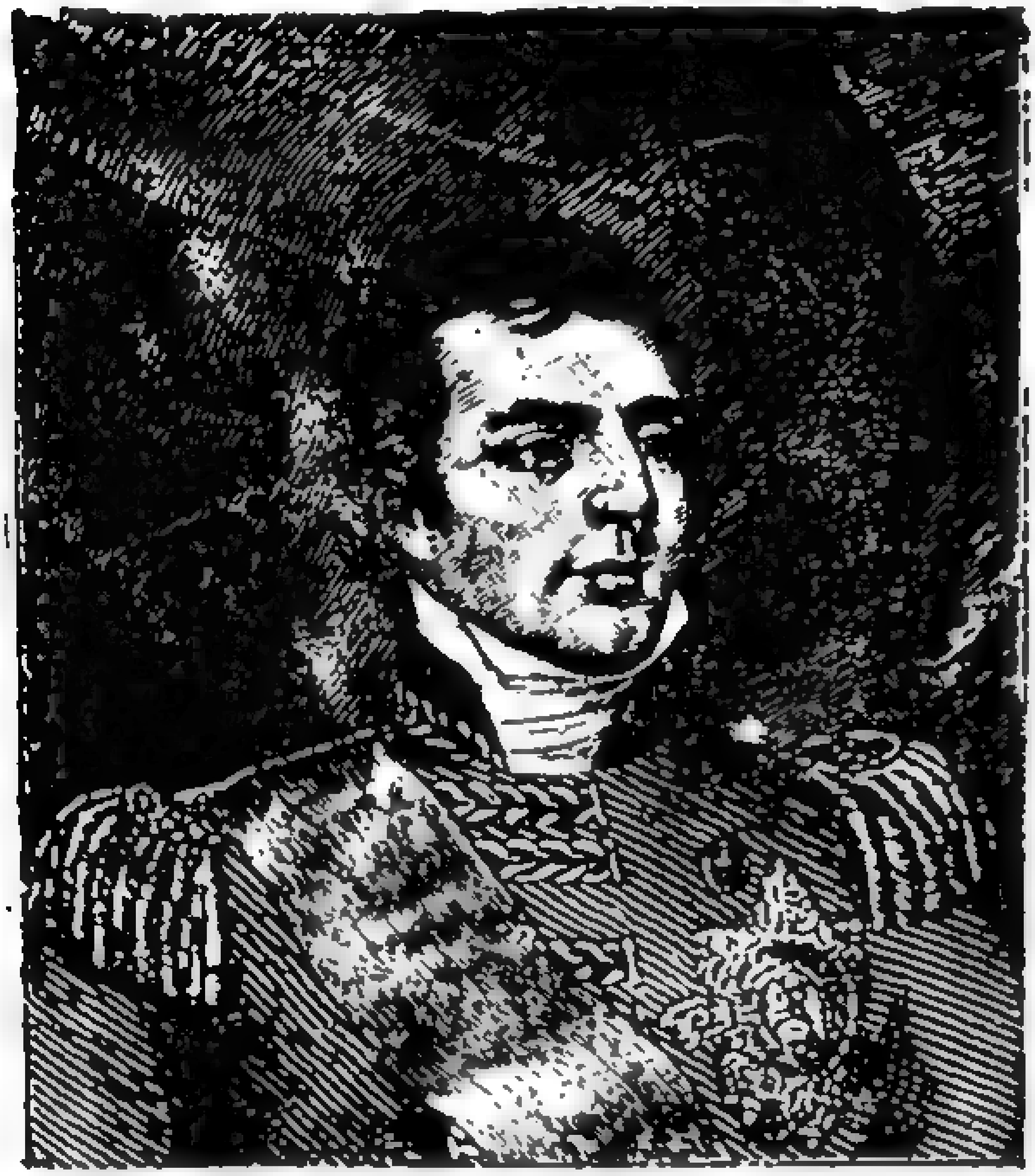
1. Fourth Coalition Against Napoleon—After the Moscow expedition of Napoleon, England raised the Fourth Coalition with co-operation of Prussia and Russia. Austria also joined it after-wards. After his retreat from Russia, Napoleon mustered a new army composed of 2,00,000 soldiers. There was a great national awakening in Prussia and she raised a formidable army against Napoleon. Prussia joined Russia and declared war on Napoleon. Napoleon took the initiative and attacked Prussia. He defeated the combined forces of Prussia and Russia at *Lutzen and Bantzen*. He inflicted a defeat on Austria also at Dresden. This was his last victory. A fierce and decisive battle was fought between Napoleon and the Allies at Leipzig in 1813. It is known as the *Battle of Nations*. Napoleon was defeated and forced to flee on the other side of Rhine. Napoleon suffered heavy losses and the Confederation of Rhine along with the Kingdom of Westphalia collapsed. The Allies offered him peace on the conditions that he should recognise the independence of Germany, Holland, Italy, Spain and that the Rhine, Alps and Pyrenees would form the French boundaries. Napoleon rejected these terms. By doing so, Napoleon did not give a proof of his wisdom and statesmanship. He thought that the coalition would break up and that he would be victorious in the end.

2. Campaign of Allies against France—After his return from Prussia, Napoleon had made a declaration that he would be attacking Prussia in May with a formidable army. But the Allies frustrated his plan. They attacked Napoleon in winter from Belgium, Rhine and Switzerland. Napoleon was hopelessly out-numbered but he showed his courage, valour and faced the enemy bravely. **Hazen** says—

> *"Napoleon was hopelessly out-numbered. Yet this has been called the most brilliant of his campaigns. Fighting on the defensive and on inner lines, he showed marvellous mastery of the art of war, striking here, striking there with great precision and swiftness, undaunted, resourceful and tireless. The allies needed every bit of their overwhelming superiority in numbers to compass the end of their redoubtable antagonist, with his back against the wall and his brain working with matchless lucidity and with lightning-like rapidity. They thought they that could get to his capital in a week! It took them two months."*

The Allies again offered him a peace on liberal terms previously proposed by them, but Napoleon rejected this offer outrightly. In the mean-time, he defeated the armies of Russia, Prussia at many places. He defeated Blucher, the commander of the Prussian army at the battle of Marne. This was his most brilliant victory. It demoralized the Allies and revived the ambitions of Napoleon. England, Austria, Prussia and Russia met secretly and concluded the treaty of Chaumont, making an alliance for 20 years, continuing war till the defeat of Napoleon and pledging themselves not to make separate peace with France.

Aftef this treaty, the Allies attacked Napoleon with full force. On the other hand, Wellington had routed French forces in Spain and was marching towards France. Now they entrapped Napoleon from all sides.



Duke of Wellington

His soldiers were tired of incessant wars and began to flee in large number. With his mutilated military strength, it became difficult for him to face the Allies. As a result, Paris fell on March 30, 1814 and the Allies entered Paris in triumph.

3. Napoleon's Abdication of the Throne—Napoleon was disappointed and took shelter in the royal palace of Fontainbleau and signed a treaty with the Allies there. According to this treaty, he was made to give up his claim and that of his descendants to the throne of France. He was allowed to retire to Elba, retain his title of Emperor and exercise his soverignty there. An annual pension of 20,00,000 francs was granted to him and his wife Marie Louis got the Duchy of Parma. Louis XVIII, the brother of Louis XVI, was installed on the throne of France. Napoleon kissed the National Flag, took leave of his soldiers and returned to Elba. This scene has been described by a French soldier in these words—

"Nothing but sobbing was heard in all ranks and I can say that I too shed tears when I saw my Emperor depart."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Abdication of Throne by Napoleon—(1) After Napoleon's failure in his Moscow Campaign, England, Russia, Prussia and Austria raised the Fourth Coalition. (2) Defeat of Prussia and Russia at Lutzen and Bantzen. (3) Allies victory at Leipzig in 1813. (4) Napoleon rejected the peace offer of Allies, (5) Allies attacked Napoleon from all sides. (6) Napoleon rejected the peace offer again. (7) Napoleon defeated Blucher, (8) Treaty of Chaumont of 1814 (9) Allies entered Paris on March 30, 1814 and forced Napoleon to abdicate the throne of France and retire to Elba.

Hundred Days Of Napoleon

Q. 3. Give an account of Napoleon's return from Elba and his 'Hundred Days.'

Ans.—Napoleon retired to Elba in April 1814. The Allies installed Louis XVIII on the throne of France. According to the Treaty of Paris, French boundaries were reduced to what they were on 1st November, 1792. She regained her lost colonies except Mauritius, Tobago and St. Lucia. No war indemnity was imposed on her. No army of occupation was sent to France. But her military strength was reduced.

1. Napoleon's Return to France—Louis XVIII's maladministration created discontentment among the people of France. They forgot Napoleon's drawbacks and began to applaud him. On the other hand, Napoleon was dissatisfied with the arrangement of Allies for him at Elba. He was separated from his son and wife. All his letters were intercepted. He did not receive his pension. Napoleon had disturbed the whole map of Europe. After his retirement to Elba, the Allies met at Vienna in September, 1814 to reshape the Map of Europe. There arose serious differences among them over the settlement of affairs of Europe and division of spoils of war. Napoleon took advantage of the favourable circumstances in France and dissention among the Allies and tried to recapture the throne of France. Napoleon left Elba and sailed towards France secretly with his trusted followers on 26th January, 1815 and avoiding the British watch-men, he landed in France at Cannes on 1st March, 1815.

2. Napoleon captured France—The news of Napoleon's landing in France spread like wild fire. His old soldiers and followers joined him. People gave him a warm welcome. **Napoleon** appealed to his soldiers in the following words :—

"*Soldiers, we have not been conquered. We were betrayed, Soldiers ! Come and range yourself under the banner of your chief, his existence depends wholly on yours, his interests, his honour and his glory are your interests. Your honour, and your glory. Come ! victory will march at double quick. The eagle with the national colours shall fly from steeple to steeple and to towers of Notre Dame. Then you will be able to show your scars with honour, then you will be able to boast of what you have done, you will be the liberators of your country.*"

His appeal had the desired effect and the number of soldiers swelled beyond his expectations. He marched towards Paris. Louis XVIII despatched Marshall Ney to capture Napoleon at Grenolbe. Napoleon stood before him with his bare chest and said, "*Here I am ; you know me. If there is a soldier among you who wishes to shoot his Emperor let him do it.*"

These words had great effect on the Marshall and his soldiers. He embraced Napoleon and shed tears. All the soldiers under the command of Marshall joined Napoleon's bands. They tore the white ribbons of their caps and plumed the tri-coloured ribbons again which they had hidden in their bags. In order to strengthen his position, he addressed the people :—

"It is not my ambition that has brought me back. The forty five best heads of the government of Paris have called me from Elba and my return is supported by the three first Powers of Europe."

In this way, Napoleon reached Paris on March 20, 1815. Louis XVIII fled to England and Napoleon captured the throne of France. To quote **Hazen**—

"The return from Elba will always remain one of the most romantic episodes of History."

Napoleon himself used to say—*"The March from Cannes to Paris was the happiest period of my life."*

3. Napoleon's Hundred Days—Napoleon seized the throne of France on March 20, 1815, and ruled France again for 100 days known as Napoleon's Hundred Days in history. When the Allies heard this news, they postponed the Congress at Vienna, forgot all their differences and began to organize themselves against Napoleon. They called Napoleon the "Disturber of the Peace of Europe." Napoleon expressed his desire to settle the problems of Europe peacefully with the Allies. But they distrusted Napoleon and rejected his offer because they thought that he simply wanted respite to make preparations for war.

4. Battle of Waterloo, 1815—Now, there was no alternative before Napoleon but to fight. The English General, Duke of Wellington organised an army of 80,000 soldiers and wanted to attack France. The Prussian General Blucher had 1,20,000 soldiers under his command. Napoleon's plan was to prevent the junction of the two armies. Napoleon acted swiftly and defeated Blucher at Gilny on 16th June, 1815 On the other hand, Marshall Ney held Wellington in check at Quartre Brass and prevented him from joining the Prussians. Wellington was forced to retire to Waterloo. He held his ground against the repeated attacks of Napoleon and waited for Blucher. The French could not intercept Blucher and he came to the help of Wellington. Napoleon was caught between the two armies and being out-numbered, he could not face the Allies who routed him badly. The French army scattered and left the ammunition behind. Napoleon was disappoined, and sought death but he failed in his attempt. To quote him—

"I ought to have died at Waterloo, but the misfortune is that when a man seeks death most, he cannot find it. Men were killed around me, before, behind and eveywhere. But there was no bullet for me."

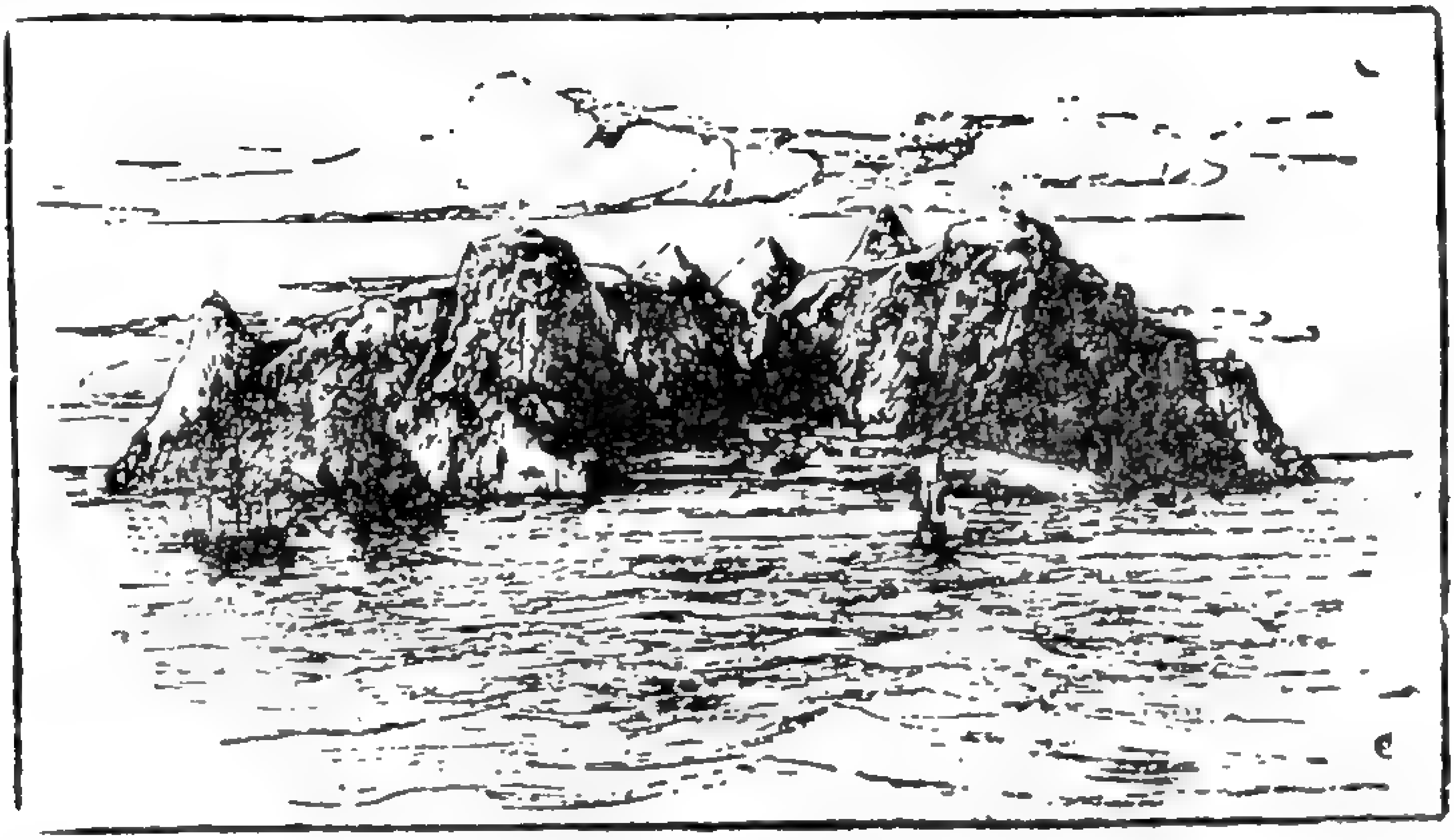
After his defeat at Waterloo, Napoleon reached France on 22nd June, 1815. He abdicated his throne in favour of his son and tried to escape to America, but the English proved too clever for him and his plan failed. So he was forced to surrender to an English Captain in a French port. To quote **Hazen** :—

"Making the best of necessity, he threw himself upon the generosity of the British."

Napoleon himself declared :—

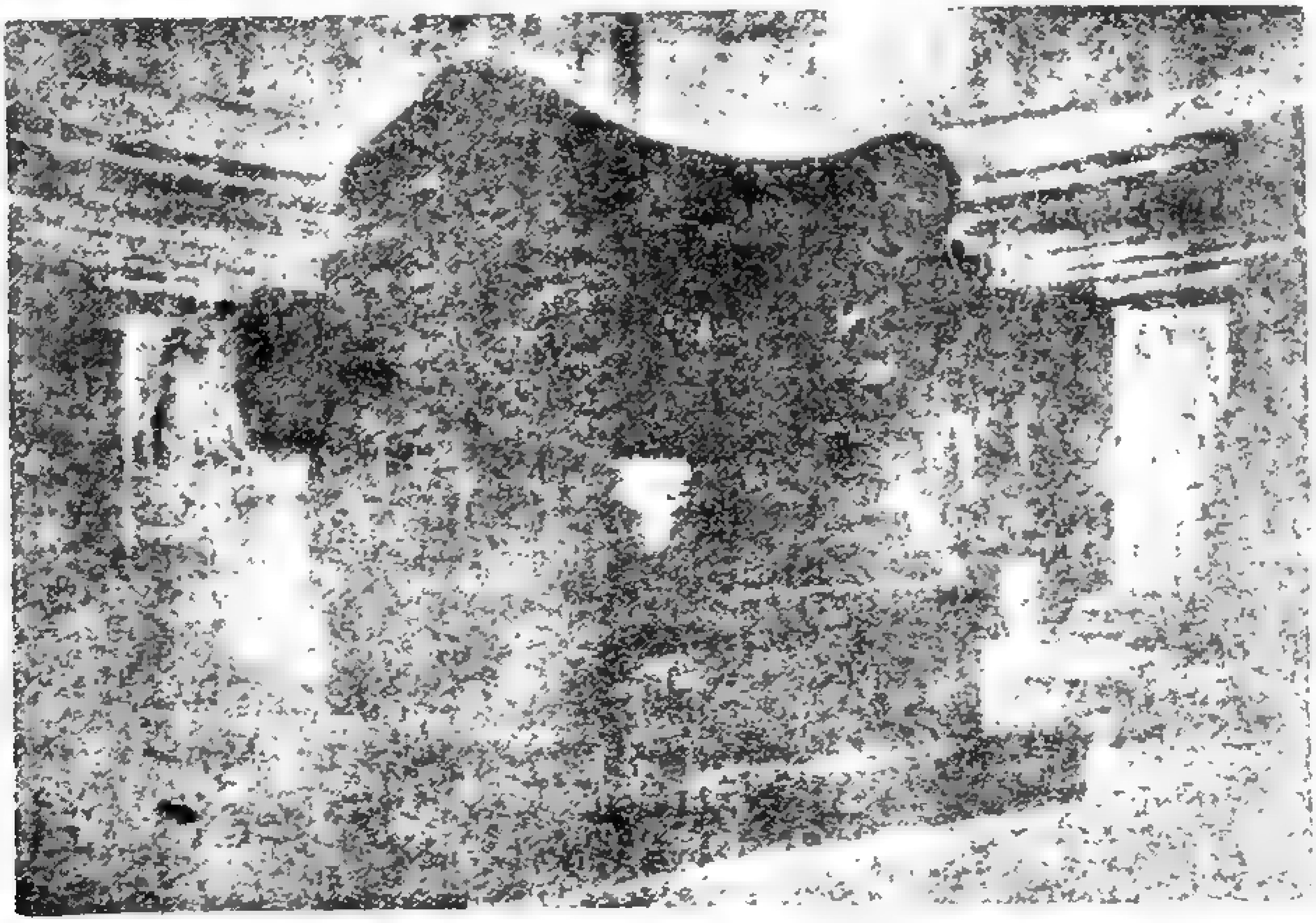
"I have come like Temistocles to seek the hospitality of British Nation."

The English and the Allies did not trust his works and instead of offering refuge to him, they imprisoned him in the island of St. Helena in the Atlantic Ocean. He died there after six years on May 5, 1821. Before his death he expressed his desire that he should be buried on the bank of Seine in France. To quote him :—



The Island of St.Helena

"I wish to be buried on the banks of Seine in the midst of the French people whom I dearly loved."



Napoleon's Tomb in Paris

His wish was fulfilled when his remains were brought back to Paris and buried there.

According to the 2nd Treaty of Paris, Louis XVIII was again installed on the throne of France.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Hundred Days of Napoleon—He escaped to France from Elba ; the soldiers and the people welcomed him; Louis XVIII fled away ; Napoleon captured the throne on 20th March, 1815; He ruled France for 100 days; He was defeated by the Allies in the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 ; He was imprisoned in St. Helena where he died in 1821.

Causes of the Downfall of Napoleon

☞ **Q. 3. What were the causes of the downfall of Napoleon ? (Important)**

Or

Why was Napoleon defeated ? (P.U. 1952, 53, 57)

Or

Describe briefly the various factors that were responsible for the downfall of Napoleon. (P.U. 1965)

Or

"The Spanish ulcer and the Moscow campaign ruined Napoleon." Discuss the statement.

Ans.—Causes of the Downfall of Napoleon—At the time of the Treaty of Tilsit (1807), Napoleon was at the height of his glory and power. He dominated not only over France but also over the greater part of Europe. He was the Protector of the Confederation of Rhine. He was the Emperor of Italy. He had arrested Pope and seized his kingdom. He had conquered Holland also. He had installed Joseph on the throne of Spain, Jerome in Westphalia and Maura in Naples. Russia and Prussia were his friends. He had become the emperor of such a large empire by the dint of his power and genius. However, after 1810 started his downfall. After his defeat in the battle of Waterloo in 1815 he was imprisoned and exiled to St. Helena where he died after six years in 1821. The main causes of his downfall are given below —

✓(1) *Limit to Human Capacity*—Napoleon was a genius and possessed high intellect and high imaginative power. But he was a human being and there is a limit to human capacity. He was not an exception to it. He wanted to perform miracles in no time. He had too many irons in the fire. He wanted to accomplish all the jobs in hand, all alone. The result was that he could not complete them single-handedly, wherefore, he failed in the end.

(2) *Napoleon was Ambitious*—Napoleon was very ambitious. He had extended the boundaries of his empire to an unlimited extent. His empire had become unwieldy. His early successes turned his head and his ambitions started soaring so high that he began to dream of

becoming a world-conqueror. In order to realize his ambition, he conquered many nations and deprived them of their freedom. They became his enemies. He used brute force for the fulfilment of his aim and did not realize that mere brute force cannot bring success.

(3) *Napoleon's Pride*—Napoleon's successes had made him proud and haughty. He always boasted of his genius and capacity. He thought himself to be so wise that he never consulted his seasoned counsellers because 'in his opinion' his judgements were correct and infallible. He never took advantage of the experience and foresight of intellectual giants like Fouche and Talleyrand. Most of his judgments proved faulty and brought about his downfall. During his campaign in Spain he once remarked—

"*I may find the pillars of Hercules in Spain, but I shall not find the limits of my power. I have seen nothing so cowardly as these Spanish nobles and troops.*"

Thiers, the President of the Third Republic in France, once wrote about his downfall—

"*It was his judgement that degenerated and proved to be the cause of his failure.*"

(4) *Policy of Over-centralization*—Napolean was so proud of his ability and capacity that he followed the policy of over-centralization and concentrated all the powers in his own hands and never shared his powers and responsiblities with his officials. In 1799, he got full control over the legislature and the executive. Later on, he established his domination over the judiciary and the local self-government also. This increased his burden beyond limits. The people had no hand in the administration and they lost initiative and enthusiasm in all matters. This policy of over-centralization brought inefficiency in the administration and ultimately led to his fall.

(5) *Despotic Rule*—Napoleon had spent the early part of his life in helping people to free themselves from the bondage and tyrannies of autocratic rulers. But when he took the reins of administration in his hands, he began to behave like a despotic ruler. His rule was based on the principle of equality and he deprived the people of their freedom. After establishing his autocratic rule in France, he tried to crush the revolutionary sentiment of liberty which had infused new life and energy in the people of France and enabled them to eradicate despotic rule in the country. His autocratic rule became intolerable to the people and they began to condemn Napoleon.

(6) *Napoleon's Empire was based on Force*—Napoleon's unwieldy empire was based on force. His continuous conquests enabled him to establish a vast empire which was not properly organised. The people of the conquered territories had no say in the administration and it was not based on their will. They hated the foreign rule. They feared the tyrannical rule and were forced to obey. They were not loyal to their master who committed numerous atrocities on them.

Napoleon's rule was based on force and maintained on force. **Hazen** says—

> *"Built by war, by conquest, it was necessary environed by the hatred of the conquered. With every advance. every annexation, it annexed additional sources of discount. Based on force, it could only by maintained by force."*

The empire based on force contained the seeds of its destruction. The foundation of this vast empire was indefinite and weak. This empire came into being on account of Napoleon's genius and its permanence depended on his life and fortune. When he began to lose power, there were revolts on all sides which led to his downfall. **Prof. Hazen** says—

> *"Founded and upheld by his genius alone, the permanence of his empire rested solely on his life and fortune."*

(7) *His Militarism*—Napoleon possessed a very large and powerful army. He subdued almost the whole of Europe by his military strength. But his trained and experienced generals and soldiers were killed in incessant wars fought by him. These heavy losses practically crippled the military strength of France. He introduced conscription in France and raised an army of new recruits to face the Allies. This new army was not properly trained, disciplined and well-equipped. It lacked the ardour and zeal of that army which had won the battles of Auster litz and Jena. So it failed to face the Allies. The French were tired of his militarism. So he recruited the Germans, Poles, Italians etc. in his army. His new army was not a national army. It was not homogeneous but heterogeneous. Napoleon used to station his troops in conquered territories which had to bear their expenses. People hated them because they were instruments of repression and miseries. His miltarism which helped him to bring the whole of Europe under his sway also led to his downfall. His army failed to face the combined army of England, Russia, Prussia and Austria. To quote him—

"God marches with the biggest battalions," and as the enesnies of Napoleon raised armies bigger than his own, God was bound to march along with them and that was to result in their victories.

(8) *The Continental System*—Napoleon had humbled all the European countries except England. He regarded England his avowed enemy and wanted to bring her to her knees. He could not invade England directly in the absence of a powerful navy. He knew fully well that England's trade was the source of her strength. In order to ruin her trade he introduced the Continental System. The promulgation of the Continental System was his great blunder which proved fatal for him. He could not enforce this system for want of a powerful fleet. He compelled the vassal states to accept it. It ruined their trade and commerce. It led to scarcity of food and rise in prices in the European countries. It added to the sufferings of the people of Europe. It led to the breach with the Allies and he lost their sympathies. When Portugal and

Spain refused to accept it, he was entangled in the Peninsular war which hastened his decline. To quote **Madelin** —

> *"The Continental System of Napoleon was the principal tragedy in the drama of his fall."*

(9) *The Peninsular War* —Napoleon wanted to enforce the Continental System in Portugal and Spain. But they refused to oblige him. At this; Napoleon compelled the king of Spain to abdicate. He arrested his son Ferdinand and installed his brother, Joseph, on the throne of Spain. It hurt the national feelings of the Spaniards and there was a great national upsurge in Spain against Napoleon. Napoleon was involved in Peninsular war for a long time and it proved suicidal to him. To quote **Napoleon** —

> *"It was the Spanish ulcer that ruined me."*

(10) *Conflict with the Pope* —Napoleon requested the Pope to accept the Continental System but he rejected it point blank. It infuriated Napoleon. He arrested the Pope and annexed his kingdom to the French Empire. People declared him to be an atheist. Napoleon's action antagonised the Catholics of Europe and therefore, lost their sympathies. Even the Catholics of his own empire became hostile to him.

(11) *The Russian Campaign* —The Continental System proved very harmful for Russia, so Czar refused to abide by it. Napoleon invaded Russia with a large army in 1812. His Russian Campaign was a great blunder. It proved fatal for him. A large number of soldiers died of intense cold, disease and shortage of food and clothes. The Russians killed many French soldiers by their guerilla warfare. His grand army was smashed. This campaign crippled his military strength and gave a blow to his power and prestige. Austria and Prussia felt encouraged and began to organise themselves against him. When his military power was reduced, his empire fell like a house of cards. To quote **Prof. Hazen** —

> *"But for the Moscow Campaign of 1812, he might have realized the conception, he afterwards described at St. Helena, of European System, a European Code of Laws and European Court of Appeal. There would then have been one people throughout Europe."*

(12) *Spirit of Nationalism*—Napoleon conquered many countries and re-shaped the map of Europe. He repressed the people of the conquered territories and caused them untold miseries. He deposed their rulers and placed his brothers and relatives on the thrones of these territories. He deprived them of their freedom. Napoleon wanted to enslave them for the sake of his personal glory. It hurt their national self-respect. His unjust and tyrannical rule awakened the feeling of nationalism in Spain, Austria, Prussia, Russia etc. and inspired them to rise and oppose Napoleon and put an end to his power.

(13) *Selfishness of Napoleon*—Napoleon's selfishness and favouritism also proved to be a cause of his decline. After reaching the zenith of his power, he became the king-maker and installed his brothers and relatives on the thrones of the conquered territories. Joseph became the ruler of Spain, Louis of Holland and Jerome of Westphalia. He himself became the Emperor of Italy. It produced discontentment among the people and they began to hate, condemn and criticise him. It gave a severe blow to his honour and fame.

(14) *Ingratitude of his Relatives*—Napoleon treated his relatives kindly but they were ungrateful. They did not help him in crisis. On the other hand, they multiplied his difficulties. Caroline and Jerome were responsible for the end of his power in Italy and Germany. Joseph fled away from Spain. In 1810, he complained to Metternich about his relatives in the following words —

"*My relatives have done more harm than I have done them good.*"

(15) *Naval Power of England*—Naval Power of England was superior to that of France. England had established her superiority over the sea. The English defeated the French fleet at St. Vincent and Camperdeon. Lord Nelson inflicted crushing defeats on Napoleon at the Battles of Nile and Trafalgar and smashed his naval power. Napoleon organised a large army to invade England but English Navy and English Channel stood in his way. Superior naval power of England was responsible for the failure of the Continental System and thwarting the ambitions and plans of Napoleon.

(16) *Strong Finances of the English*—The economic condition of England and her finances had improved because of the Industrial Revolution in that country. England could put up a long struggle against France. England organised various coalitions against France with the co-operation of other countries and helped them with men, money and material and ultimately succeeded in defeating Napoleon. It has been rightly remarked that Napoleon was not defeated in the Battle of Waterloo but in the textile mills of Manchester and blast furnaces of Birmingham. England was the most determined and persistent enemy of Napoleon. England remained constant in her opposition and her successful plans against Napoleon went a long way in thwarting his designs.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Causes of the Downfall of Napoleon—(1) Limit to Human capacity. (2) Napoleon was Ambitious. (3) Napoleon's pride. (4) His Policy of over-centralization (5) His Despotic Rule. (6) Napoleon's Empire was based on Force. (7) His Militarism. (8) His Continental System. (9) Peninsular War. (10) Conflict with the Pope. (11) Russian Campaign. (12) Spirit of Nationalism. (13) Selfishness of Napoleon. (14) Ingratitude of his relatives. (15) Naval Power of England. (16) Strong Finances of the English.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. What were the causes and consequences of Napoleon's Moscow Campaign of 1812 ?

2. Discuss Napoleon's Policy towards Russia.
3. Briefly describe the various factors that were responsible for the downfall of Napoleon.
4. What were the major military, internal and international reasons for the downfall of Napoleon ? (P.U. 1965, P.U. 1971)
5. Trace the fortunes of Napoleon since his return from Moscow till the Battle of Waterloo. What were the causes of his defeat ? (P.U. 1969)
6. Napoleon's Continental System has been considered by some as the cause of his downfall, while others believe that it was the spirit of nationalism that was responsible for it. To which view would you subscribe ? (P.U. 1962)
7. Trace the events from 1808 to 1815 which brought about the downfall of the Napoleonic Empire. (P.U. 1970)

11

WORK AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF NAPOLEON

Napoleon was one of the most famous rulers and statesmen of not only France but also of the world. The political situation in the country offered him an opportunity to rise. He took full advantage of it and gave a proof of his genius. He was an extra-ordinary man and performed extra-ordinary jobs and gained fame and glory. He was born in an ordinary family but succeeded in becoming the Emperor of France. Various writers have composed various books on him and they testify to his great personality. He is perhaps the most written-about person in History. Devois, an eminent French writer, has written four bibliographies on Napoleon. One bibliography was published by a German writer Kircheisene and another by Lumbraso. To quote **Gotteschalk**—

"Napoleon Bonaparte is the most written-about individual in History ......Probably for no other human being has it been necessary to allot so much space in books as we find books and books about him."

☞ **Q. I. Give an account of Napoleon's character, work and achievements. (Important)**

Or

Discuss Napoleon's claims to greatness.

Or

Assess the importance of Napoleon as a statesman in the history of the world.

Or

Make a critical estimate of Napoleon Bonaparte and his role in the history of France and Europe.

Or

"Napoleon was the greatest man that the history of mankind has ever produced". Discuss the statement.

Ans.—It is difficult to form an accurate estimate of Napoleon because different writers have expressed different views about his career and character. Writers like Fisher, Mignet, Rose, Emerson, Hugo, Massion, Levy, Abbot, Thiers etc. have landed him upto the skies and they regard him as a gigantic spirit ; one of the greatest conquerors and rulers of the world, a great statesman, a successful administrator and child of the Revolution. But there are others who hav pointed him as a tyrant and devil. According to Guerard, Wells Taine, Guedella etc., Napoleon was selfish, proud, ambitious, unjust tyrant, robber, devil and the destroyer of the Revolution. The truth is between these two extremes. Napoleon was a man of great qualitie but he had defects also.

1. The Bright Side of Napoleon's Character—

(1) *Napoleon as a man*—Napoleon was a man of great and grand personality. From an ordinary person, he became the Emperor o France on account of his exceptional qualities. From the very beginning of his career, he was very simple, hard-working and disciplined. In his student-life, he used to cook his food and wash his clothes with his own hands. His power of work was unlimited To quote him —

> *"Work is my element. I am born and built for work. I have known the limits of my legs, I have known the limits of my eyes, I have never known the limits of my work."*

He was a man with a strong physique and great physical strength. He worked for 18 hours a day. Once he travelled 90 miles in three hours. In the Battle of Waterloo, he remained 37 hours on the saddle of his horse and used to sleep for a while in some lone corner on his horse-back.

He was very patient and firm minded and remained steadfast like a rock in difficulties and adverse circumstances. Nothing was impossible for him. He used to say —

> *"The word impossible is found in the dictionary of fools only."*

He was endowed with sharp intellect, strong memory and high imaginative power. He used to make great plans on the basis of his imagination. According to Emerson —

> *"Napoleon never blundered into victory, but won his battles in his head, before he won on the field."*

He remembered the names of secret hilly and geograpical places.

In fact, Napoleon had a very charming, fascinating and irresistible personality. He used to say —

"I am not a man like other men." He was civilized and cultured person. He bewitched his listeners. He had a sweet tongue and could influence everybody. Josephine was so much impressed by his personality that she married him. After his return from Elba, he was able to gather 2.00,000 soldiers by his irresistible attraction. To quote **Caulaincourt** —

> *"Emperor's feelings were expressed through every pore. When he chose, nobody could be more fascinating."*

Napoleon was a very kind and tender-hearted man. He loved his friends and comrades like Lannes, Nae, Murat, Junot etc. from the core of his heart. He wept bitterly at the death of Lannes. Napoleon was a very jovial fellow. Once a mad man told Napoleon that he loved the queen. Hearing this, Napoleon remarked humorously, "*You should have disclosed this secret to somebody else.*"

Napoleon was a great orator and a writer. His speeches used to be short but very impressive. He could influence the audience by his forceful lectures and arguments. His articles and letters written to Josephine testify to the fact that he was a writer of outstanding merit. He wrote 2,300 articles which were published in the shape of 32 books. **Fisher** says —

"*He was the prince of journalists, the father of war correspondents.*"

From the above description, it is clear that Napoleon was a versatile genius and had a gigantic personality. To quote **Mignet** —

"*Napoleon was the most gigantic being of modern times.*"

(2) *Napoleon as a General*—Napoleon was a general of outstanding merit. He became the Commander of the French Army and then the Emperor of France by virtue of his extraordinary military genius. He was very brave, bold, courageous and dauntless. About his courage, he used to say —

"*I regard myself as probably the most daring man in war who has ever existed.*"

He could infuse new spirit and life in the minds of ordinary persons. He chose his generals from the ordinary soldiers and helped them inrising to great heights. He was very skilful in the art of warfare. His speeches were very inspiring. He looked to the comfort of his soldiers who were always ready to make any sacrifice for him.

(3) *A Great Conqueror*—Napoleon was a great conqueror. He conquered Italy, Holland, Portugal and Sweden. He humbled the powerful countries like Austria, Prussia and Russia. He left no stone unturned to bring England to her knees. By 1810, he had established his sway over almost the whole of Europe except England. He extended the boundaries of his empire by his astounding victories and made France the most powerful nation in Europe. Napoleon ranks with Alexander, Caesar and Charlemagne as one of the greatest conquerors in the history of the world.

(4) *As an Administrator*—Napoleon was not only a great conqueror but also an efficient and able ruler and administrator. He removed chaos and anarchy from the country, introduced many reforms in the administration and established an efficient system of administration in France. It is rightly said —

"*His life and that alone stood between France and Civil War.*"

Some historian has aptly remarked—*He (Napoleon) found chaos, left order ; found anarchy, left hope*" He established a strong and centralized government which ensured political order in France. He took great pains to promote national education. In order to improve the economy and finances of France and to encourage trade and industry, he established the Bank of France. He did not impose income tax. He promoted art and literature. He built many roads, canals, bridges and buildings. He enhanced the grandeur and splendour of Paris. His Civil Code is the greatest contribution to France. It is based on the principles of equality and justice. He carried out the principles of social equality by throwing careers open to talent. He organised the work of the Revolution and established a new social order based on the revolutionary ideal of equality. He left no stone unturned to stabilize the fundamental concepts of the Revolution and to enrich the life of the people. That is why he is called the Child of the Revolution by many writers.

(5) *As an Organiser and Statesman*—Napoleon was an organiser and statesman of a high order. He not only established an efficient administrative system in France but also conquered Italy and Germany and organised a new set-up there which went a long way in the unification of these countries later on. His wide outlook, his efficient and centralized administrative system, his reforms, civil code, abolition of special rights, his opening of the careers to talent etc. testify to his statesmanship and organizing capacity and capability. It has been rightly said :—

"The last of the series of benevolent despots, he was at the same time one of the first of the great modern statesmen."

2. Dark Side of Napoleon's Character

While Napoleon's friends and admirers have showered encomiums on him, his enemies and opponents have painted him as devil. They called him the 'Tyrant of Europe'. In their opinion, he was unjust and tyrant and wanted to establish his despotic rule over the whole of Europe. In order to realize his ambition, he killed a large number of persons and created chaos in many countries of Europe. His defects have been enumerated below —

(1) *Too much Ambitious*—Napoleon was too much ambitious. He was hungry of fame, power and conquests. He used to say —

"There is one thing to do in this world and that is to keep acquiring more and more money and power."

He was an imperialist to the backbone, and wanted to extend the boundaries of his empire beyond limits. He wanted to establish his domination not only in Europe but also in the East. In 1812, he wrote —

"We are going to make an end of Europe and then to throw ourselves and become masters of India."

His ambition soared so high that he desired to follow the footsteps of Alexander and become the conqueror of the world. In order to realize his ambition, he destroyed the peace of Europe and threw lacs of soldiers into the jaws of death. He deprived the people of the conquered territories of their wealth and freedom. These people began to hate and condemn him. About 40,00,000 people were killed in 60 battles fought by him for the fulfilment of the cherished dream of his life. His high ambitions enabled him to reach the zenith of his power but later on led him towards decline. His ambitions forced him to promulgate the Continental System, start Peninsular war and invade Russia. All these plans ultimately proved fatal for him.

(2) *His Vanity*—Napoleon's early successes and conquests turned his head and he became proud. He ascribed the cause of his success to his physical strength and intellectual power and genius. He was so proud of his wisdom and ability that he stopped consulting his trusted, able, experienced and far-sighted friends, well-wishers and officers. He thought his judgment and plans to be the best and infallible. His judgments and plans were often faulty and led to his downfall.

(3) *Selfish*—Napoleon was a man with gigantic powers but he was selfish. He used his powers for his own selfish ends. For the realization of his selfish ends, he, flouted moral principles and used all kinds of fair and unfair means. He also depended on deceit and trickery. After taking the reins of administration in his hands, he used his administrative powers for his selfish motives. In order to enhance his powers and fame and satisfy his thirst for the expansion of his empire, he fought many battles. Had he used his powers for the welfare of the people, he would not have destroyed the peace of Europe. He used his powers for destructive and not for constructive purposes. He rose to the height of his glory by dint of revolutionary ideals but by grabbing power, he curbed the spirit of the Revolution. When he became the First Consul, he said —

"Citizens, the Revolution has turned to the principles with which it began. It is at an end."

(4) *His family Ambitions*—Napoleon was not only selfish but believed in showing favouritism and partiality towards his kith and kin. He wanted to create a dynasty of kings. After conquering many territories, he became the king-maker. He distributed money and land among his relatives. He made his brother Louis, the king of Holland, Jerome of Westphalia and Joseph of Spain. After the conquest of Italy, he himself became her emperor. People began to hate him for his selfishness and favouritism.

(5) *No Faith in Religion*—Napoleon had no faith in religion. He never cared for morality and spiritualism. He made religion as an instrument for advancing his political ends. He did not hesitate to deceive people in the name of religion. He showed his faith in Catholism but in actual practice he was a materialist and had no faith in Christ. He did not spare even the Pope. He arrested him and annexed his kingdom to his empire. It was a clear proof of the hollowness of his faith in religion. To quote him —

"People say I am a Papist. I am nothing. I was a Mohammedan in Egypt, I shall be Catholic in France."

6. *Opposed to the Ideal of Liberty*—Napoleon was opposed to the revolutionary concept of liberty and hated the romantic actions taken in the name of freedom. He was of the view that social and conomic inequalities gave birth to the Revolution so he tried to establish a new social set-up based on equality by depriving the people of their freedom. The result was that he became an autocrat and established his despotic rule in France. To quote **Guerard** —

"The worst tendencies of Ancient Regime and of the revolution towards absolutism were renewed and strengthened......The progress of material prosperity may have been hastened by a few years, but the soul of France was shackled for a century."

Keeping in view the defects in his character, some writers have called him the Destroyer of the Revolution and a child who killed his mother.

3. **Views of various Writers about Napoleon**—Views of different writers about Napoleon are given below. **Harold** says —

"This supreme combination of intellect and energy gave Napoleon's mind a magnetic, almost supernatural power......a power that seems to radiate from his pictured features and endows his very name with magic."

According to **Talleyrand**—*"His (Napoleon) genius was unbelievable. His has been the most astonishing career that has been witnessed for the last thousand years. He was certainly the most extra-ordinary man I ever saw and in my opinion the most extra-ordinary man that has lived for many centuries."*

In the opinion of **Leon Bloy**—*"Napoleon is the face of God in darkness."*

Holland Rose says—*"He (Napoleon) was the greatest Emperor and organiser of all times who left France weaker and his enemies stronger than before his appearance in the arena."*

Thiers has expressed his views about Napoleon in the following words —

"In war Napoleon was guided by his genius, in politics by his passion".

According to **Dr. Sloane**—*"The empire of Napoleon was like a brilliant bubble on the stream of time."*

To quote **Guerard**—*"Granted that beneath all his imperial bluff, there had been solid achievements, still, they were purely material and constantly obtained at the expense of variety and initiative."*

Fisher says—*"Bonaparte came to close the romance of Revolution, to heal the wounds, to correct the extravagance and to secure the conquest. He stood for the restoration of peace and confidence, for building up of commercial credit, retrieving of military prestige and mending of educational machine."*

According to **Flenley**—
"He was the child and heir of the French Revolution, who, if he completed the destruction of liberty, yet preserved equality and built it into the enduring laws he gave to France." Napoleon himself said—*"I closed the chasm of anarchy ; cleansed the revolution".*

To quote **Gottschalk**—*"Although Bonaparte has frequently been reviled as an unscrupulous dictator and conqueror, his regime may also be looked upon as an effort to provide a synthesis of the old and the new for the war-weary and revolution-weary Europe of his day."*

So we learn that Napoleon was neither a perfect angel nor an outright devil. He was a human being who had amazing qualities, as well as certain defects also. He was a versatile genius and possessed extraordinary physical and mental powers and did extra-ordinary work. He was a great conqueror who fought many bloody battles and shed the blood of lacs of people and deprived the people of the conquered territories and also of their independence. He was over-ambitious and wanted to conquer the whole world.

But his ambition proved suicidal for him and led him towards decline. He regenerated France and established a new social order based on equality, removed chaos and disorder and introduced many reforms. On the other hand, he led France towards its destruction also. In spite of his defects, it cannot be denied that he was a great man the whole and his contribution to France and world is really very important.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Character of Napoleon

1. *Bright Side of his Character*—(1) Hard working, genius, fascinating personality, jovial, a great orator and writer. (2) A successful General. (3) An efficient administrator. (4) A great conqueror. (5) An organiser and Statesman.

2. *Dark Side of his Character*—(1) Too much ambitious. (2) Proud (3) Selfish. (4) His family ambitions. (5) No faith in religion.

He was neither an angel nor a devil. He had good qualities and certain defects also.

Legacy Of Napoleon

Q. 2. What was Napoleon's Legacy to France ? In what sense can he be considered the creator of contemporary and modern France ?
(P.U. 1964) Important.

Or

How far was Napoleon the child of or the heir to the French Revolution ?

Or

Give a brief account of Napoleon's services to France and Europe.

Or

How far do you agree with the view that Napoleon did more good to Europe by his reforms than he did harm to her by the wars ?

Ans.—After becoming First Consul, Napoleon dominated France and played an important role in the history of Europe for 20 years. He removed chaos and anarchy from France and established a new social order based on the principle of equality. By 1810, he had reached the climax of his power and glory. He overran the whole of Europe and humbled all the countries of Europe except England. He destroyed the old regime and old harmful traditions and institutions in the conquered territories and showed them the new path for progress.

1. **Napoleon's Legacy to France**—Napoleon was a versatile genius and a marvellously gifted man. He was not only a great conqueror but also an able administrator, organiser and a statesman. He rendered useful services to the people of France who had suffered much at the hands of the Revolution. *He established a stable and orderly government* and his strong government ensured political order in France. He regenerated France on the basis of the *concept of equality* and abolished all the social inequalities and special privileges and rights. He set up a classless society by *abolishing feudalism and serfdom.* He followed the policy of *religious toleration* and granted religious freedom to all. He carried out the principles of *social equality* by throwing careers open to talent. He recruited his servants and generals on the basis of merit and not on the basis of their social status. His administration was broad-based and hard work and efficiency were its chief characteristics. *He introduced many useful reforms.* He was an enlightened despot. He established a national army and a national system of education to promote nationalism. He carried out many *economic reforms* to improve the finances of the country. He promoted trade and industry. He built many roads, canals, bridges and took various steps to enhance the beauty and grandeur of Paris. He systematized the laws of the land and established a uniform system of law in the country. His code was very simple and clear. It promoted social equality and gave cheap and equal justice to all. In this way, *he removed chaos and anarchy and ensured law and order in France. His administrative system was so efficient and useful that even his successors could not ignore it.*

2. **Napoleon's Legacy to Europe**—Napoleon's services to Europe were in no way less important than his services to France. His Empire in Europe did not last long but it had far-reaching and permanent effects.

(*1*) *Introduction of French Ideals and Institutions*—Napoleon was the master of a vast empire. It included Belgium, Holland, Portugal, Spain, Warsaw, Confederation of Rhine, Italy, and Switzerland. His system of government and new ideas of society were adopted by these countries. He swept away the old regime and old institutions and practices from the conquered territories, established new political order and organised society on the principle of equality. In this way, he carried the revolutionary ideals to other countries of Europe. It was, thus, the revolution in its European aspect. He put an end to feudaalism, serfdom and class-distinctions in these countries. The people there were granted social equality, religious freedom and the right to hold posts on the basis of merit and talent. The Europeans adopted new ideals and institutions in no time and got rid of evils of the old social order and tyrannies and atrocities of the privileged class and old regime. It has been rightly remarked, *"There was only one force in Europe which could destroy the barriers of traditional systems and eliminate the network of internal frontiers, and that force could enter a foreign country behind the bayonets of French troops."*

Napoleon eradicated the old social order based on inequality, injustice and tyranny and opened the way for the new era and new social set-up based on the concepts of eqality and fraternity. That is why it is said, *"The Napoleonic Empire was not an interruption but an extension of the Revolution. It was the last phase of the Revolution."*

(2) *The Code Napoleon*—Napoleon swept away the old complex and tyrannical laws of France and prepared a new code known as the Code Napoleon. It laid great stress on the destruction of feudalism, special privileges and serfdom and emphasized the revolutionary concepts of social equality, religious freedom and equitable distribution of patrimony. This code was recognized not only in France but in other countries of Europe as well. This code is still prevalent in France and with some modifications in Italy, Holland, Belgium and Germany. This code went a long way in propagating the principles of the Revolution in European countries. The simplicity and elegance of their form commended them not only in France but to the greater part of the Continent. To quote **Southgate**—

"As his conquests extended, the Codes were introduced in other lands and his legal work exercised an influence far beyond the borders of France."

(3) *Spirit of Nationalism*—Another great legacy of Napoleon to Europe was the spirit of nationalism. Napoleon's conquest of Spain, Italy, Austria, Germany etc. produced national upsurge in these countries. The French soldiers went to fight in the European countries and they carried with them the revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. They preached these ideals there and laid the foundation of nationalism. The people of these countries were greatly influenced by these ideals and they adopted them. After the rise of nationalism, these people girded up their loins to break the bondage of slavery and regain their independence. There started a war of liberation whose founder was Napoleon. The awakening of the spirit of nationalism eradicated the old regime and paved the way for the establishment of new era.

(4) *Unification of Italy and Germany*—The credit for paving the way to the unification of Italy and Germany directly or indirectly goes to Napoleon. Italy was divided into large number of small states. Napoleon conquered these small states, bound them together and gave

them a uniform system of administration. Thus, by establishing a centralized government in Italy, he laid the foundation of national unity. Napoleon was also responsible for the unification of Germany. He annexed the small states of Germany to the bigger states in their neighbourhood. He formed the Confederation of states in South Germany by amalgamating them. He established an organized administration there. In this way, he taught them the lesson of nationalism and unity and made the task of unification of Germany very easy in future.

Hayes has summed up the Napoleon's legacy to Europe in the following words—

"Thanks to the events of Napoleonic era, the revolution which originally had been French, was becoming European. It was long enough to communicate to their population, a taste for the new regime."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Napoleon's Legacy to France** :—(1) Removed chaos and anarchy and set up a stable or order government. (2) Establishment of classless society on the basis of equality, (3) Emphasis on merit. (4) Established national education. (5) Introduced economic reforms to improve the finances of France. (6) Code Napoleon.

2. **Napoleon's Legacy to Europe** :—(1) Propagation of the French ideals and institutions. (2) Code Napoleon. (3) Spirit of Nationalism. (4) Paved the way for the unification of Italy and Germany.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER-IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. Evaluate Napoleon's work and achievements.
2. What do you know of Napoleon as a military general, ruler and a law-giver ?
3. "Napoleon was one of the greatest generals and military leaders that the world has ever produced." Discuss.
4. "Napoleon had a great organising capacity and administrative genuis." Elucidate.
5. Form an estimate of Napoleon's character.
6. Discuss Napoleon's role in the History of Europe.
7. Give a brief account of Napoleon's services to France and Europe.
8. How far did Napoleon succeed in securing the gains and fruits of Revolution for France, Europe and the World ?
9. Napoleon did more good to Europe by his reforms than he did harm to her by his wars. How far do you agree with this view ?
10. What was Napoleon's legacy to France ? (P.U. 1964)
11. Napoleon was the child of the French Revolution and the maker of modern France. How ? (P.U. 1940)
19. Indicate the stages in the career of Napoleon I, and make an appraisal of his work of reconstruction of Europe. (Pb. M. A. 1972)

12

EFFECTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The French Revolution had great effect not only on France but on Europe also The famous historian Ramsay Muir has called it "The World Revolution." It was as much a war of ideas as of bayonets. It gave news ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity to the world. It put an end to the old regime and existing social order and brought about a great change in Europe by laying emphasis on democracy, nationalism and socialism. The French Revolution not only shook France but also Europe to their very foundation and there by prepared the way for their reconstruction on a new basis.

Q. I. Discuss the immediate and permanent results and achievements of the French Revolution. (A.U. 1955, 62) Important

Or

What was the legacy of the French Revolution to France, Europe and the world.

Or

Give a full and critical account of the permanent effects of the French Revolution of 1789.

Or

How far is it true to say that the French Revolution accomplished the change from feudal system to the democratic system of the modern world ? (A.U. 1950)

Ans.—**(A) Immediate Effects of the French Revolution.**

1. Effects on France—Thousands of persons were killed in France during the period of Revolution. It gave a serious jerk to the French trade and industry and created financial crisis in France and the people of France had to undergo many hardships. But in the long run, the Revolution proved a boon for them.

The French suffered a lot due to the despotic and tyrannical rule. The social order was based on inequality. The high clergy and feudal lords enjoyed special rights and privileges and led a luxurious life. On the other hand, the people belonging to the middle and lower classes were exploited economically and politically and were deprived of their political and social rights.

The French Revolution *uprooted the old regime,* put an end to arbitrary rule in France and paved the way for the establishment of the Republic. *The special privileges of the higher order were abolished* and it led to the regeneration of France on the basis of social equality. The declaration of the Rights of Man granted *freedom and individual liberty* to all without any distinction of class and creed.

Many reforms were introduced in the administration. The higher and important posts in the state were thrown open to talent and Government servants and military officials were recruited on the basis of merit. Everyone got the right to rise according to his talents and merits. The Napoleonic code introduced a uniform system of law and made it clear and simple. All were equal before law and got fair justice. All were granted religious freedom. Efforts were made to improve the economic condition by promoting trade and industry and by the establishment of the Bank of France. Many roads, bridges were constructed for the improvement of agriculture and trade and also the means of communication. In short, it can be said that Napoleon was an enlightened despot who wielded absolute power but never ignored the welfare of the people. To quote **Kropotkin**—

> *"The French Revolution made France stronger and prosperous. A New France was born during four years of Revolution. For the first time in centuries, the peasant ate to his fill, strengthened his back and dared to speak out. A new nation was born. It was owing to this new birth that France was able to maintain her wars under the Republic and Napoleon had to carry the principles of the great revolution to Italy, Spain, Belgium Holland and Germany etc."*

2. Effects on England :—

(*1*) *Effects on Political Thought*—In the beginning, Pitt the Younger, the Prime Minister of England and other famous leaders such as Fox and Burke welcomed the Revolution as a *'Dawn of New Era'*. Fox once said, "*How much is this, the greatest event that has ever happened in the world, and how much the best*". But the Reign of Terror, the murder of the King and the Queen and the Decree of 1792 made Pitt and Burke hostile to the Revolution, while Fox and Paine supported it from the beginning to the end. In this way, the Revolution gave birth to new political thought in England.

(*2*) *Effects on Party Politics*—The Revolution created differences between Burke and Fox, the then leaders of the Whig party. Fox was in favour of the Revolution while Burke opposed it. Burke left the Whig party and joined Pitt the Younger, with his followers. It led to rift in the Whig Party, but at the same time, it became more liberal and democratic.

(*3*) *Effects on the Movement for Political Reforms*—In the beginning, the Younger Pitt hailed the Revolution because he was in favour of new concepts and reforms but, seeing the atrocities committed in the name of Revolution, he became its staunch opponent and Conservative. He followed the policy of oppression. He suspended Habeas Corpus Act. He banned all meetings and conferences meant to propagate the revolutionary ideals. He put up censorship on the press. He deprived the labourers of their right to frame Trade Unions. He inflicted severe punishments on the revolutionaries in England. He banned various Associations which favoured the reforms in the Parliament. Pitt took all these measures to save England from the evil effects of the Revolution.

However, with the passage of time, the revolutionary concepts of liberty, equality and fraternity influenced the people of England and they started a struggle for their liberty and rights. Various leaders and political parties and associations made efforts for the introduction of reforms in the Parliament. As a result, the First Reform Act was passed in 1832.

(4) *Social and Economic Effects*—The Revolution proved suicidal for the movements for reforms and there was no improvement in the social life of the English. Incessant wars against France deteriorated the economy of England. The National Debt increased beyond limits. It led to the imposition of heavy taxes on the people. The period of agricultural prosperity in England also ended. British trade also suffered much. The prices of the essential commodities shot up. There was poverty and unemployment prevalent everywhere in England. These factors created a lot of economic distress and discontent in the country.

(5) *Effect on the English Literature*—The French Revolution had great effect on the English Literature. It intensified the love of liberty into passion. It inspired the young poets of England such as Words worth, Coleridge, Couper, Shelley, Byron etc. They made the events of the Revolution and the social problems of the period as the subjects of their poems. They carried in them the revolutionary ideals of liberty and equality. Burke composed a book named '*Reflection on French Revolution.*' '*Rights of Man*' was written by Paine. '*Life of Nelson*' was also written during this period. All these factors went a long way in enriching the English literature.

3. **Effects on Ireland**—The people of Ireland had to suffer economically, politically and socially under the domination of England. The French Revolution inspired them to fight for their rights. They raised the standard of revolt against the English under the leadership of Wolftone. The revolutionaries of France also instigated and helped them but this revolt was crushed badly by the English General Lake. The Anglo-Irish Act of 1800 brought about the union of the two countries. The people of Ireland still remained unsatisfied and there was a lot of discontentment in the country. They continued their efforts to regain their lost independence. They succeeded in the long run and the Irish Free State was established in 1922.

4. **Effects on other Countries of Europe**—The early effect of the Revolution on other European countries was not good. It engulfed

many countries into fiery and bloody wars and lacs of people were killed in them. Napoleon's Continental System adversely affected the trade of these countries and their economic condition deteriorated much. But the French troops carried the revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity into all such countries where they fought many battles. This infused the spirit of nationalism in Spain, Germany, Prussia, Italy and Austria etc. It was this spirit of nationalism which helped these countries to free themselves from the slavery and bondage of France. The History of the 19th century Europe is nothing but the record of national movements of these countries.

B. Permanent Effects of the Revolution

The French Revolution was not merely a local event. It greatly influenced not only France but also Europe and rest of the world. The revolutionary concepts of liberty, equality and fraternity crossed the boundaries of France and found their way into other countries and inspired the people over there. It helped in the re-shaping of Europe on the basis of these new principles. Its permanent effects, however are given below :—

(1) *Equality*—Equality was one of the main principles of the Revolution. It implied the equality of all before law and abolition of special privileges enjoyed by the upper order in society. It established political, economic and social equality in European countries. It led to the abolition of social inequality. All were considered equal in the eyes of law and government and were treated equally. Stress was now laid on merit and not on birth or wealth. Everyone got equal rights to rise on the basis of talent and merit. By and by, it abolished serfdom and feudalism. Everybody now shared the burden of taxes equally. Religious freedom and toleration was preached. Freedom of the press was maintained and the right of the individual to education was assured. All religious and class-differences were ignored and society was re-organised on the principle of equality. This is the greatest boon of the Revolution to the world.

(2) *Liberty*—The revolutionary ideal of liberty was hailed all over Europe. It implied personal, political, social and religious freedom. The Declaration of the Rights of Man made people understand the importance of personal liberty and rights. Important steps were taken to establish social liberty by abolishing special privilges, feudalism and serfdom. Special efforts were made to ensure political liberty. Before the French Revolution, the monarchs enjoyed absolute powers and behaved like tyrants. The French Revolution put an end to the rule of these despotic and autocratic rulers. It smashed the theory of Divine Right of kings and led to the establishment of constitutional monarchy everywhere in Europe. Now the monarchs could not behave in a tyrannical way and ignore the laws of the land and the interests of the general public. The people were enfranchised and given the right to elect their representatives to the legislature. It has been rightly remarked —

"France became the spokesman of the human race and the idea of liberty became the watchward and charter of all the reformers and revolutionaries. Liberty became a universal creed.'

(3) *Popular Sovereignty*—The French Revolution put an end to the despotic rule in France and led to the establishment of republican form of government It emphasized the fact that sovereignty resides in general public and thus, the law should be based on the will of the people. It asserted that the people had the right to run their government through their elected representatives. It laid stress on the fact that the people should rule themselves and that the government should be not only *'for the people'* but also *'by the people'*. It inspired the spirit of democracy. Although Napoleon ended the Republic later on and became the emperor of France, yet his work was accomplished according to the will of the people. In the beginning, there was a reaction against the ideal of popular sovereignty but later on the people of Europe and other countries of the world adopted this idea and established democracy in their countries. To quote **Dewy**—

"The history of the 19th century is one of very gradual but definite advance towards the sovereignty of the people, and a great deal of progress which has made, can be traced directly or indirectly to the influence of the French Revolution."

(4) *Spirit of Nationalism*—The French Revolution emphasized the principle of nationalism. It infused the spirit of nationalism and patriotism in the people of France. Being inspired by this spirit of nationalism, they were able to abolish despotic and autocratic rule in France, defeat the combined armies of Austria and Prussia and protect their country from the enemies. The Napoleonic wars provoked the sentiment of nationalism in Spain, Italy, Prussia, Germany and Austria etc. The soldiers of Napoleon were not only brave warriors but also the preachers of the spirit of the Revolution. It was the result of the awakening of the spirit of nationalism that Napoleon failed miserably in Portugal, Spain, Prussia and Austria although his army was very large, strong, well-equipped, disciplined and trained. After getting inspiration from the spirit of nationalism, the people of these subjugated countries made great sacrifices for the protection of their freedom from foreign aggression. The Spaniards proved that 'a whole people is more powerful than disciplined armies.'

The other countries of Europe also reorganised themselves for their freedom from foreign bondage. This feeling of nationalism led to the revival of Prussia and unification of Italy and Germany. So we see that the spirit of nationalism saw its birth in France and then it burst the boundaries of France and found its way into the other countries of Europe. The history of Europe in 19th century is the story of triumph of nationalism in Belgium, Italy, Germany and the Balkan Peninsula. The idea of 'nation-in-arms' is a great boon of the French Revolution to the world. To quote **Hayes**—

"Thanks to the events of 'Napoleonic era', the Revolution which

originally had been French was becoming European. It was long enough to communicate to their population a taste for the new regime."

(5) *From Feudal System to Democratic System*—Before the French Revolution, the political organisation in France was based on feudalism. The feudal lords held large estates, armies and forts. They enjoyed special privileges. They did not pay any tax to the state. They were appointed to the high posts under the state. They used to levy many feudal taxes. Only they could establish flour mills, ovens and breweries in their estates. Large tracts of forests were reserved for their hunting. Their pets and cattle grazed on the land tilled by the peasants. They destroyed the crops but the peasants had no right to lodge any complaint against them. This privileged class, thus, enjoyed special rights and led a luxurious life and squandered the hard-earned wealth of the general public.

The French Revolution shook the very foundation of feudalism and led to the abolition of the special privileges of the feudal lords. Besides, it also led to the destruction of feudalism, serfdom and social inquality. In stead, there was regeneration of the society on the basis of equality. So the class distinctions came to an end. All the high posts in the states were thrown open to talent and merit. The declaration of the Rights of Man granted the rights of liberty and equality to all. Napoleonic Code also went a long way in emphasizing these ideals. By and by, feudalism was abolished in other countries of Europe also and the French idea of democracy spread to every nook and corner of the world.

(6) *Education*—As a First Consul, Napoleon introduced many reforms in education. He set up a system of national education and opened many schools and colleges. A university was established in Paris. Before the introduction of these reforms, the Church was responsible for the education of the people. But now universities were established in London, Berlin and other big cities of Europe on the model of Paris University It helped a great deal in promoting education in European countries.

(7) *Social Welfare*—Thousands of people suffered at the hands of the Revolution but ultimately the Revolution proved a blessing in disguise for the whole humanity. It helped in the growth of the spirit of fraternity and social welfare. The people spent huge sums, and the government passed many laws for the social welfare of the people. The revolution created a spirit of brotherhood and kindness for the people growing under hardships. Serfdom was abolished. Significant reforms were carried out for the welfare of the peasants and labourers. Various measures were taken for the improvement of the lot of the prisoners in jail. Many schools and hospitals were opened. The French Revolution spread the ideals of a welfare state and, as a result, the legislatures all over the world passed various laws for the welfare of the masses.

Thus we see that the French Revolution was a world phenomenon which profoundly influenced not only France but also the whole world. The French ideas of political freedom and social equality had great effect on the revolutionary movements of the 19th century Europe. It shattered all the useless political and social institutions. Despotism came to an end giving way to democracy and the world witnessed the regeneration of human society on the basis of the principles of the Revolution. To quote **Kropotkin**—

> *"The blood they (the people of France) shed was for humanity, the sufferings they endured were borne for the entire human race, their struggle and the ideas they gave to the world along with the shocks of these ideas, are all included in the heritage of mankind. All have borne fruit and will bear more, as we advance those wide horizons opening out before us where like some great beacon to point the way, flame the words, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity."*

POINTS TO REMEMBER

I. Effects of The French Revolution :—

(*1*) *Effects on France* :—(1) End of despotic rule. (2) Abolition of special privileges. (3) Establishment of classless society and its reconstruction on the basis of equality. (4) Reforms in administration.

(*2*) *Effects on England* :—(1) Effect on Political Thought. (2) Effect on Party Politics. (3) Effect on the Movement for Political Reforms. (4) Social and Economic effects. (5) Effect on Literature.

(*3*) *Effects on Ireland* :—(1) Revolt for freedom. (2) Union of England and Ireland in 1800. (3) Irish Free Stare in 1922.

(*4*) *Effects on other countries*—Economic loss due to wars. 2. Rise of nationalism in many countries in Europe in the 19th Century.

II. Permanent Effects of the French Revolution
Regeneration of society on the principle of equality. (2) Encouragement to Political, social and economic liberty. (3) Spirit of Popular Sovereignty. (4) Spirit of nationalism. (5) End of feudalism and establishment of democratic System. 6. Spread of Education. (7) Spirit of welfare state.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. What was the legacy of the French Revolution to France, Europe and the world.
2. What was the effect of the ideas and principles of the French Revolution on the politics of the world.
3. The French Revolution ended the old political and social order and inaugurated the era of a new social and political outlook. Discuss.
4 What benefit did the French Revolution confer upon France and Europe ? Discuss briefly.
5. Describe the permanent political and social changes in the life of France resulting from the French Revolution.
(P. U. 1965)

6. What was the effect of the outbreak of French Revolution on the internal policy of the neighbours of France and how did they react to it ? (P. U. 1968, D. U. 1969)
7. Assess the immediate and permanent results and achievements of the French Revolution. (R. U. 1955, 62)
8. The French Revolution not only shook France but also Europe to the very foundations and thereby prepared the way for their reconstruction on a new basis." Critically examine the implications of this observation.
9. Explain and discuss the major reforms introduced by the French Revolution. (Pb. B.A. 1970)
10. Describe the permanent results of the French Revolution (Pb. M.A. 1970)

13

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Napoleon's rise and campaigns are as important in the History of Europe as his downfall His campaigns created terror in Europe. The revolutionary principles of liberty, equality and fraternity were feared by the despotic rulers. He devastated Europe and completely changed her map. He annexed many parts of Europe to his empire. He amalgamated small states in the neighbouring bigger states. A Congress of the representatives, princes, emperors and statesmen of the various countries of Europe was held at Vienna in 1814-1815 for the regeneration of Europe and suppressing the main principles of the Revolution. This Congress was held under the presidentship of Metternich, the Chancellor of Austria.

☞ Q. I. What were the aims of the Congress of Vienna ? What principles did it follow to achieve the aim ? Give the main provisions of the Settlement of Vienna, 1815. (V. Important)

Or

Give a full and critical account of the provisions of the Settlement of Vienna and point out its merits and demerits.

Or **(P.U. 1969)**

Specify clearly the work done by the Congress of Vienna.

Ans.—I. Congress of Vienna—Napoleon was completely defeated in 1815 in the Battle of Waterloo and this defeat shtatered all his dreams of conquering the whole world. He was imprisoned in St. Helena. The upheavals caused by his wars had created many knotty problems. A congress of the respresentatives of various Europeans countries was held at Vienna in 1815 under the chairmanship of Metternich, the Chancellor of Austria, to administer the vast empire of Napoleon, to reshape the map of Europe and to suppress the important elements of the Revolution. The kings, emperors, statesmen and scholars of all the European countries except Turkey were invited to take part in it. Auther Wellesley and Lord Castlereagh represented England. The Foreign Minister of Austria, Metternich was the delegate of Austria. The Czar of Russia, Alexander I, joined the Congress on behalf of Russia along with Baran Vom Stein, Nesselrods and Capo'd Istria. Prussia was represented by the emperor, Frederick William III, and his ministers Hambolt and Hardenberg. Cardinal Salvi was the delegate of the Pope of Rome. The French Foreign Minister, Talleyrand, joined this Congress as the representative of France. Besides these delegates of big powers, the **Photograph of** the congress of Viehur, 1815 A.D.

The Congress of Vienna, 1815 A. D.

kings of small states like Denmark and Sweden etc. also took part in it. The quote **Hazen—**

> *"This work of reconstruction was undertaken by the Congress of Vienna, one of the most important diplomatic gatherings in the history of Europe. Never before had there been such an assemblage of celebrities."*

Austria, England, Russia and Prussia took the leading part in the Congress. The statesmen of the various European countries had been divided into two groups. The Czar of Russia was the leader of one group and Prussia closely associated with him. The second group was organised under the leadership of Austria and England and France were her main helpers.

2. Main Problems before the Congress—The Congres of Vienna had to face many knotty problem and the peace of Europe depended on the peaceful solution of these intricate problems.

(1) Napoleon waged wars for about 25 years and annexed many states to his empire. He had amalgamated many small states into the big states in their neighbourhood. He had completely changed the political map of Europe. *The administration of the vast empire of Napoleon and regeneration and reshaping of the map of Europe was the main problem confronting the Congress of Vienna.* It had also to decide whether the deposed princes should be restored to their old states or not.

(2) The second main problem before the Congress was to *destroy the main principles of the Revolution* and the revolutionary spirit engen-

dered by it. The Allies were successful in crushing the military strength of France but they failed to suppress the revolutionary feelings of France. The events of the revolutionary period brought about a great upheaval in Europe. The fundamental principles of the Revolution, i.e. Liberty, Equality & Fraternity, created the feelings of nationalism among the people of the European countries. Being inspired by the sentiment of national unity, the people of the Spain, Italy and Germany etc. tried to smash the roots of the despotic and autocratic rule and establish national, democratic and constitutional form of government in their countries. The delegates of the Congress wanted to suppress the revolutionary spirit and save Europe from the concepts of the Revolution.

(3) Another serious problem before the Congress was to *re-establish the supremacy and authority of the Church and the Pope.* Before the outbreak of the Revolution, the Pope had great influence in the political and religious matters of European countries. The rulers of all the European countries respected the Pope and thought it to be their foremost duty to obey his commands. The Pope had established Inquisition Courts all over Europe. Church possessed landed property and wealth. During the revolutionary period and even after that, property of the Church and the clergymen was confiscated and sold off. Napoleon brought the Church under the control of state and shattered its influence altogether. He went a step further and arrested the Pope and annexed his kingdom to his empire. This action on the part of Napoleon gave birth to a new sect besides the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. This new sect had no faith in religion and the authority of Church and Pope. The Congress wanted to re-establish the authority and influence of the Church and the Pope for the suppression of the principles of the Revolution.

3. Aims of the Congress—The following were the main aims of the Congress of Vienna :—

(1) Napoleon had changed the political map of Europe and destroyed her peace by his incessant wars for 25 years. So the first and the foremost aim of the Congress was to *reshape the map of Europe* and establish peace.

(2) The Congress wanted to deprive France of her conquered territories and fix the *French boundaries* as they existed before the Revolution.

(3) Napoleon had destroyed many old states and created some new ones instead and installed his kith and kin on the thrones of these newly created states. The Congress had to *resettle these kingdoms.*

(4) Napoleon had amalgamated many small states into the bigger neighbouring states and the princes of these small states had been dethroned. The Congress aimed at *restoring the old rulers* to their original states.

(5) The Congress also aimed at *solving the problems concerning the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, Belgium, Holland, Italy and boundaries of Switzerland.*

(6) To *punish the rulers of Europe* who had co-operated with Napoleon.

(7) To *re-establish the rights and authority of the Church.*

(8) To *smash the military strength of France* to such an extent that she may not destroy the peace of Europe again.

(9) The aim of the Congress was to *divide among the conquerors the spoils of the conquered.* The Allies had co-operated to defeat Napoleon. Now they wanted to distribute among themselves the territories snatched away from France and her allies.

(10) Napoleon had caused great destruction in the Continent by his incessant wars for 25 years. The Congress aimed at *punishing France for her misdeeds* by fixing a heavy war-indemnity on France.

(11) To *devise ways and means for the maintenace of international peace* and the balance of power.

4. Chief Principles of the Congress—The Congress adopted the following principles for the ahievement of its aims :—

(*1*) *Principle of Balance of Power*—The principle of balance of power implied that no country should be allowed to become so powerful that she may prove to be a danger to other states and destroy the peace in the Continent. This principle was followed at the time of the distribution of the territories snatched away from France. In order to maintain the balance of power, the province of Saxony was not handed over to Prussia. To achieve this end still furthur, strong and powerful states were created on the frontiers of France. Holland, Sardinia and Switzerland were made strong by the addition of large territories to reduce the power of France and check her aggressive designs.

(*2*) *Principle of Legitimacy*—Napoleon had destroyed many states by amalgamating them in the neighbouring states and thus deprived the rulers of these states of their kingdoms. In accordance with the principles of legitimacy, the Congress aimed to restore, as far as possible the rightful rulers to their original states. The French Foreign Minister, Talleyrand, supported this principle because he wanted to secure France for the Bourbons. The kingdoms of France, Holland, Portugal and Naples were restored to the rulers of their old dynasties. But this principle was not followed while dealing with certain territories of Italy and Germany.

(*3*) *Principle of Compensation*—Napoleon had fully destroyed certain states and had damaged a couple of other countries. Having joined hands to fight out Napoleon, England, Russia, Prussia, Austria and Sweden had played a significant role in the defeat of Napoleon but had also suffered many losses at his hands. According to the principle of compensation, these countries were compensated for their losses and co-operation. They were given territories taken away from France and her allies.

5. Way of Working—The Allies were united so far as their efforts to defeat Napoleon were concerned but, in reality, they lacked unity and wanted to gain their own selfish ends. Austria wanted to establish her domination over Italy and Germany. The Czar of Russia had his eyes fixed on Poland while Prussia wanted to grab Saxony. England was not ready to give the French colonies conquered by her during the war back and at the same time, she wanted to retain her naval supremacy and her domination over the sea. France was anxious to retain her old boundaries. The smaller states also had their own axe to grind.

Under these circumstances, it was very difficult to work under certain definite plans and procedure. The way of working was very haphazard. The statesmen did not discuss the problems openly. The boundaries of the states were fixed in the theatres and dancing halls. The knotty problems were discussed and solved in the dinner and singing parties. The Congress had no president. Metternich performed the duties of the Chairman and the Secretary. In the beginning, the 'Preliminary Committee of Eight' consisting of England, Russsia Prussia, Austria, Spain and Portugal, France and Sweden was formulated to carry on the work of the Congress, but this effort failed miserably. The powerful countries like England, Russia, Prussia and Austria held sway and their voice was supreme in the Congress and decisions were made according to their sweet will. As a matter of fact, before the Treaty of Paris, England, Russia, Prussia and Austria had entered into the Secret Treaty of Chaumont on March 9, 1814 and had taken decisions regarding the reconstruction of Europe. They only wanted the approval of the smaller states who had no knowledge of this secret treaty.

These four powerful countries wanted to thrust their own decisions but they failed in their designs because they were selfish and torn by mutual jealousies and differences. There was a rift among the 'Big Four' over the question of the future of Poland and Saxony. The Czar of Russia wanted to appropriate the whole of Poland. In order to win over Prussia, he favoured the annexation of Saxony to Prussia. Metternich opposed this proposal tooth and nail. England's representative Castlereagh fully supported him. Talleyrand, who was a seasoned stateman, wanted to take full advantage of this golden opportunity because he feared that the 'Big Four' might reduce the boundaries of France and impose heavy war-indemnity on her. By dint of his foresight and statesmanship, Talleyrand organised a 'Defensive Tripple Alliance' against Russia and Prussia with the co-operation of England, Austria and other small states. This increased the influence and prestige of France and she became the fifth great power of the Congress. Talleyrand joined the secret meeting of the Big Powers on January 11, 1815 and succeeded in finding a solution to the reconstruction of Europe.

6. Settlement of the Congress—The Congress took the following steps for the reconstruction of Europe :—

(*1*) *France*—(i) The territories conquered by Napoleon were snatched away from France and the boundaries were fixed as they were in 1791. (ii) The House of Bourbons was restored in France and the brother of Louis XVI was installed on the throne of France as Louis XVIII (iii) In order to protect the despotic rule of Louis XVIII and the revolutionary movement, an army consisting of 1½ lac soldiers was stationed in France under the command of Lord Wellesley. Its expenses were to be borne by France. (iv) A war-indemnity of 70 crores was imposed on France and the sum was to be divided among the Allies. (v) It was decided that the famous forts of France would remain under the control of England for five years.

(*2*) *England*—England got Malta, Heligoland and Ionian Islands in Europe. She also expanded her colonial empire because she got Trinidad from Spain, Mauritius and Tobago from France and Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon from Holland.

(*3*) *Russia*—Poland was divided into three parts. One part i.e. Grand Duchy of Warsaw, was given to Russia. Besides Bessarabia was taken away from Turkey and was given to Russia. Russia also got Finland from Sweden.

(*4*) *Prussia*—Prussia got Pomerania from Sweden. So, she got an access to the Baltic Sea and she was now in a position to improve her naval power. She was also given Westphalia, half of the nothern part of Saxony, Danzig, Tharon and Posen. Prussia became one of the powerful countries of Europe and served as a barrier against the French aggression.

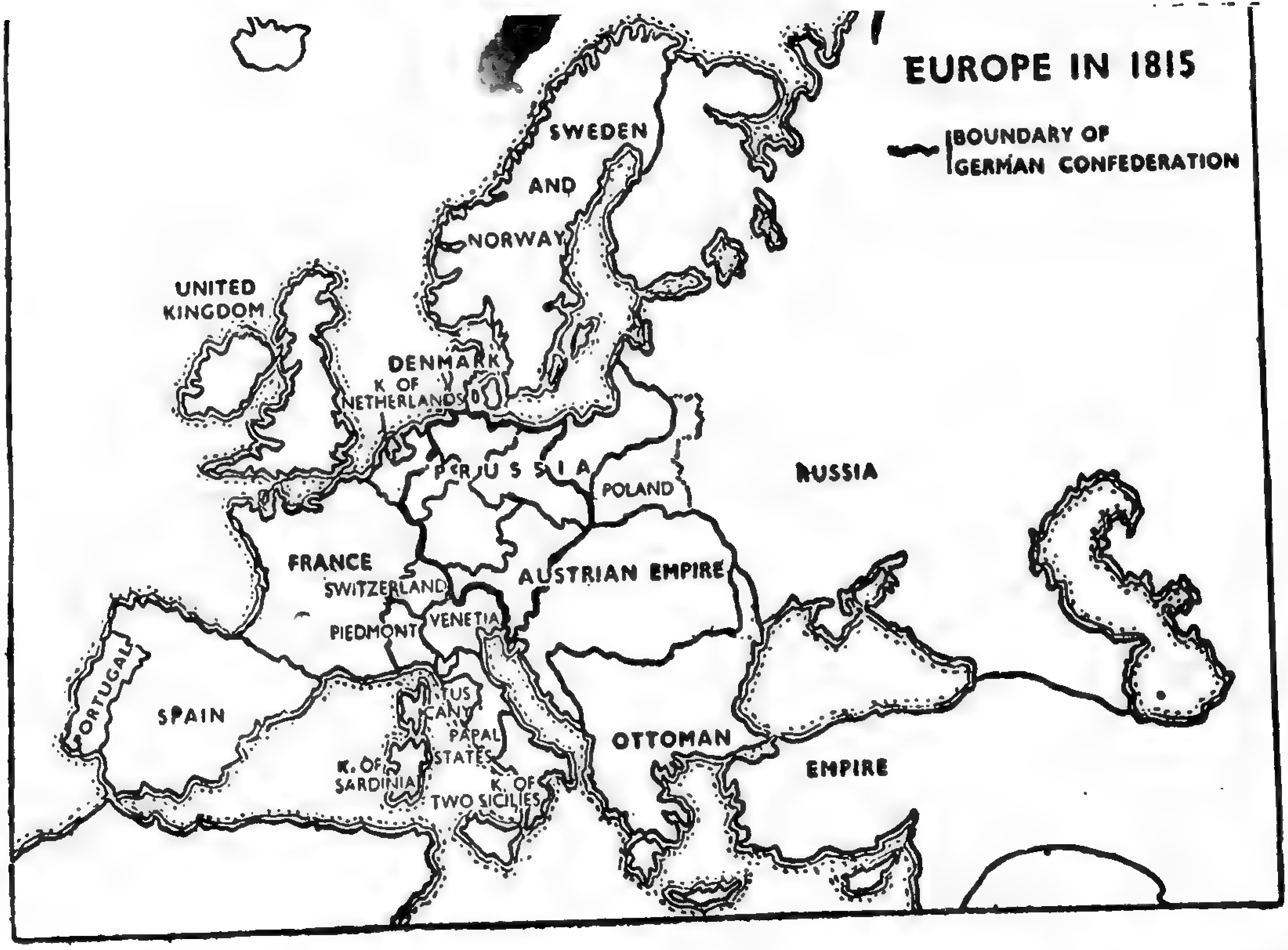
(*5*) *Austria*—In accordance with the principle of Balance of Power, Belgium was not restored to Austria. She was compensated by Lombardy and Venetia in Italy. She recovered Tyrol, Illyrian Provinces and the southern part of Poland. In this way, she regained her lost power and prestige and her influence increased considerably.

(*6*) *Sardinia*—Sardinia got Piedmont, Savoy, Nice and Genoa. Thus, an independent and powerful state was created on the south-east borders of France to serve as a bulwark against the aggressive tendencies of France.

(*7*) *Switzerland*—To put a check on the expansion of French empire and to thwart any future aggression, an independent state of Switzerland was established on the borders of France. To make it more powerful, three new Cantons were also added to it. All the European countries recognised the independent feuderal government of Switzerland.

(*8*) *Spain*—According to the principle of legitimacy, the rule of the old Bourbon Dynasty was restored in Spain. Ferdinand VII set up an independent despotic rule there

(9) *Naples*—Napoleon had annexed the kingdom of Naples. According to the decision of the Congress of Vienna, an independent autocratic rule of Bourbon Dynasty was established in Naples.



EUROPE IN 1815

BOUNDARY OF GERMAN CONFEDERATION
SWEDEN AND NORWAY
UNITED KINGDOM
DENMARK
K. OF NETHERLANDS
PRUSSIA
POLAND
RUSSIA
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
PIEDMONT
VENETIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
K. OF SARDINIA
K. OF TWO SICILIES
OTTOMAN EMPIRE

(10) *Holland*—Holland was given Belgium and the House of Orange was restored to the United Kingdom of Netherlands. In this way, a strong barrier state was set up in the north-east borders of France.

(11) *Denmark*—Denmark had helped Napoleon in the Battle of Leipzig in 1813 against the Allies. In order to punish her, Norway was taken away from her and added to Sweden.

(12) *Sweden*—Sweden got Norway from Denmark but she had to cede the territory of Pomerania to Prussia and Finland to Russia.

(13) *Getmany*—Before the rise of Napoleon, Germany consisted of 300 odd states. After the conquest of Germany, Napoleon united these small states together to form the Confederation of Rhine. The Cogress of Vienna did not revive all these states after the fall of Napoleon but changed them into a Confederation of 39 States. A Federal Diet was established there. The Emperor of Austria was to act as its president, This decision was taken so that Germany might not organize herself against Austria. The members of the Federal Diet were not elected by the people but were nominated by the rulers of the component states.

(14) *Italy*—The kingdoms of Lombardy, Venetia and Illyria were added to the Austrian Empire. Piedmont, Savoy and Genoa were annexed to Sardinia. Modena and Tuscany were given to the ruling family of Austria. Pope Pius VII got back his kingdom. A small kingdom of Parma was created under Marie Louise, the wife of Napoleon. Bourbon dynasty was restored in Naples. In this way, Austria increased her influence considerably in Italy.

(15) *Poland*—Poland lost its independent identity and it was divided into Russia, Prussia and Austria.

Other Works of the Congress of Vienna

(1) *International Laws*—The creation of International Laws was another significant and commendable work of the Congress of Vienna. According to these laws, the states of the Continent were granted the right to use seas in peace and war and for commercial purposes. All the rivers were thrown open to them to carry on trade by means of ferries. England opposed these laws to safeguard her commercial interests and to retain her naval supremacy. The result was that these laws could not be enforced.

(2) *End of Slavery*—The custom of slavery prevailed in many countries of Europe. It was unjust, tyrannical and inhuman. It was a blot on the whole of the Continent. The Congress of Vienna passed a resolution against this custom. Spain and Portugal opposed it. Ultimately, it was decided that the abolition or retention of this custom would depend on the will of the states of the Continent.

7. Estimate of the Work of the Congress of Vienna

(a) Merits :—

(1) *Peace in Europe for Forty Years*—Napoleon had devastated Europe during his continuous wars for 25 years. The European

countries had witnessed the horrors of war and havoc and destruction caused by it. So they wanted peace now. The decisions and the settlements made by the Congress of Vienna assured peace in Europe for the next 40 years. No war was fought between 1815 and 1853, when the Crimean war broke out between Russia and England in 1853.

(2) *Military Power of France reduced*—Carnot and Napoleon reorganised the military in France and set up a large and powerful army which rocked Europe badly for a long time. The incessant wars carried out by Napoleon proved destructive for France and it smashed her military power. The Congress of Vienna further reduced the military power of France. An army composed of 1½ lac soldiers was stationed in France under the command of Lord Wellesley to maintain peace there. Its expenses were to be borne by France. Consequently, France could not follow an aggressive and forward policy for a long period.

(3) *Prussian influence increased in Germany*—The decisions of the Congress of Vienna reduced the influence of Austria in Germany and increased that of Prussia. Now Austria alone was not responsible for the protection of the Confederation of Rhine. Prussia also got control over some of the territories of the Rhine. By and by, Prussian culture and civilization found their way in the remaining parts of Germany also and, consequently, Prussia championed the cause of Germany against France.

(4) *Influence over Russia and England*—Russia annexed the eastern part of Poland and got Bessarabia from Turkey. So Russia got a chance to gain foothold in Turkey and to increase her influence in the east. England also expanded her colonial power and maintained her superiority over the seas.

(5) *Unification of Italy and Germany*—The policy of the Congress of Vienna was reactionary but it paved the way for the unification of Germany and Italy. Prussia's influence increased in Germany and it became more powerful there in place of Austria. Finally, the work of the unification of Germany was completed under the leaderiship of Prussia. In Italy, Sardinia got Genoa, Piedmont and Savoy. It brought about national unity in Italy and it was unified under the guidance of the House of Savoy. It has been rightly remarked —

"*Unification of Italy and Germany had their germs in the work of the Vienna Congress.*"

(6) *International Law*—The establishment of international law was another important work of the Vienna Congress. It strengthened the spirit of co-operation among nations. It gave birth to maritime laws and helped different nations to establish commercial relations among themselves.

(7) *End of Slavery*—The Vienna Congress declared Slavery as an inhuman custom because it was based on injustice and tyranny. Various nations raised their voice against this ignoble practice and it was abolished by and by in all the countries of the Continent.

In this way, the Congress of Vienna has a great place in history. To quote **Prof. Fife**—

"Standing on the boundary line between the two ages, the legislation of Vienna forms a landmark in History."

(b) Demerits :

But the Congress of Vienna also did such acts for which it is greatly condemned. For this very reason, a renowned historian, Hayes, has said, *"The Congress of Vienna was not really a Congress at all."*

(1) *Based on Reaction*—The policy of the Vienna Congress was essentially reactionary. Its main aim was to put a curb on the aggressive designs of France so that she may not disturb the peace of Europe again. In order to maintain international peace, the principle of legitimacy was adopted and the rule of the old dynasties was restored in many countries. The French frontiers were reduced and many powerful kingdoms like Sardinia, Switzerland, Prussia etc. were established on her frontiers as a barrier against her aggression.

(2) *Personal Interests of various Countries*—The delegates of the Congress of Vienna were not inspired by lofty ideals and principles. All the decisions were taken to achieve selfish motives. The big four powers i.e. England, Austria, Prussia and Russia were selfish and greedy and wished to increase their influence and expand their kingdoms. The Vienna Settlement was based on the principle of Balance of Power. It was the distribution of the spoils of victory among the victors. Russia, Prussia and Austria acquired large territories and totally ignored the interests of the weak and helpless states and denied them their right of independence and unity to ensure durable peace in the Continent, Russia annexed the largestshare of Poland and Prussia was also among the biggest gainers. The Austrian influence was substituted for French in Italy. Italy was reduced to a geographical expression. To quote **Prof. Hazen** —

"It is impossible to discover in these negotiations, the operation of any lofty principle. Self-interest is the key to this welter of bargains and agreements."

This is why the Vienna settlement failed to ensure permanent peace.

(3) *Settlement proved Temporary*—The Vienna Settlement proved to be temporary. In order to uphold the 'principle of legitimacy' and to maintain the 'balance of power', many territorial arrangements were made. It was not based on any plan, and paid no heed to the wishes of the people or their historical traditions. Thus, it ignored all those elements which could make it lasting. Some territories were forcibly amalgamated in other states and some new kingdoms were also established while the people of these kingdoms belonged to different nations, and had different religions and spoke different languages. Belgium was annexed to Holland while the people of Belgium were Catholics and the people of Holland were Protestants. They also spoke different languages. Norway was united to Sweden even when they lack-

the feeling of fraternity. Poland was divided into three parts under the domination of different states. The Vienna Settlement was totally unjust and unnatural so that it did not last long. The history of Europe from 1815 onward has been the history of undoing the errors of the Congress of Vienna. Belgium became separate from Holland in 1830. The union of Norway and Sweden was dissolved in 1905 and that of Russia and Finland in 1917. In the course of time, Italy and Germany were also unified. To quote **Hayes** —

> "*In all these territorial re-adjustments, there was little that was permanent and much that was temporary. The union of Belgium and Holland lasted but 15 years. The Italian and German settlement survived but 50 years and the Polish barely a century.*"

(4) *The Vienna Congress was a more Show*—Prof. Hayes is of the view that the Vienna Congress was a mere show and it was used by the 'Big Four' to advance their selfish motives. All the decisions had already been taken by England, Austria, Russia and Prussia in a secret treaty concluded on 9th March, 1814 at Chaumont. The Congress was a mere farce and arranged to get the approval of the weak and helpless countries. These small states had to bow before the will of the powerful nations and they were compelled to accept the Vienna Settlement and put their signatures on it. To quote **Hayes** —

> "*The Congress of Vienna was really not a Congress at all.*"

(5) *Ignored Nationalism and Democracy*—While making territorial re-adjustments, the Vienna Settlement completely ignored the sentiment of nationality aroused by the French Revolution. It paid no heed to the wishes of the people. The Catholic Belgium was annexed to a Protestant Holland. They had nothing in common. Norway was annexed to Sweden much against the wishes of the people of Norway. Russia annexed the largest share of Poland and the hopes and aspirations of the Poles for independence were crushed. Germany wanted national unity but was formed into a loose confedration. Italian patriots hoped to unite all Italian states into a national state but the Vienna Congress belied their hopes. In Italy, Hapsburg and Bourbon Princes were restored and the Austrian influence increased profoundly. Despotic rule was established in most of the states. But the seeds of national and liberal ideas sown by the French Revolution could not be crushed for a long time and soon there started a reaction against the arbitrary rule and the people of these countries began to clamour for their independence and the constitutional form of government. In the words of **Hazen**—

> "*The Congress of Vienna was a Congress of aristocrats, to whom the ideas of nationality and democracy, as proclaimed by the French Revolution, were incomprehensible or loathsome. The rulers re-arranged Europe according to their own desires, disposing of it as if it were their own personal property, ignoring the sentiment of nationality, which had lately been so wonderfully aroused, indifferent to the wishes of the people. Theirs could be no 'settlement' because they ignored the factors that alone would make*

the settlement permanent. The history of Europe after 1815 was destined to witness repeated, and often successful, attempts to rectify this cardinal error of the Congress of Vienna."

(6) *The Eastern Question*—Many critics are of the opinion that Vienna Congress failed to solve the problem of Maritime Right of different nations and the Eastern Question because its powers and rights were limited.

(7) *Injustice to some Republics*—The Vienna Congress did a great injustice to the Republics of Genoa and Venice which had been enjoying independence since long. The Congress put an end to these Republics simply by the imagination of the aggressive designs of France.

Criticising the Vienna Congress, a writer has rightly said—

"*The Congress of Vienna proceeded as if the French Revolution had never occurred and totally ignored the wishes of the people of Europe. It looked only to the interests of the crowned heads.*"

To quote **Hayes** —

"*The Vienna Settlement was defective in so far as the people were regarded as so many pawns in the game of dynastic aggrandizement.*"

In spite of its defects, it cannot be denied that the Vienna Congress did the important work of regeneration of Europe torn by the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. It was its greatest achievement. In the words of **Marriot**—

"*Although the work of the Congress was reactionary, more or less it marks not only the close of an old epoch but the beginning of a new.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Congress of Vienna, 1814-15

1. The Congress of Vienna was summoned to regenerate Europe. The kings, emperors, statesmen and scholars of various countries of Europe took part in it.

2. **Main Problems** :—(1)Settlement of vast empire of Napoleon and reshaping the map of Europe. (2) Suppression of the spirit of the Revolution (3) Re-establishment of the influence of the Church and the Pope.

3. **Aims** :—(1) Reconstruction of Europe and Peace—(2) Refixing the boundaries of France. (3) Settlement of conquered territories. (4) Restoration of old dynasties (5) Settlement of different confederations. (6) To punish the allies of France. (7) Re-establishment of the authority of the Church. (8) To reduce the military strength of France. (9) To impose war indemnity on France. (10) Balance of Power in Europe.

4. **Main Principles**—(1) Principle of Balance of Power. (2) Principle of Legitimacy. (3) Principle of Compensation.

5. **Way of Working**—No definite procedure ; the representatives of big powers were selfish ; Metternich acted as the President and the Secretary ; Preliminary Committee of Eight : Treaty of Chaumont ; The establishment of the Defensive Triple Alliance by the French Foreign Minister Talleyrand and the participation of France in the task of reconstruction of Europe.

6. **Settlement of the Congress:**—(1) The Congress performed the work of regeneration of Europe and fixed the boundaries of France, England, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sardinia, Sweden, Germany, Spain, Naples, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Italy and Poland. (2) International Laws. (3) End of Slavery.

7. (1) **Merits:**—(i) Peace in Europe for 40 years.
   - (ii) Reduction in the military power of France.
   - (iii) Prussian influence in Germany increased.
   - (iv) Influence over Russia and England.
   - (v) Unification of Italy and Germany.
   - (vi) International Laws.
   - (vii) End of Slavery.

(2) **Demerits:**—(i) Based on Reaction.
   - (ii) Personal interest of various countries.
   - (iii) Settlement proved temporary.
   - (iv) It was a mere show.
   - (v) It ignored nationalism and democracy.
   - (vi) Failed to solve the Eastern Question.
   - (vii) Injustice to some Republics.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. What were aims of the Congress of Vienna ? What principles did it follow to achieve them ? What were the main provisions of the Settlement of Vienna, 1815 ?
2. What were the difficult problems before the Congress of Vienna and how did it solve them ?
3. "The Congress of Vienna proceeded as if the French Revolution had never occurred and totally ignored the wishes of the people of Europe. They looked only to the interests of the crowned heads." Comment.
4. "The real object of the Congress of Vienna was to divide among the conquerors the spoils of the conquered." Elucidate.
5. "The charge is brought against the Vienna Powers that they ignored the challenge of the French Revolution." In the light of the statement, examine the defects of the settlement of Vienna. (D. U. 1967)
6. Discuss the principles of the Vienna Settlement of 1815. What were its defects? (D. U. 1969)
7. On the accompanying map of Europe, indicate the settlement of Europe in 1815, adding suitable explanatory notes. (P. U. 1966, 69)
8. Describe the main territorial and political changes in Europe introduced by the victorious allies in 1815. (Pb. B. A. 1970)
9. Critically examine main features of the Vienna Settlement of 1815. (Delhi B. A. 1971)
10. What changes were made by the Congress of Vienna in the political map of Europe ? On what principles were these arrangements based ? (Delhi M.A. 1970)
11. Evaluate the work of the Congress of Vienna. (Pb. B.A. 1968, 71)
12. In the Congress of Vienna the diplomats of Europe hoped and sought to build the old system anew. This attempt was impossible. Elucidate. (Pb. M.A. 1972)
13. What did the major European powers want from the Congress of Vienna and how far were their aims satisfied ? (Delhi M. A. 1972)

14

THE CONCERT OF EUROPE

Napoleon's ambition engulfed Europe in the flames of war for 25 years. His incessant wars brought about wide-ranging destruction. It resulted in great loss of men and money. It ruined trade, industry and the prices of essential commodities shot up. Unemployment, poverty and hunger prevailed all over the Continent. The economic condition of the Europeans deteriorated. There was distress and discontentment on all sides. The countries torn by this long strife wanted to establish peace, promote trade and industry and to improve their economic condition. The people of the Continent were eager to establish mutual relations to ensure international peace. After the fall of Napoleon, the Vienna Congress performed the important work of regeneration of Europe. The Allies felt an urgent need of an international organization to make the decisions of the Vienna Congress permanent, to suppress the principles and the spirit of the Revolution and to establish enduring peace in the Continent. As a result, the four big powers of Europe i.e. England, Austria, Prussia and Russia decided to work together to achieve the ends mentioned above. The four countries thus formed an alliance known as the 'Concert of Europe'. As guardians and custodian of peace, they agreed to meet from time to time to solve the international problems. There were two plans before the Allies to realize their aims. These two plans, however, were totally opposed to each other. One was known as the Holy Alliance and the other as the Quadruple Alliance.

The Holy Alliance

Q. 1. What do you understand by the Holy Alliance ? Reivew its objectives and achievements. (P.U. 1964)

Ans.—To settle the international disputes and to maintain peace in Europe, the Czar of Russia, Alexander I, framed a plan and made its declaration on 26th September, 1815. It is known as the Holy Alliance in the History of the Continent. The first reflection of the Concert of Europe was seen in it.

1. History of the Holy Alliance—The Holy Alliance was the creation of Czar's mind and imagination. He was deeply influenced by the events of the last few years and the fall of Napoleon. He was deeply inclined towards religion. He was visionary, mysterious and a sentimental person. He lived in the land of dreams. He was skilful in the art of making visionary plans. He had received education under the guidance of able tutors. He had very lofty ideals and sentiments but lacked the sense to give them a practical shape. He had hatched a conspiracy to murder his father, Czar Paul. So he remained mentally disturbed. He took refuge in religion to gain the peace of mind. He began to observe and propagate the tenets of Christianity. People called him the 'White Angel' and the 'Liberator' on account of his firm faith in religion while they called Napoleon the 'Black Angel' because of his misdeeds. Czar believed himself to be the representative of God on earth and that he had been deputed by God to find solutions to the various intricate problems of the Continent.

According to his religious tendency, he issued a declaration on 20th September, 1815 and appealed to the rulers of European States to follow the Christian tenet of brotherhood and apply it in their dealings with one another. Consequently a Holy Alliance came into being and the emperors of Russia, Prussia and Austria took leading part in it. Later on, other countries of Europe also joined it with the exception of the Pope, England and Turkey.

One thing is worth mentioning here that this plan was not a novel one. Prior to this, the French ruler Henry IV had formulated a plan known as the 'Grand Design' to assure peace in Europe, to check unnecessary bloodshed and to establish friendly relations among the European countries. There was a provision for the establishment of a Senate consisting of 66 representatives of the countries of the Continent. This plan could not be given a practical shape because of the untimely death of Henry IV. But, later on, a famous French scholar, Abbe'de St. Peter, prepared a plan to form a permanent Congress to prevent the outbreak of wars.

2. Aims—

(1) The members of this alliance were to observe the *Christian principles* of justice, freedom, charity and peace etc. in the field of their internal and external policy.

(2) All the rulers of member-states were to regard one another in a brotherly manner and were also to treat their subjects as their children.

(3) Any power who was ready to abide by these *holy ideals* was to be enlisted as the member of the Holy Alliance.

Czar himself declared the aim of the Holy Alliance in the following words—

"The present act has no other object than to publish, in the face of the whole world, their fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective states and in their political relations with every government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of their Holy religion, namely, the precepts of Justice, Christianity, Charity and Peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate in-

fluence on the counsels of princes and guide all their subjects, as being t only means of consolidating human institutions, and remedying th imperfections.”

3. Criticism—The Holy Alliance has been bitterly criticized b its critics. It was honoured more in its breach than observanc The declaration was never put into actual practice. The critics poi out that it was a reactionary alliance which wanted to crush democrat and national movements. It rooted out the principle of social justic Its members wanted to strengthen despotism and were bent upc suppressing the feelings of the Revolution. The declaration remaine holy and ideal but its champions crushed the sentiments of the peop and acted arbitrarily. It has been rightly remarked, “It was an unho league of despots to stamp out democracy and nationalism.”

Great Britain refused to accept the principles of Holy Alliance. To quote **Castlereagh**—

“*The Holy Alliance is a piece of sublime mysticism and no sense.*”

The Austrian Chancellor, **Metternich**, called it, “*A sonorous or high-sounding nothingness, and a moral demonstration.*”

At another place he says—“*The Holy Alliance is merely a philanth ropic aspiration clothed in a religious garb.*”

In the words of **Hayes**—

“*To the liberals of the 19th century, the Holy Alliance became th embodiment of a conspiracy to stamp out democracy, nationalism and soci ustice.*”

4. Causes of its Failure—The following causes led to the failur of the Holy Alliance:—

(1) The Holy Alliance failed to improve the political and socia conditions prevailing in the Continent ; the declaration remained declaration upto the end and even the countries which put their sig natures on it *did not care to give a practical shape* to it. The policy an the conduct of its members were quite conflicting.

(2) *England opposed the Alliance* and even mocked at it. Englan supported the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs o other states.

(3) *Many nations* saw it with suspicious eyes from the very beginning and they never tried to adhere to its principles.

(4) The alliance failed because its members *lacked the spirit of unity*.

(5) The Europeans *could not differentiate the Holy Alliance from the Quadruple Alliance*. As the Quadruple Alliance stamped out nationalism and liberalism, the people began to think that the Holy Alliance was reactionary in nature. To quote **Hearnshaw**—

"The Holy Alliance had no relation to practical politics, and was in-
·ative from the day of its inception to the day of Alexander's death
?5), when it faded into oblivion."

Thus, the Holy Alliance came to an end in 1825 after the death of
:ounder Czar Alexander I.

5. Importance—Although the Holy Alliance failed, yet it had
ɔwn importance in the field of politics. Indirectly, it was the *coalition*
he European countries. It preached the ideals of non-violence, brother-
ıd and mutual co-operation. It taught an important and unique
;on to the European States that the *Political success depends upon the*
ν ideals and tenets of religions, that the nations should apply the
nciples of Christianity in their dealings with one another, and that
ing should rule over his subjects as a father rules over his children.
:stablished peace for a short time and *paved the way to international*
operation. It is rightly said—

"In future, it (The Holy Alliance) bore a riper fruit in the great
:rnational movement which began with the Hague Conference of
?9."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Holy Alliance

(1) Its history (2) Its aims (3) Criticism (4) Causes of its failure.
Its importance.

The Concert of Europe or the Quadruple Alliance

FQ. 2. What do you understand by the Concert of Europe
r the Quadruple Alliance) ? Analyse its working from 1815 to
30 and carefully explain the causes of its failure.
(D. U. 1962) V. Important

Or

How far was the Concert of Europe a right attempt towards
e development of Internationalism in Europe ?

Or

"The Concert of Europe' a system of diplomacy by conference'
as one of the most interesting experiments of the 19th century."
iscuss.

Or

Write a short account of the period of Congresses and describe
ıe part played by the English in putting an end to the experiment
f the European Concert. (P. U. 1954)

Ans.—I. Formation of the Concert of Europe or the
uadruple Alliance—The Allies defeated Napoleon and tried to
tablish pre-revolutionary conditions in Europe through the Vienna
ongress. Still they had the fear of the Revolution in their minds.

To ensure peace in the Continent and to crush the revolutionary feelings for ever, the Czar of Russia, Alexandar I, founded the Holy Alliance based on the tenets of Christianity. But it failed to realize its aim. To maintain peace in Europe, to make the decisions of the Vienna Congress permanent and to solve the international problems peacefully, England, Russia, Prussia and Austria signed a document and formed a Quadruple Alliance which led to the establishment of the Concert of Europe. The Chancellor of Austria, Metternich, played a very important role in it. He was not a visionary and mystic like Czar, Alexandar I. He was, on the contrary, an astute, pragmatic and practical politician. But he was reactionary and a strong opponent of freedom, nationalism, democracy and the ideals of the Revolution. In the words of **Dewy**—

"Europe, during the generation which followed Waterloo, was dominated by the personality and ideas of the Austrian Minister Metternich, and he considered that the Great Powers were acting quite within their rights in putting down promptly any attempt to upset the established order of things in any country which had been, at all, permeated by the revolutionary ideas."

The members of the Quadruple Alliance were in favour of the regeneration of the political system of Europe. Keeping in view their own interests, and also the needs of Europe, they decided to hold conferences from time to time. About the aims of these Congresses, it is said —

"These meetings were to be devoted to the grand interests they had in common, and to the discussion of measures which shall be judged to be most salutary for the peace and prosperity of the nations and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe."

2. Aims—The Quadruple Alliance had the following aims :—

(1) To *recognise the decisions and resolutions of the Vienna Congress* and to observe them and ensure their observance from other countries.

(2) To *give practical shape to the Second Treaty of Paris* to check the aggressive attitude of France.

(3) To *check Napoleon and his descendants* from grabbing the throne of France.

(4) To *maintain peace in Europe* and to solve the international problems in a peaceful manner.

(5) To *suppress the national and revolutionary feelings* in Europe.

(6) To *safeguard the rights of the despotic rulers.*

This system of diplomacy by conferences to establish peace in the Continent and to solve the international problems and disputes among the nations was one of the most novel and interesting experiments of the 19th century.

3. The Era of Congresses, 1818-1822.—In order to maintain peace in Europe and to solve the international problems, the Concert of Europe held Congresses at various places from time to time.

(1) The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818—The first Congress of the embers of the Concert of Europe was held in 1818 at Aix-la-Chapelle, he capital of the Holy Roman Empire. Many problems such as to nprove the economy of the European countries, to maintain mutual elations, to establish the principle of Justice and to encourage the eligious feelings came up before the Congress. To quote **Hearnshaw**—

> *"At no Congress were so many and various matters brought up for iscussion as that of Aix-la-Chapelle."*

So many decisions were taken at this Congress that it became a ontinental Court. It took the following decisions :—

(i) France had carried out the terms of the second Treaty of Paris y having paid the war indemnity. A stable government had been set p there and there was no fear of French aggression. So it was decided at the occupation forces should be withdrawn from France. France ntered into separate treaties with the four powers. She was admitted the Concert of Europe and the Quadruple Alliance changed into uintuple Alliance.

(ii) Sweden did not fulfil the obligations of her Treaty with orway and Denmark. Her ruler was called to the Congress to explain nd clarify her position.

(iii) The Congress settled the problem relating to the appointent of the successor of Baden and crushed the ambition of the ruler f Bavaria to expand the boundaries of his kingdom.

(iv) The ruler of Hesse was forbidden to assume the title of King.

(v) The king of Monaco was ordered to carry out reforms in the dministration in accordance with the wishes of the people.

(vi) A board was set-up to introduce reforms in the countries of e Continent, to strengthen friendly relations and to encourage Justice nd religious feelings.

(vii) The people of the Spanish colonies in America raised standard of revolt. The king of Spain, Ferdinand VII, requested e members of the Alliance for help. But no help could be given him because of the opposition of England. The delegate of ngland was of the view that the Concert of Europe should not terfere in the internal affairs of the other countries and it should not used as an instrument of repression of liberal movements. As matter of fact, England wanted to maintain her slave trade in the merican colonies.

(viii) The African pirates of Barbary regions used to rob the rgo ships in the Mediterranean Sea. In order to put an end to eir activities, Russia proposed to send an international fleet against em but this proposal was rejected because England opposed it tooth nd nail.

(ix) In order to prevent slave trade, England proposed that th ships of any member of the Alliance should be allowed to be searche by the other members. This proposal was, however, rejected.

There was a rift among the members of the Alliance regardin the principle of interference in the internal affairs of other countries Russia tabled a resolution for fixing the boundaries of kingdoms an rights of the rulers but England opposed it. The Czar of Russia an Metternich wanted to crush nationalism, democracy and libera revolutionary movements and interfere in the internal affairs of th other European countries. England was deadly opposed to this policy o interference and international control. To quote **Castlereagh**—

"The Alliance was never intended as a union for the government of the world or for the superintendence of the internal affairs of othe states."

In spite of mutual differences, however, the importance of the work of this Congress cannot be questioned. It was the first experiment to settle the international problems. Metternich regarded it to be a grea success and said—

"I have never seen a prettier little Congress."

(2) *The Congress of Troppau, 1820*—The Second Congress was held in 1820 at Troppau in Germany. Revolutions broke out in Portugal, Spain, Naples and Piedmont etc. in 1820 against the arbitrary rule. National movements were at the climax there. The people in these countries were clamouring for constitutional governments. They wanted to enfranchise a large member of people, to establish a responsible government, to have the freedom of speech, to remove all restrictions imposed on press, to abolish social inequality and to fetch equal rights for all. The revolution became so violent in Spain and Naples that new Constitutions had to be enforced there. The national movement broke out in Piedmont and other states of Italy also. The conditions in the vassal states of Austria such as Venetia, Lombardy etc. also became turbulent.

Metternich, the Chancellor of Austria, was a staunch opponent of nationalism and liberalism and wanted to put a check to the tidal wave of revolutions in Europe because he considered it to be very dangerous. At the same time, he was bound to help Naples according to the treaty of 1825 signed with her. So, a Congress was called at Troppau in 1820. Metternich proposed that the members of the Concert of Europe should be empowered to meddle in the internal affairs of the other countries for the maintenance of international peace and the implementation of the decisions of the Vienna Congress. Russia and Prussia supported this resolution while England and France were against it. Thus, there was a division in the Alliance and it was divided into two groups. Austria, Prussia and Russia were on one side while England and France were poised against them.

Austria, Prussia and Russia condemned the revolutionay movements in Spain and Italy and signed a resolution known as the Protocol of Troppau and arrogated to themselves the right to suppress national movements by force. This resolution which is known as the Protocol of Troppau laid down the principle of collective intervention. of Troppau ran as follows.

"States which have undergone a change of government due to revolution, the result of which threatens other states, shall cease to be members of the European Alliance, and remain excluded from it until their situation gives guarantee for legal order and stability. If owing to such alterations immediate danger theatens other states. the powers would bind themselves by peaceful means, or if need be by arms, to bring back the guilty states into the bosom of the Great Alliance."

Austria, Prussia and Russia put their signatures on the Protocol of Troppau while England and France opposed it. Castlereagh called it an abstract rule to interefere in the internal affairs of independent states. He was of the view that it was a league of sovereigns against their subjects and it would promote and encourage revolutionary tendencies. While opposing it **Castlereagh** remarked —

"Would the Great Powers of Europe be prepared to admit the principle that their territories were to be thrown open to each other's approach, upon cases of assumed necessity or expediency of which not the party receiving, but the party administering it, was to be the judge!"

The gulf between England and the Holy Alliance became wider and it was decided to summon the Congress again at Laibach.

(3) *The Congress of Laibach, 1821*—The Third Congress took place in 1821 at Laibach in Austria-Hungary. It authorised Austria to put an end to the revolutionary movements in Naples and Piedmont. Metternich crushed national and liberal movements and restored arbitrary rule. He considered it to be his greatest success. England wanted to oppose his actions but she could not do so because of the changed situation. The Greeks rose against Turkey and Russia was supporting the Greeks. This brought Austria and England nearer to each other.

(4) *The Congress of Verona, 1822*—The Fourth and the last Congress was summoned in 1822 at Verona in Italy. Two main reasons were responsible for it.

(1) The Greeks revolted against Turkey. Russia wrs helping Turkey because she wanted to increase her influence in the Black Sea, Mediterranean and the Balkan territories and gain trade facilities there. Austria and England were opposed to the Russian move. If Russia had succeeded in dominating Black Sea and the Balkan territories, it would have proved harmful to the English Colonies in Egypt and India.

Russia wanted to take isolated action in Turkey as Austria had done in the case of Naples and Piedmont. But England and Austria could not tolerate the Russian intervention in Greek affairs. Hence this question could not be taken up in the Congress.

(2) The people of Spain revolted against their King Ferdinand VII. Ferdinand granted many rights to Spaniards, restored the consti-

tution of 1812 and abolished the Inquisition Tribunals. But the peopl were not satisfied and they raised the standard of revolt against him He sought help from France. Louis XVIII, the ruler of France, wante to help Ferdinand VII because both of them belonged to the Bourbo dynasty. Louis XVIII tabled a resolution before the Alliance to hel Spain. So, Congress at Verona was summoned to deal with the proble of Spain.

Lord Castlereagh had committed suicide. Lord Canning represente England in this Congress. He strongly opposed the French interventio in Spain. But Russia, Prussia and Austria supported this interventior They signed a resolution and authorised France to send an army t Spain to suppress the popular revolt there. France crushed th revolutionary movement in Spain and restored the arbitrary rule c Ferdinand VII. England broke all connections with the Congress an this gave a severe blow to the Concert of Europe. To quote **Lor Canning** —

"The issue of Verona has split the one and indivisible Alliance int three parts as distinct as the Constitutions of England, France and Muscovy Things are getting back to a wholesome state again. Every nation for itse and God for us all. The time for Aeroepagus, and the like of that is gon by."

In 1823, there was a revolt in the Spanish colonies in Americ against the arbitrary rule of Spain. Many colonies declared their independence. Austria, Prussia, Russia and France summoned the Congres in 1823 at St. Petersburg. They wanted to intervene and restore thos colonies to Spain. England and North America opposed their move Lord Canning threatened these European countries that Englan would help the people of colonies if they tried to interfer in this matter. The President of America, Munroe, also issued declaration known as 'Munroe Doctrine' in the history. He warned th European Powers that America would not tolerate their interventio in the internal affairs of any American country and, if they tried t intervene, America would take the cause of the colonies and render al military help to them. In this way, England and America both checke Russia, Prussia, Austria and France from intervening in the Spanis Colonies in America. Ferdinand VII alone could not suppress th revolt and the people of these colonies succeeded in gaining independence and establishing democratic form of government. Cannin regarded it as his greatest personal achievement. He remarked :—

"I have called a new world into existence to redress the balance of th old."

Under this situation, Czar of Russia also left the Alliance and afte his death in 1825, the Concert of Europe came to an end.

4. Causes of the Failure of the Concert of Europe—Th Concert of Europe failed to achieve its aims and objectives. The following causes were responsible for its failure :—

(1) The Concert of Europe failed because *the member countrie*

were selfish. They always tried to gain their selfish ends and ignored the public interests. It has been rightly remarked—"*Beneath the apparent harmony there were divergent interests and seriously different view-points which rendered close co-operation and solid achievements well-nigh impossible.*"

(2) There was *no unity among its members.* It was torn by mutual jealousy and deep-rooted hatred. The members were divided into different groups and lacked the spirit of co-operation. They could not work and pull on together.

(3) The *big powers differed on the principles of policy.* England was deadly opposed to the principle of intervention in the internal affairs of other countries while all other powers supported this principle. England was in favour of liberal movements while Austria, Russia, Prussia and France were against nationalism and popular uprisings.

(4) *The Concert of Europe opposed the democratic tendencies* and ignored public opinion. It supported the cause of autocratic rule and suppressed democracy and nationalism in any shape or form. It failed to understand that it is difficult to suppress public opinion for a long time. It worked according to its own policy and took decisions which ignored the public feelings.

(5) It *had no fixed ideals and policies.* It lacked any fixed procedure of working. So it was difficult for the member-states to reach any conclusion on any matter.

(6) *Only a few big powers took part in it.* The smaller states had no say in it. The big powers began to re-shape the destiny of European countries ignoring the small nations. Naturally, therefore, the small states and the people did not welcome its decisions.

(7) The member states, especially, the Austrian Chancellor, *Metternich, feared the revolutionary tendencies.* Thus, instead of doing some constructive work, they spent their time and energy in suppressing liberal movements and other concepts of the revolution. **Hearnshaw** has rightly remarked—

"*In brief, the Concert of Europe, as it existed from the Congress of Vienna to the Congress of Verona, failed because it ignored and resisted the growing forces of democracy and nationality.*"

5. **Its Usefulness.**—Though the Concert of Europe failed in the end, yet it has its own importance and significance in the History of Europe. It was the first experiment in international government. The idea of personal conference and mutual confidence between rulers was really excellent. It *saved Europe from any major war* and maintained peace from 1815 to 1848 and this *promoted trade, art and literature.* It gave birth to internationalism. It taught European countries to sit together, to solve international problems peacefully. It was the first step to establish international peace and friendly relations between nations. This feeling led to the establishment of *League of Nations* in 1920 after the First World War and the *U. N. O.* in 1945 after the 2nd World War.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **The Concert of Europe**—After the Vienna Congress, England, Austria, Russia and Prussia tried to maintain peace and solve international problems through a Congress. This organisation is known as the Concert of Europe ; The establishment of Quadruple Alliance.

2 **Aims**—(1) To recognise the Vienna Settlement. (2) To carry out the 2nd Treaty of Paris (3) To exclude the descendants of Napoleon from French throne. (4) To maintain peace in Europe. (5) To suppress revolutionary feelings. (6) To safeguard the rights of arbitrary rulers. (7) To intervene for peace.

3. **Era of Congresses**—(1) The Congress of Aix La Chapple in 1818. (2) The Congress of Troppau in 1820. (3) The Congress of Laiback in 1821. (4) The Congress of Verona in 1822.

4. **Causes of Failure**—(1) Selfish interests of the members. (2) Lack of unity. (3) Differences over principles of policy. (4) Ignored nationalism and public opinion. (5) No fixed procedure of working. (6) Influence of Big Powers. (7) Fear of Revolutionary feelings.

5. **Usefulness**—(1) Birth of Internationalism (2) Establishment of the League of Nations and U.N.O.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by Holy Alliance ? Discuss its objectives and achievements.
2 Castlereagh called the Holy Alliance "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense." Discuss this in the light of subsequent developments. (D.U. 1966 ; Pb. B.A. 1960, 70)
3. What do you understand by the Concert of Europe ? Analyse the working of the Concert of Europe from 1815 to 1830. Account for its failure. (Delhi B A. 1970)
4. Write a short note on the Era of Congresses from 1818 to 1822.
5. 'The Concert of Europe, a system of diplomacy by conference was one of the most interesting experiments of the 19th century." Discuss.
6. How far was the Concert of Europe a right step towards the development of internationalism in Europe ?
7. Review critically the work of the European Concert from 1815 to 1825. How far would you hold Matternich responsible for its failure ? (D.U. 1959, 63 ; Guru Nanak B.A., Sept 1973)
8. Why is the period 1815-22 called an Era of Congresses ? What were the achievements and failings of these Congresses ? (D.U. 1969)

630.

15

THE AGE OF METTERNICH

The revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity enkindled zest, fervour, spirit and imagination in the hearts of the people throughout Europe. They inspired the people who revolted against the arbitrary rule of despotic kings. Being inspired by the spirit of nationalism, they tried to launch movements to fight out tyranny subjugation and win back their lost freedom once again.

On the contrary, there started a reactionary movement against the French Revolution and nationalism under the leadership of Austrian Chancellor, Matternich. He was a strong opponent of the Revolution and under his guidance and leadership this reactionary movement reached its climax. He left no stone unturned to establish pre-revolutionary conditions on the Continent. He made efforts to save Austrian empire from the influence of the Revolution. He reigned supreme in European politics from 1815 to 1848. In fact, he formulated the policy of the whole Continent during this period. That is why this period is known as the '*Era of Metternich*' in the History of Europe. To quote him :—

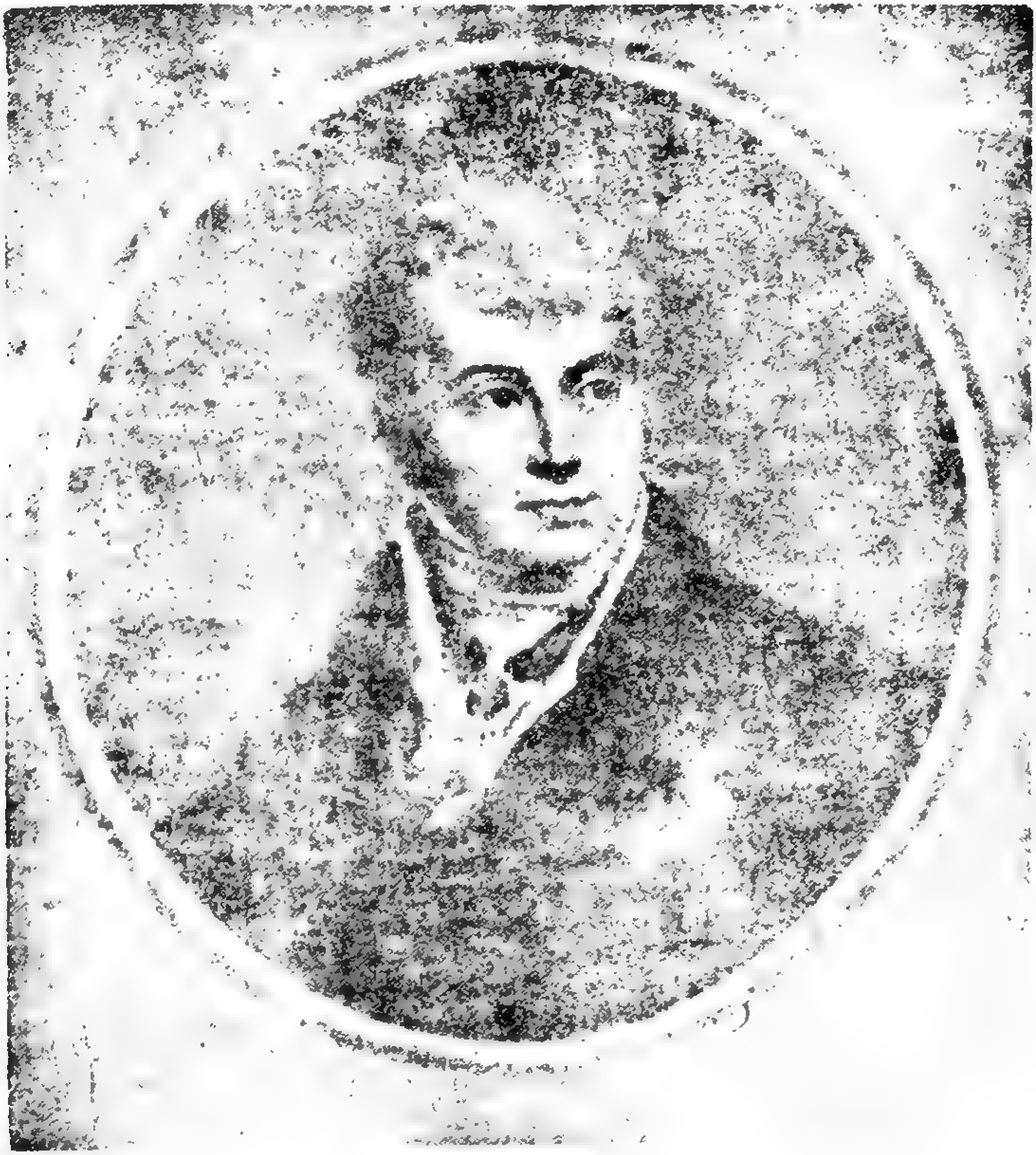
"*My position has this peculiarity that all eyes, all expectations are directed to precisely that point where I happen to be.*" *He asks the question,* "*Why among so many million men, must I be the one to think when others do not think, to act when others do not act, and to write because others know not how ?*"

Q. 1. Give an account of the early life and political views of Metternich.

Or

What was the political and economic condition of Austria during the Metternich Era. (i.e. 1815-1848 A.D.) ? Also relate briefly the history of the Holy Roman Empire during this Era.

Ans.—Early Life of Matternich—Matternich was the most famous politician and statesman of the 19th century. His full name was Count Clemons Matternich. His father occupied a high post under the Holy Roman Empire. He held an estate in Western Germany on the bank of river Rhine. Matternich was born in 1773 at the town of Coblenz in this estate. He was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. At the outbreak of the Revolution, he was studying in the University of Strassburg. Many clergymen and nobles fled away from France during the Revolution. He was profoundly influenced by their heart-rending stories and tyrannies and atrocities inflicted upon them. So he became a dead enemy of the Revolution and the revolutionary tendencies. When Napoleon seized their estate in Germany, he turned against him and began to hate him and the Revolution. Throughout his life, he remained busy in exterminating the revolutionary ideals and tendencies and spirit. He tried to establish pre-revolutionary conditions in Europe and his efforts met with success to a great extent. That is why he used to call himself as "The Conqueror of Napoleon."



Metternich

2. His Marriage—Matternich married the grand-daughter of the Austrian Chancellor, Prince Kaunitz in 1785. His marriage enhanced his power and prestige. After that he worked as Austrian Ambassador in Berlin, Russia and Prussia. He came in contact with high dignitaries and renowned politicians and statesmen of Europe and acquired a lot of diplomatic experience within a short time.

3. **Political Views and Political Life**—Metternich was a famous statesman and an influential and important figure of the 19th century? He was reactionary and conservative and believed in maintaining '*Status quo*' i.e. to keep things as they were. He supported absolute monarchy and special privileges of the high order in the society. He wanted to preserve the "old order". He opposed all liberal and revolutionary movements because their sole aim was to destroy the old order. He was hostile to nationalism and was a bitter enemy of the 'Nation States' as it would dismember the Austrian Empire which was composed of many nations. He was totally opposed to the Revolution and the revolutionary concepts of liberty, equality and fraternity. He wanted to crush the influence of the Revolution and all the powers and means that gave birth to revolutionary spirit. He regarded the Revolution as a contagious disease and wanted to cure it lest it should prove suicidal to the old order. To quote him—

> *"It (Revolution) is the disease which must be cured, the volcano which must be extinguished, the gangrene which must be burnt out with hot iron, the hydra with jaws open to swallow up the social order."*

He was a strong supporter of the pre-revolutionary social and political conditions of Europe. He believed in the Theory of Divine Rights of the Kings and thought that the king was the representative of God on earth. He was the champion of the absolute monarchy and the arbitrary rule. He suppressed the liberal movements wherever they raised their heads because they resulted in bloodshed and untold miseries. He believed that democracy could change daylight into the darkest night.

He was appointed the Chancellor of Austria in 1809. He wielded great influence in Austria from 1825 to 1848 and played an important role in the politics of Europe. He was a genius and a crafty politician and a diplomat. He took active part in theVienna Congress. He became the member of Holy Alliance established by the Czar of Russia. After that he set up Quadruple Alliance with the co-operation of England, Russia and Prussia which came to be known as the '*Concert of Europe.*' The main aim behind it was to suppress revolutionary movements and to give a permanent shape to the Settlement of Vienna. He crushed the national movements in Spain, Naples, Piedmont, Portugal and Germany because he was a reactionary and strongly opposed the principle of nationality. His vanity knew no bounds. He thought that the world rested on his shoulders and that he was born to establish strong and stable social and political order on the Continent. One writer has remarked—

> *"He spoke of himself as being born to prop up the decaying structure of the European Society. He felt the world is resting on his shoulders."*

He could not stand before the violent storm created by the Revolution of 1848. On 13th March, 1848, the revolutionaries surrounded his palace in Vienna and raised the slogan : *"Down with Metternich."* Seeing the tide of time turning against him, he secretly fled away to England. Duke of Wellington offered him shelter and he remained there upto the end of his life. According to **Hazen**—

> *"It was the most astounding piece of news Europe had received since Waterloo. His fall was correctly heralded as the fall of a system hitherto impregnable."*

He died in 1856. He held a sway on the politics of Europe for a long time but he failed miserably in his aims and objectives and had to pass his last days in a foreign country.

Political, Social and Economic Conditions of Austria during the Metternich Era

1. **Political Conditions**—By 1825, Austrian Empire had grown quite vast. It was not a well-kit national state like France but was composed of heterogeneous nationalities who spoke different languages and had different political institutions and religions. In the east, lay the kingdoms of Hungary, Koshia and Transylvania. Their inhabitants belonged to Latin race and spoke the Latin language. Czechs lived in the kingdoms of Bohemia in the north. The Germans, Magyars, Slavs, Poles etc. lived in the kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia in south. The Italians dominated in northern Italy. It was very difficult to fuse various races into one nation and the only connecting link was the emperor. The emperor like Francis I and Ferdinand I and the Chancellor like Metternich maintained the '*Stutus quo*' and preserved the old order because they were opposed to reforms. There was absolute monarchy in Austria. All the powers were vested in the emperor and his will was the law of the land and obedience to it was essential for the subjects. The people had no say in the administration of the country. The emperor ruled with the help of army and police. The spies had been stationed in every nook and corner of the empire to get information from all parts of the country. Metternich was a ruthless reactionary who curbed nationalism and democratic spirit forcibly. Many restrictions had been imposed on newspapers, books and dramatic clubs etc. In order to control the minds and ideas of the younger generation, Universities and other educational institutions were brought under the strict control of the government. The teachers and the students had to work under strict and insulting laws. Text books were censored lest they should impart liberal ideas. Students were not allowed to go to foreign countries for higher education and the right to form unions was denied to them. The foreigners could not enter Austrian empire without the prior permission of the government. This was done to stop the infiltration of liberal ideas in Austria. All these measures resulted in the intellectual stagnation of the people for some time. In such an

empire, the liberal and democratic movements might lead to disruption. So government in Austria was conservative and its main aim was to maintain the empire through arbitrary and despotic rule.

2. **Social Conditions**—The society in the Austrian empire was divided into three classes—the nobles, the clergymen and the general public. The nobles enjoyed special privileges and rights. They were exempt from compulsory military services and taxes. They were appointed to high posts in the state. They held large estates. They had the right to realize feudal cesses. The nobles and the clergymen led a luxurious and prosperous life. The lower order consisted of peasants, labouers and craftsmen. They led a wretched life and their condition was miserable. The peasants lived like serfs. They groaned under heavy taxes and their standard of living was very low.

3. **Economic Conditions**—Agriculture was the chief occupation of the people. The peasants out-numbered all other classes of the people.. Land-revenue was the chief source of national income. The peasants and labourers had to work hard and bear the burden of taxes. Government did nothing to improve the economic and social conditions of the masses and promote trade and industry. With the result the masses suffered untold miseries and were deprived of all the facilities of life. Thus we see the society in Anstria was based on inequality According to **Hazen**—

"*Absolutism in government, feudalism in society, special privileges for the favoured few, oppression and misery for the masses-such was the condition of Austria in* 1815."

History of Austria from 1815 to 1848 A.D.

1. **Austrian Empire**—The empire of Austria was very vast. It consisted of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Lombardy and Venetia etc. The Emperor of Austria was also the President of the German Federation. The Empire was composed of heterogeneous nationalities like the Germans, Magyars, Czechs, Slavs, Serbs, Poles and Italians who spoke different languages and have different religions. Its population was about 2,30,00,000. This large empire was just like a museum.

2. **Administrative Policy**—The Emperor of Austria, Francis I and his Chancellor, Metternich, knew fully well that a liberal government would lead to the disruption of such a vast empire. So they followed a conservative and reactionary policy. There was an absolute monarchy in Austria. Both the emperor and the chancellor were bitter ememy of nationalism and liberalism. The emperor established the iron rule and carried on government with the help of military and police and spies. The government fully controlled all the educational institutions. The government was conservative and opposed to economic and social reforms. Its main aim was to maintain arbitrary rule in the country.

3. **Establishment of Holy Alliance and Quadruple Alliance**—After the Vienna Congress, Metternich became one of the famous politicians and statesmen of Europe. After supressing national and revolutionary movements in Austria, he began to propagate his ideals in Europe also. He joined the Holy Alliance founded by the Czar of Russia and later on he established Quadruple Alliance with the co-operation of England, Russia and Prussia to crush liberal movements in European countries.

4. **The Revolution of 1830**—A revolution broke out again in France in 1830 and the revolutionaries succeeded in establishing a constitutional government there. It profoundly affected various parts of Austria and gave rise to revolutionary movements there. The movement took a violent turn in Hungary. Metternich tried to crush it forcibly. The revolutionaries preached the ideals of liberty, nationalism and democracy through secret committees. Francis Deak and Kossuth assumed the leadership of the liberals in Hungary. Being inspired by the people of Hungary, the Czechs of Bohemia and Slavs of Croatia became eager for their freedom. In 1834, Wesselenyi, a member of the State Assembly of Transylvania tabled a resolution demanding the merger of this province with Hungary. The emperor was infuriated. He rejected this resolution, dissolved the State Assembly and banished Wesselenyi.

Kossuth, a Hungarian Leader

5. **Effects of the Revolution of 1848**—After the February Revolution of 1848, the 2nd French Republic was established in France. It deeply affected Austria. The then emperor of Austria, Ferdinand I, was a reactionary. The Italians of Lombardy and Venetia started movements to regain their freedom. The Czechs of Bohemia became more violent. A fierce movement was launched in Hungary under the leadership of Deak and Kossuth The liberals demanded the abolition of unjust taxes, imposition of taxes on the privileged class, control of the National Assembly over the finances of the State, freedom of press, speech and assembly, and the abolition of severe punishments etc. In his famous speech on March 3, 1848, Kossuth demanded not only responsible government but also the fraternization of the Austrian peoples under the leadership of Hungary. This speech had great

effect not only in Hunagry but all over Austria. There was demonstration in Vienna. The people marched towards the place of Metternich shouting the slogan, "*Down with Metternich*" and they stormed his palace. Seeing the gravity of the situation and the failure of his system, he stole away to England and took refuge with the Duke of Wellington who was his fast friend. He died in England in 1856. His death gave the final blow to his system also. To quote **Hazen**—

> "*Metternich, who for 39 years had stood at the head of Austrian states, who was the very source and fort of reaction, imperturbabble, pitiless, masterful, was now forced to resign, to flee in disguise from Austria to England, to witness his whole system to crash completely beneath the onslaught of the very forces which he had for generations shown contempt.*"

The emperor of Austria, Ferdinand I, also ran away for the safety of his life. A Convention was summoned to formulate constitution for the country. According to the decisions of the Convention, the emperor was called back and he took the reins of administration in his hands. On his return, the movement became stiil more violent. So the emperor was again forced to leave the country. But before leaving Austria he ordered the army to crush this liberal movement forcibly. According to the order of the emperor, the army suppressed the revolutionaries ruthlessly. It facilitated the return of the emperor. He came back and establishod his arbitrary rule again. Both these revolutions, however, shook the very foundation of his administration.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Early Life of Metternich**—(1) Born in 1773 in the town of Coblenz in Germany. (2) Opposed the revolutionary tendencies from the very beginning.
2 **Marriage**—Married the grand-daughter of the Austrian Chancellor in 1795 ; it increased his power and prestige ; served as ambassador in many countries and became a crafty diplomat.
3. **Political Ideals and Life**—(1) Reactionary and conservative. (2) Bitter enemy of the revolutionary ideals, nationalism and liberalism. (3) Held sway over politics of Europe from 1815 to 1848, (4) Crushed liberal movements in Spain, Portugal and Naples etc. 5. The Revolution of 1848 and his fall, 6. Fled away to England and died there in 1856.
4. **Political, Social and Economic Conditions of Austria, 1815 48**

(1) *Political Condition*—Vast Empire ; A country of heterogeneous nationalities having different languages ; Absolute and arbitrary rule ; Iron Rule, System of espionage ; Rigid control over educational institutions.

(2) *Social Condition*—(1) Society consisted of three classes—nobles, clergymen and lower order. (2) Nobles and clergymen enjoyed special privileges and led luxurious life. (3) The life of the lower was very miserable.

(3) *Economic Condition*—(1) Agriculture was the main occupation. (2) Peasants were overburdened with taxes and led wretched life.

(4) *History of Austria from* 1815 *to* 1848—(i) Austrian Empire. (ii) The Administrative Policy. (iii) Establishment of Holy Alliance and Quadruple Alliance.. (iv) The Revolution of 1830 and its effect on Austaia. (v) Effects of the Revolution of 1848.

Work and Policy of Metternich

Q. 2. Give an account of the Home and Foreign Policy of Metternich.

Or

What do you understand by the Era of Metternich ? Give a brief account of the policy and work of Metternich.

Or

What were the causes of the failure of Metternich policy or the Metternich System ?

Or

Describe briefly the chief events of the Era of Metternich from 1815 to 1848. (D.U. 1968)

Or

"Metternich has been described as the high-priest of conservatism and the apostle of the forces of darkness."

Do you agree with this estimate of the great statesman ? Give reasons for your views. (P. U. 1965)

Ans—1 The Metternich Era—Metternich worked as the Chancellor of Austria from 1809 to 1848. He was a genius and had an extra-ordinary intellectual ability. He was a crafty diplomat and statesman. He played significant role in the defeat of Napoleon. This enhanced his power and glory in Europe. He acted as the President of the Vienna Congress and took active part in the Concert of Europe. He held sway not only in Austria but also in the politics of Europe from 1815 to 1848. He spoke of himself as being the person to prop up the decaying structure of the European society. He felt that the world was resting on his shoulders. To quote him—

> *"All eyes, all expectations are directed to precisely that point, where I happen to be."*

His influence was not confined to Austria alone. His hold on the political stage of Europe was so great that the period from 1815 to 1848 is known as 'The Metternich Era' in the History of Europe.

2. **The Metternich System**—Metternich was the bitter enemy of the revolutionary tendencies and the revolutionaries from the very beginning. He regarded the revolution as a contagious disease which must be cured. He was a reactionary who was opposed to nationalism and had no faith in the principles of liberty and equality. He was very hostile to democracy. He used to say, "*Democracy could only change day light into darkest night.*" He was a staunch opponent of the Parliament and all other democratic institutions. In his opinion a, democractic government was no government and France and England had no governments at all. He was conservative who believed in maintaining

status-quo or to keep the things as they were. He was a strong champion of pre-revolutionary conditions in Europe. He respected established institutions because they were established. He was in favour of absolute, arbitrary and reactionary government and supported the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. In the words of **Hayes** ;—

"He believed in absolute monarchy and considered himself God's lieutenant in supporting it."

Economically, Austria was a backward state. It was a museum of heterogeneous nationalities having different languages, religions and cultures. It provided a rich soil for the seeds of the revolutionary ideas and tendencies. In order to save the country from disruption and dismemberment, he followed a conservative and reactionary policy. He wanted to maintain older order and status-quo to crush the revolutionary spirit, nationalism and liberalism. He organised police force and spy-system to safeguard the country from liberal movements. To suppress the public opinion, he imposed various restrictions on the freedom of press, speeches and assembly ; clubs, theatres, educational institutions, news-papers, books etc. were brought under the strict control of the government. Persons suspected of liberal and revolutionary feelings were imprisoned without trial. Frontiers were well-guarded and foreign travel was banned to check the infiltration of liberal ideas in Austria. This conservative and reactionary policy adopted by Metternich is ordinarily known as the '*Metternich system.*' **Hazen** has rightly remarked—

"His system, at war with human nature, at war with modern spirit, rested upon a meddlesome police, upon elaborate espionage, upon a vigilant censorship of ideas."

3. **Home Policy of Metternich**—Metternich followed a reactionary policy to suppress liberal and national movements, to check the break-up of the empire. His Policy was a negative policy. His home policy was based on the prevention because he believed in old regime and in keeping the things as they were. To quote him—

"*Keep things just as they are, all innovation is madness* ; '*Govern and change nothing*' was the key-note of his internal administration. About his home policy he once remarked—

"We follow a system of prevention in order that we may not be compelled to follow one of repression."

His policy was confined to the maintenance of public peace. He based his internal policy on the above mentioned principles and adopted the following measure to check and crush the liberal movements.

(1) He *recognised army and police force* to crush nationalism and revolutionary ideas. To keep people under control, he enhanced the powers of the police. He maintained his authority with the help of the army and the police.

(2) He established an *elaborate system of epionage* and posted spies in every nook and corner of the empire to keep an eye on the activities of the liberals and the nationalists.

(3) He *rejected the liberal demands of the people* and put the patriots and leaders of the liberal movements behind the bars.

(4) *Universities, schools, colleges* and other educational institutions were brought under the control of the government because they spread liberal ideas. The teachers and the students worked under humiliating regulations. Spies attended lectures and kept a strict watch on the activities of students and professors. Students' unions and political meetings of the students were strictly banned. They could not go abroad for higher education. Text books were selected by a Board of Control. It selected only those books which might not encourage liberal ideas. A complete list of the books, that each professor took out of the university was maintained.[1]

In fact liberalism in education was ruthlessly crushed.

(5) *The freedom of the people was also restricted* to a great extent. Many restrictions had been imposed on press, newspapers, political meetings, demonstrations, and speeches etc. Metternich had erected an iron wall all-round Austria and foreign travel was banned.

(6) He erected *check-posts on the frontiers* of Austria and appointed inspectors on these check-posts to check the infiltration of national and liberal ideas into the country. To quote **Hayes**—

"To combat the danger of infiltration of revolutionary ideas from abroad, he erected a wall of tariffs and censors around the Hapsburg lands."

(7) Metternich was *in favaur of an absolute and despotic rule* to keep various nationalities together and to check the disrupted tendencies. The Emperor of Austria was an arbitrary ruler and his will was the law of the land. The people had no hand in the administration of the country. There was no parliament or any other representative assembly to safeguard the rights and freedom of the people.

(8) The empire of Austria was composed of many nationalities who had different languages, religions nnd cultures. *Metternich used to appoint the officials of one territory to another* territory so that they might administer them strictly, create rift among them and crush nationalism.

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[1] According to ***Karl Marx***, "All around frontier wherever the Austrian state touched upon the civilized country, a cordon of literary censors was established in connection with the cordon of custom house officials, preventing any foreign book or newspaper from passing into Austria before its contents had been twice or three times thoroughly studied and found pure of even the slightest contamination of the malignant spirit of the age."

(9) Metternich *encouraged feudalism.* The nobles and the clergymen enjoyed special privileges and led a happy, prosperous and luxurious life. On the other hand, the condition of the peasant was very miserable. Metternich rejected all their demands for the improvement of their social and economic conditions.

(10) Metternich *joined the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance* to keep the country away from wars and save her from revolutionary ideas.

4. Foreign Policy of Metternich— Metternich played an important part in bringing about the fall of Napoleon and the regeneration of Europe afterwards. He occupied an important place in the politics of Europe. In the Vienna Congress, the statesmen of Europe thought it a privilege to carry out his wishes. He took a leading part in the establishment of the Concert of Europe in order to give a permanent shape to the decisions of the Vienna Congress and to crush revolutionary tendencies in Europe. To suppress revolutionary ideas, liberal parties and national movements, were the underlying principles of his foreign policy. To achieve his objectives he undertook a policy of interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

(1) *Metternich and Germany*—Instead of establishing a unified independent state of Germany, the Vienna Congress set-up a loose confederation of 39 states of Germany. It had a Federal Diet. Its members were not elected by the people but were nominated by the rulers of the States. The emperor of Austria was its Chairman. The procedure for the working of the Diet was very complicated. It had no control over the army and the treasury. The component states enjoyed a large measure of autonomy in internal matters. According to **Hazen**

"*The confederation was a union of princes, not of people*"

Napleonic wars in Germany had awakened the spirit of freedom and nationalism there. The people over there desired a strong and centralized government in the country. The settlement of the Vienna Congres created disappointment among the patriots and liberal leaders of Germany. They launched a movement demanding political reforms. They wanted a separate constitution and parliament for each state. They were in favour of establishing constitutional from of government and abolition of the arbitray and absolute rule. Metternich was the avowed enemy of liberal political institutions. He crushed the revolutionary movements, wherever they raised their heads. The selfish rulers of various states helped him to achieve his objects. The failure of the national and liberal movements created discontentment among the liberals.

Under these circumstances, the Liberals tried to establish constitional government through secret committees of teachers and students. The students of various educational institutions organized a fair at Wartburg. They murdered a journalist named Kotzebue suspecting him to be a Russian spy. This action of the Liberals infuriated Metternich. He summoned a Congress of European rulers at Carlsbad to suppress this movement. This Congress passed many decrees which are known as 'Carlsbad Decrees'. Through these decrees, he banned the organization of revolutionary committees. A commission was appointed to trace out conspiracies and to suppress them. Restrictions were imposed on the freedom of speech and assembly. Strict press censor-ship was enforced. Spies were posted at every university to watch the activities of the professors and the students. Professors suspected of having liberal ideas were removed and debarred from seeking employment elsewhere. Student-unions were declared illegal. All these measures gave a severe blow to liberalism. In this way, Metternich and his system succeeded in Germany and he was successful in bringing Germany under his domination. To quote **Hazen**—

"The Carlsbad Decrees represent an important turning point in the history of central Europe. They signalized the dominance of Metternich in Germany as well as in Austria"

Being inspired by the French Revolution of 1830, the patriots of Germany again started the national movement but their efforts for the establishment of a unified government were suppressed by Metternich and he restored absolutism in all states, The February Revolution of the 1848 deeply influenced German States. They launched a movement for the unification of Germany. A conference was summoned at Frankfurt. It was decided that a new constitution should be framed and Frederick William IV should be declared the emperor of the unified states of Germany. Metternich became indignant and according to the Convention of Olmutz, Metternich forced Frederick to reject the decisions of the Frankfurt Conference and thwarted the plans of the liberals. Thus, during the period of his ascendency, he did not allow the liberal movements to raise their head in Germany and thus kept Germany under his domination.

According to **Hayes**—*"Metternich's hold on Germany was complete"*.

(2) *Metternich and Italy*—After the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire, Italy was dismembered into small states. Napoleon unified all these small states and established his domination over them. He crushed old traditions, reformed laws and promoted industry. By enforcing Code Napoleon and abolishing social inequality and special privileges he tried to set-up a new social order based on equality. The French domination over Italy resulted in propagating revolutionary ideals and engendering a spirit of nationalism among the Italians.

The Vienna Settlement of 1815 however, led to the restoration of small states and arbitrary rule of old royal dynasties. The influence of Austria increased in northern and central Italy on account of the decisions of the Vienna Congress. Italy lacked unity and constitutional government. People had no say in the affairs of the administration. The Italians suffered untold miseries under absolute and arbitrary rule. The preaching of nationalism by the liberals resulted in revolt at many places against the despotic rule of Austria and demanded the establishment of a liberal constitution. The revolt at Naples became very violent in 1820. The king was forced to enforce democratic constitution of 1812. This revolt inspired the people of Piedmont also and they also rebelled against the arbitrary rule. Under these cirumstances, the Congress of Laiback was summoned in 1821. This Congress authorised Metternich to interfere in the internal affairs of Italy. Metternich crushed the revolutionary move ments in Naples and Piedmont ruthlessly. Thousands of liberal and patriots were put to death and many of them were imprisoned. Many patriots saved their lives by taking refuge in other countries. In this way, he suppressed the demand for liberal constitution, abolished new constitution and restored absolute government there. Metternich was very proud of his personal victory. He remarked—

> "*I see the dawn of a better day. Heaven seems to will it that the world shall not be lost.*"

Now the liberals and the patriots of Italy began to preach liberal and revolutionary ideals through secret committees. The Revolution of 1830 had profound effect on Italy. Revolutions broke out in Romagna, Modena, Piedmont and Tuscany and the revolutionaries launched fierce movements there. The rulers of these states fled away to save their lives. Again, Metternich came to the help of these despotic rulers. He suppressed these movements and brought Italy under his sway. In the words of **Hayes**—

> "*Italy, like Germany, appeared to be bound, hand and foot to the triumphant reactionary Chariot of Austria.*

Similar situation was created by the Revolution of 1848. The fire of revolution kept on smouldering and a few years after the death of Metternich Italy succeeded in freeing herself from the bondage of Austria. Patriots like Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour then completed the work of the unification of Italy.

(3) *Metternich and Spain*—Being inspired by the ideals of the French Revolution, the Legislative Assembly of Spain enforced a liberal constitution there in 1812. Ferdinand VII was restored in 1715. He dissolved the liberal constitution. The liberals in Spain launched a severe movement against this action of the king and demanded the restoration of liberal constitution. Ferdinand sought help from France, Austria and Russia. In 1822, the Congress of Verona authorized France to interfere in this matter. The French forces crushed the liberal movement. After Ferdinand's death, there started a civil war between his daughter Isabella and her uncle Don Carlos for the throne of Spain. Don Carlos wanted to overthrow Isabella and

establish despotic rule in Spain. He was helped by Metternich. But he failed in his designs and the Liberals succeeded in setting up a liberal government under the leadership of Isabella.

(4) *Metteinich and Russia*—The Czar of Russia, Alexander I, had liberal views in the beginning. In 1815 his bodyguards hatched a conspiracy to spread the revolutionary ideals. In 1819, the students of Germany killed a journalist named Kotzebue in the festival of Wartburg as they suspected him a Russian Spy. Duke de Berry was murdered in France in 1820. These events brought about a great change in the ideas of Czar and he became an avowed enemy of revolutionary principles and tendencies. Then he became a conservative and reactionary, and a follower of Metternich. In 1820, he supported the views of Metternich in the Congress of Troppau in the following words—

> *"So we are at one. Prince, and it is to you that we owe it. You have correctly judged the state of affairs I deplore the waste of time which we must try to repair. I am here without any fixed ideas, without any plan, but I bring you a firm and unalterable resolution. It is for you Emperor to use it as you will. Tell me what you desire and what you wish me to do and I will do it."*

The Greeks revolted against the Sultan of Turkey. The Czar of Russia wanted to help the Greeks but he could not do so because he was completely under the influence of Metternich. As a result of this the Sultan succeeded in crushing this revolt.

(5) *Metternich and France*—Napoleon's ambition resulted in incessant wars in Europe for 25 years. Even after the fall of Napoleon Metternich feared that the revolutionaries might not disturb the peace of Europe once again. He created powerful countries like Belgium, Holland Switzerland and Sweden etc, on the frontiers of France to check her aggressive attitudes and designs. Heavy war indemnity was imposed on France. France paid up war indemnity by 1818. So, the army of occupation was removed from France and she was enrolled as the member of the Quadruple Alliance which was now transformed into Quintuple Alliance. After that Metternich remained busy in suppressing the revolutionary movements and saving the European countries from the influence of the French Revolutions of 1830 and 1848.

(6) *Metternich and England*—In the beginning, Metternich had friendly relations with England. Both joined hands to defeat Napoleon and co-operated with each other in the Congress of Vienna to complete the work of regeneration of Europe after the fall of Napoleon. But after the Congress, there arose rift and differences between the two. In the Congress of Troppau, Metternich was in favour of granting France the right of interfering in the internal affairs of Spain in order to suppress revolutionary movements there but England opposed the policy of interference tooth and nail. In the same way, when there was a revolt in the Spanish Colonies in America, England checked Spain from

meddling with the affairs of those colonies with the co-operation of the American President Munroe. These events created bad blood between Austria and England and consequently they were separated from each other. This led to the end of the Concert of Europe in 1825.

Regarding the policy of Austria, *Metternich* once remarked—

"*As for policy, Austria has none......our policy is exclusively confined to the maintenance of treaties and of public repose.*"

5. **Causes of Metternich's Failure**—Metternich reigned supreme on the political stage of Europe from 1815 to 1848. However, in the end he failed miserably and had to leave his country and take refuge in England where he died in 1856. Many causes led to his failure :—

(1) *Policy of Conservatism*—Metternich was hostile to revolutions and revolutionary concepts from the very beginning of his career. So he adopted a conservative and reactionary policy. But the French Revolution had strengthened nationalism and liberalism so much so that his reactionary policy could not stand against them and this thing brought about his fall.

(2) *Nationalism*—The Revolution inspired the people of Austria and many countries under his domination with the spirit of nationalism. They started liberal movements for the eradication of absolute and arbitrary rule and for the establishment of constitutional government. Metternich rejected their demands for reforms which were quite just according to the spirit of time. He could not face this movement and had to abdicate his post and leave his country.

(3) *Liberalism*—The middle class in Austria i.e. teachers, students, labourers and craftsmen etc. was profoundly influenced by liberalism and socialism. They set-up Secret Committees to oppose arbitrary rule and social inequalities. Metternich tried to suppress them but the liberal movement gained momentum and he became helpless.

(4) *Policy of Interference*—In order to check the liberal movements and revolutionary ideals on the Continent, Metternich followed the policy of interference in the internal affairs of other states. They resented such a policy and turned hostile to him.

(5) *Industrial Revolution*—The Industrial Revolution brought about a great change in the political, social and economic life of the people of Europe. Metternich could not adapt himself to changing circumstances because he believed in the policy of maintaining '*old order*' and '*status-que*.' To quote him—

"*Keep things as they are, all innovation is madness*".

(6) *The Revolution of* 1848—Metternich could repress the revolutionaries but he could not crush the revolutionary spirit and ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity which triumphed over his conversatism in 1848. The French Revolution of 1848 influenced Austria deeply. Deak and Kossuth infused revolutionary spirit among the people of Austria-Hungary and instigated them by their violent and fiery

speeches. They stormed the palace of Metternich and shouted the slogan "*Down with Metternich.*" Seeing the failure of his policy, he stole away to England. To quote **Alison Philips**—

"*For a tired and timid generation, he was a necessary man and it was his misfortume that he survived his usefulness and failed to recognise that : while he himself was growing old and feeble, the world was renewing its youth.*"

6. **Estimate of Metternich**—Metternich was a well-to-do and a civilized person. He had many qualities of the head and heart. A genius, he was a famous politician, statesman and a crafty diplomat of the 19th century. He commanded great power, prestige and influence in Europe. The period from 1815 to 1848 is known as the Metternich Era in the history of Europe. To quote **Hazen**—

"*He was the most famous statesman Austria produced in the 19th century.*"

He moulded the destiny not only of Austria but also of Europe for a long period. He played a significant role in the defeat of Napoleon and in the re-construction of Europe in the Congress of Vienna in 1815. He used to say—"*People look for me as Messiah*"

To quote **Metternich**—"*All eyes, all expectations are directed to precisely that point where I happen to lie.*"

Metternich was very proud and his vanity knew no bounds. He was conspicuous of his personal importance. He spoke of himself as being born to prop up the decaying structure of European society To quote him—"*He never strayed from the path of eternal law and that his mind had never entertained error*"

Lipson has expressed his opinion about Metternich in the following words—"*Metternich was essentially an opportunist, a master in the art of diplomatic intrigue, but he built his calculations upon shifting hands.*"

Once **Napoleon** remarked about him—

"*He mistook intrigue for statesmanship.*"

According to **Hazen**—

"*He was an intriguer ; as opportunist, as polished dust.*"

Metternich was an apostle of conservatism and reaction. From the very beginning, he hated the Revolution, the revolutionary feelings and the revolutionaries. He was a staunch antagonist of liberalism, nationalism and Socialism. He wanted to repress the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity as he considered them the destroyers of peace. He was a great champion of the absolute rule and a strong opponent of democracy and liberal institutions. He had faith in the policy of '*states quto*' and wanted to maintain 'old order' He was an avowed enemy of national movements and the spirit of democracy.

According to Metternich, democracy 'changes day light into the darkest night. But, his conservative and reactionary policy failed miserably in the end. He himself has summed up his policy in the following words—

> "*Public opinion is absolutely diseased. At Vienna as at Paris, Berlin and London, in the whole of Germany and Italy as well as in Russia and America. our triumphs are rated as so many crimes, our conquest as so many errors and projects as so many follies.*"

In spite of his best efforts, he failed to maintain old regime and he himself admitted that he was struggling for the past and felt himself old in the face of youthful age. He used to say—

> "*I have come into the world either too early or too late. Earlier, I should have enjoyed the age, later I should have helped to reconstruct it. Today I have to give my life to propping up mouldering institutions.*"

In spite of this all, it cannot be denied that his policy was in the best interests of Austria and quite appropriate to the situation of the country. His services towards Austria cannot be ignored. He served his country at a very critical period of her history. He preserved the Austrian Empire and saved it from disruption and dismemberment. He maintained equilibrium in the empire. By his policy he succeeded in maintaining peace on the Continent and in saving it from bloody wars.[1] He gave new vigour and certain direction to the policy of Austria and felt proud of calling himself the 'Conqueror of Napoleon.' To quote **Alison Philips**—

> "*It was he who had given to Austrian policy the vigour and certain direction which enabled him afterwards to boast himself the conqueror of Napoleon.*"

According to **Henry A Kissinger**, Metternich guided the destiny of Austria in its year of crisis. To quote him—

> "*It was Austria's destiny that in its years of crisis it was guided by a man who epitomised its very essence ; it was its destiny and not its good fortune, for as in Greek tragedy, the success of Clemen Von Metternich made inevitable the ultimate collapse of the state he had fought so long to preserve.*"

Prof. Fisher has summed up his estimate in the following words—

> "*The Metternich system secured for the Austrian statesman the pladuits of a generation which had recent knowledge of the tribulations of war. Metternich had many attributes of a good political leader, a brilliant and engaging presence, a cool head, a vast comprehension of*

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[1] **Hardenberg**, the envoy of Hanover at Vienna said, "Endowed with a high opinion of superiority of his ability...he loves fineness in politics and considers it essential. Since he does not have sufficient energy to mobilize the sources of his country. .....he attempts to substitute cunning for strength and character .. It would suit him best if a fortunate accident—the death of Napoleon or great successors of Russia—were to create a situation where he could let Austria play an important role."

fairs, a firm and patriotic will. His prestige as a liberator of his
untry and as the principal artificer of the new Europe was immense.
e confidence reposed in him throughout the German-speaking world
most unbounded In the counsels of the autocrats, he won the direct-
g mind so that the period between 1815 to 1848 was not unjustly been
lled the age of Metternich. Yet this accomplished aristocrat; whose
orals were so loose, whose principles were so strict, and whose influence
as so wide, laboured under one of the greatest intellectual disabilities
hich can vitiate the judgement of a statesman. He saw no mean
etween revolution and autocracy, and since revolution was odious, he
et himself to repress that which is the soul of human life in society,
e very spirit of liberty."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **The Metternich Era**—The period from 1815 to 1848 in the history of Europe is known as the Metternich Era because he dominated the political stage in Europe during this period.

2. **The Metternich System**—He followed a conservative and reactionary policy to crush revolutionary tendencies, liberalism, nationalism and the concepts of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

3. **Home Policy of Metternich**—He followed reactionary policy. (1) Suppression of Liberal movements with the help of army and police. (2) Net work of spies in the country, (3) Imprisoned liberal leaders. (4) Strict Govt. control on the educational institutions (5) Restrictions on the freedom of the people. (6) Check the posts on frontiers. (7) Favoured arbitrary rule. (8) Encouragement to feudalism, (9) Holy Alliance and Quadruple Alliance.

4. **Foreign Policy of Metternich**—To suppress revolutionary spirit and nationalism was the main aim of his policy.

(1) Metternich and Germany. (2) Metternich and Italy. (3) Metternich and Spain, (4) Metternich and Russia. (5) Metternich and France. (6) Metternich and England.

5. **Causes of his Failure**—(1) Reactionary policy. (2) Opposed to Nationalism. (3) Hostility towards liberalism. (4) Policy of interference. (5) Industrial Revolution. (6) Effects of the Revolution of 1848.

6 **Estimate of Metternich**—(1) Views of different writers about Metternich. (2) His service to his country.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. What was the political, social and economic condition of Austria in 1815?
2. Give an account of the life and career of Prince Metternich.
3. What do you understand by the Metternich System? How would you account for the ultimate failure of this system?
4. "The period from 1815 to 1848 in the history of Europe is called the Metternich Age." Discuss.
5. "Metternich has been described as the police man of Europe." Discuss.
6. Briefly describe the home and foreign policy of Metternich.

7. "The name of Metternich has become synonym for reaction and conservatism." Explain the significance of this statement and estimate Metternich's influence on contemporary affairs. (P.U. 1949)

8. "Metternich has been described as the high-priest of conservatism and an apostle of the forces of darkness." Do you agree with this estimate of the great statesman ? Give reasons for your views. (A.U. 1951)

9. "Metternich was a great reactionary and avowed enemy of democracy." Examine this statement keeping in view his domestic and foreign policy. (A.U. 1961)

10. Give your estimate of Metternich's European policy from 1815 to 1848. (D.U. 1956)

11. Examine the foreign policy of Metternich. How far did he succeed in achieving his objective ? (D.U. 1956)

12. What did Metternich stand for in Europe ? What were the causes of the break-down of his system ? (D.U. 1961)

13. Discuss the policy and programme of Metternich. (D.U. 1963)

14. Why is the period 1815 to 48 called the age of Metternich European History ? (D.U. 1964, 66, 67)

15. Discuss the reactionary policy of Metternich in Austria, Germany and Italy. (Pb. B.A. 1970)

16. State the main principles of Metternich's policy. Is it correct to say that he was the 'reactionary genius' of Europe ? (Pb. Med. 1970

17. Discuss the main features of the Metternich system. Do yo agree with the view that 'for a tired and timid generatio Metternich was the necessary man' ? (Delhi M.A. 1970

18. Metternich has been described as the high priest of conservatism and the apostle of the forces of darkness. 'Comment.' (Pb. B.A. 1972)

19. What were Metternich's political objectives at home and abroad and how far do you think he was successful in fulfilling those objectives ?

16

FRANCE FROM 1825 TO 1870 A. D.

1.	**Louis XVIII**	**1815 to 1824 A.D.**
2.	**Charles X**	**1824 to 1830 A.D.**
3.	**Louis Philippe**	**1830 to 1848 A.D.**
4.	**The Second Republic of France**	**1848 to 1852 A.D.**
5.	**The Second French Empire**	**1852 to 1870 A.D.**

Napoleon was defeated in the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 and was arrested and exiled to St. Helena. According to the Second Treaty of Paris, Louis XVIII was installed on the throne of France. He was the brother of Louis XVI. At the time of his accession, he was 60 years old. He ruled over France from 1815 to 1824. His accession restored the Burborn dynasty in France. After his death, his brother Charles X remained the emperor of France from 1824 to 1830. Charles X had to abdicate the throne in favour of his grandson due to the Revolution of 1830 and take refuge in England. However, the people of France deposed him and put Louis Philippe on the throne of France. The Revolution of 1848 led to the establishment of Second Republic in France but Napoleon Third laid the foundation of the Second French Empire in 1852.

Reign of Louis XVIII, 1815-1824

Q. 1. Give an account of the Reign of Louis XVIII.

Ans.—Louis XVIII was hostile to democracy and the new social order as was established after the French Revolution. He was a staunch champion of despotism. However, he was fully aware of the fact that it was impossible to supplant the absolute rule of the Bourbon dynasty and suppress the principles of the Revolution and new tendencies. So, he adoped the middle path and followed the policy of reconciliation and compromise. There were many reasons for it :—

(1) He did not like to go on his travels again by fully denouncing the revolutionary feelings.

(2) He was influenced by the teachings of the French Philosophers and though he was conservative yet he could not become an extreme reactionary.

(3) He had spent many years in England and had been greatly influenced by her constitutional form of government and democratic institutions.

(4) He was old and did not feel strong to face and oppose the forceful democratic movement of the people. About his policy of compromise, he once remarked—

"The system which I have adopted and that which my ministers are perseveringly pursuing, is based on the maxim that it will never do to be the king of two peoples, and to their ultimate fusion—for their distinction is only too real—all the efforts of my government are directed."

1. **The Constitutional Charter of Louis XVIII**—After his defeat in the Battle of Nations in 1813, Napoleon was exiled to the Island of Elba and Louis XVIII was given the throne of France. Soon he issued the Constitutional Charter in 1814. Its main provisions were as under :—

(1) *The king was the head of administration* and held all the executive powers. He was given the power of making all appointments, issuing ordinances, declaring war and making treaties etc. He was the chief commander of the army and the navy.

(2) Provision was made for a legislature consisting of *two Houses* (1) The Chamber of Peers and (2) The Chamber of Deputies. The members of the Chamber of Peers were nominated by the king for life while the members of the Chamber of Deputies were elected by the people for a term of 5 years.

(3) The *legislative measures* were proposed by the king and they were discussed by the legislature.

(4) The king could impose *tax* only after the consent of both the Chambers.

(5) All *the citizens were declared equal before the law.*

(6) Provision was made for *trial by jury.*

(7) All the citizens were granted *religious freedom.*

(8) It restored the *freedom of the press and speech.*

(9) *Special rights* and privileges were abolished and all the services under government were thrown open to merit.

(10) Assurance was given to those persons who had bought *property* confiscated during the Revolution that it would not be taken back from them.

(11) The white flag was made the National Flag.

Defects in the Charter of 1814—(1) The Charter was not according to the principles of democracy because the king was the source of all rights. (2) It lacked the backing of the whole nation. (3) It did not establish a democratic form of government and the rights of the lower order were completely ignored. The population of France was 290,000,000 but only 100,000 persons had the right to vote. So the Charter failed to root out the special rights and privileges in the political field. To quote Hazen—

"France was still, in a political sense, a land of privileges, only privilege was no longer based on birth but on fortune."

Importance of the Charter—This Charter recognized the principles of revolution and many Napoleonic institutions. Equality before law was the most significant factor in it. It introduced liberal monarchy in France and granted self-government to the people to a great extent. To quote **Hazen**—

"The fact remained that with all limitations, the Charter granted France a large portion of self-government that it had not enjoyed before, except during a brief period of Revolution"

2. Reign of Louis XVIII—A struggle for power was going on between the Liberals and the Royalists. The Liberals were in favour of a democratic form of government and were divided into two groups-the Liberals and the Republicans. The Royalists consisted of the Moderate Royalists and Ultra-Royalists. Under these circumstances, Louis worked with great foresight and succeeded in following the middle path.

At this, the extremists started a movement known as 'White Terror.' They murdered the Liberals like Marshal Ney. It created choas and anarchy in the country. Louis XVIII abolished the legislature and new elections were held. The Moderate Royalists got majority in it. Louis tried to reform the adminstration with their help. France had paid war-indemnity by this time. So the Allies removed the forces of occupation from France and she joined the Quadruple Alliance and became the member of the Concert of Europe. The Ultra Royalists were deadly opposed to the policy of Louis and in 1820 they killed Duke De Berry who was the legal heir to the throne of France. In the election of 1820, they swept the polls and gained majority in the legislature. They were inclined to the policy followed by Metternich. They helped in the restoration of the absolute rule of the Bourborn Dynasty in Spain by installing Ferminand VII on the throne of Spain by force. In the meanwhile, Louis XIII died in 1824.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Louis XVII ruled France from 1814 to 1824.

1. **The Constitutional Charter of Louis XVIII**—(1) The king was the head of the state. Legislature consisted of two Houses. (3) Legislative measures were proposed by the king (4) Taxes could be imposed by the consent of the Legislature. (5) Equality before law. (6) Trial by Jury. (7) Religious freedom (8) Freedom of the Press and Speech (9) Posting on merits. (10) Right to retain property (11) White Flag
   Defects : Opposed to democracy. (2) Lacked support of the whole nation. (3) Hailed to root out special privileges.
   Importance—Recognised the principles of Revolution, laid stress on Equality ; Liberal monarchy.
2. **Reign of Louis XVIII**—Followed the middle path, the Ultra-Royalists spread anarchy ; Majority of the Moderate Royalists ; reform introduced by them ; the Ultra Royalists came in 1820 ; Restoration of Bourbon Dynasty in Spain ; France became the member of Concert of the Europe ; His death in 1824.

Political Parties during the Reign of Louis XVIII

Q. 2. Give a brief account of the main political parties in France during the reign of Louis XVIII.

Ans—Various political thoughts in France gave birth to many political parties there. The following were the main political parties in France during the reign of Louis XVIII :—

(1) The Ultra Royalists.
(2) The Moderate Royalists.
(3) The Republicans.
(4) The Liberals.
(5) The Bonapartists.

(1) *Ultra Royalists*—It comprised of the nobles and the clergymen who had to leave France during the Revolution and whose property had been confiscated. They returned to France with Louis XVIII. They hated the concepts of the revolution and the revolutionaries. They favoured absolute and arbitrary rule and wanted to establish old regime and order in France. They wanted to restore the old glory and power of the king, the nobles and the clergymen. They considered the Revolution as a great crime. They supported the reactionary policy of Metternich and were bitter enemy of the Liberals. They criticised the Charter of 1814 severely and wanted Louis XVIII to take it back and punish those persons who favoured and were reponsible for the execution of Louis XVI. Count de Artois, the brother of Louis XVIII, was the leader of this party. This party could not become popular in France and Louis XVIII could not work according to their wishes because he did not like to create unnecessary troubles for him and to leave France again. To quote **Hazen**—

> "*More eager to restore glory of the crown, the former rank of the nobility and the clergy, more bitter towards the new ideas than the king himself, they were the ultra-royalists or ultras—men more royalists than the king, as they claimed.*"

(2) *The Moderate Royalists*—The Moderate Royalists were the second main political party in France. It consisted of the nobles, feudal-lords and the higher clergy. Their ideology contained the element of liberalism. They were also reactionary but were not extremists like the ultras. They knew that it was difficult to root out revolutionary ideals and tendencies and social set-up established after the Revolution. So, they followed a mild and moderate policy and wanted to move with the times. They favoured a compromise between the principles of monarchy and democracy and disfavoured absolute monarchy and arbitrary rule. This party was more popular in France and had great influence over Louis XVIII. He gave proof of his liberalism by issuing the Constitutional Charter with the co-operation of this party. This party gained majority in the legislature in the election held in 1816 and remained in power upto 1820.

(3) *The Republican Party*—This party was hostile to absolute monarchy and despotic rule of the Bourbon dynasty. It supported the establishment of the republican form of government in France. It could not become popular in France and its membership was also meagre.

(4) *The Liberals*—The Liberals were in favour of the constitutional monarchy. They were of the opinion that the rights granted by the Constitutional Charter were insufficient. They wanted to increase the number of voters. They wanted that age and property qualifications should not stand in the way of enlarging franchise. They favoured the responsibility of the ministers to the legislature rather than the king.

(5) *The Bonapartists*—This party was composed of those persons who had taken part in the battles fought by Napoleon and who had been greatly impressed by his victorious expeditions. They wanted to enthrone Napoleon or his son, the King of Rome, to make France a powerful country in Europe, to increase her honour and glory and to follow a more vigorous foreign policy. The efforts made by them to achieve their objectives were not crowned with success. The membership of this party was also not very high.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Political Parties during the reign of Louis XVIII

1. *The Ultra Royalists :* (i) They consisted of nobles and clergymen; they favoured the establishment of absolute monarchy and old social order.
2. *The Moderate Royalists*—(i) It was a party of nobles, feudal lords and higher clergy. (ii) Element of liberalism. (iii) Favoured compromise between monarchy and democracy. (iv) Supporters of the Charter.
3. *The Republicans*—They were in favour of a republican form of government.
4. *The Liberals*—(i) The Constitutional monarchy. (ii) Enlargement of the Franchise. (iii) Ministers to be responsible to legislature.
5. *The Bonapartists*—They wanted to make Napoleon or his son the emperor of France.

Charles X and the July Revolution of 1830

☞ Q. 3. What do you know about the causes, effects and importance of the July Revolution of 1830. (V. Important)

Or

Trace briefly the causes of events leading to the Revolution of 1830 of France and show its effects on different countries of Europe. (P.U. 1955 ; D.U. 1963)

Or

What were the causes which led to the fall of Charles X and succession of Louis Philippe to the throne of France.

Ans—After the death of Louis XVIII, his brother Charles X became the emperor of France in 1824 He was opposed to the liberal policy adopted by Louis XVIII and supported a reactionary olicy. The clash among the political parties and the despotic rule f Charles X led to July Revolution of 1830 which forced Charles to ave France.

I. **Causes of the July Revolution of 1830**—The following were he causes of the July Revolution of 1830—

(1) *Conflict among the Political Groups in France*—The political roups in France started efforts to come to power. The struggle or power created a conflict among them and brought the revolution earer. Elections were held in France in accordance with the Constiutional Charter issued by Louis XVIII. The Ultra-Royalists gained najority in the Chamber of Deputies because of limited franchise hey advised Louis to cancel the Charter. Louis refused to oblige hem. They spread choas and anarchy in France which is known s 'White Terror' in the History of France. They murdered Marshall Ney. There were violent revolts against this in Southern France. ouis was forced to abolish the Chamber of Deputies and order resh elections in 1820.

The Moderate-Royalists got majority. They paid the warndemnity imposed by the Allies The forces of occupation were emoved from France and she joined the Concert of Europe. The fforts of this party promoted trade, industry and arts and crafts n France. They enhanced the military strength of France. They elped to increase the power and prestige of France in the Continent. n 1820, Duke de Berry, son of Artois, was killed by a lunatic named ouvel. Duke was the successor to the throne of France. The Ultraoyalists held the Moderate-Royalists responsible for this murder. It rought disgrace to the Moderates. Louis abolished the Chamber of eputies again.

In the new elections, the Ultra-Royalists once again came to power. hey followed a reactionary policy, imposed restrictions on indiviual liberty and freedom of press and speech. The franchise was limited. hey helped Ferdinand VII to establish his arbitrary rule in Spain. hey left no stone unturned to set-up the pre-revolutionary order in rance. These efforts on their part gave birth to the July Revolution f 1830.

(2) *Despotic Rule of Charles X*—(i) Charles X was an avowed nemy of the Revolution. He was an arbitrary ruler. He was a vell-wisher of the nobles, feudal lords, higher clergy and the old egime and the old social order. He wanted to suppress the revolutionries, the moderates and the liberals. *He tried to crush the principles of he revolution forcibly.* His conservative and reactionary policy ncouraged the revolution. To quote **Hayes**—

> *"It had been the Count of Artois who with Maria Antoninette ad engineered the court-intrigues against the Revolution in its earliest tage. It had been he who had headed the emigration of the nobles and he clergy when their privileges were threatened by the Revolution. It*

was he who was never tired of agitation against the Revolution and against Napoleon, and it was he who, on the triumphant return of his family and of the emigrees, encouraged the ultra-royalists in acts of retaliation."

(ii) The property of the nobles and the higher clergy, who had fled away from France during the Revolution, had been confiscated. On their return, Charles X appointed them to high posts and compensated them for the loss of their property by *distributing crores of Francs* among them. To make up for the loss, they had incurred, he lowered the rate of interest on national debt from 5% to 3%. It created discontentment among the capitalists who had lent money to the government.

(iii) He imposed restrictions on the press and freedom of speech and thus *deprived the people of their rights and individual liberty.*

(iv) Charles X *favoured the cause of the Catholic* Religion. Religion and clergymen had great say in the administrative affairs. A law was passed making provision of capital punishment for polluting the religious places and stealing sacred vessels from a Church. It alienated the middle class and lower order of the society. Education of the people became the responsibility of the clergymen. He also encouraged the religious festivals. Once he himself led a procession wearing the uniform of a clergyman and taking a burning lamp in his hands. To quote the Duke of **Wellington**—

"*For him there is no such thing as political experience with the warning of James II before him. Charles is setting-up a Government by priests, through priests, for priests,*"

(v) Charles's despotic rule and his reactionary policy had reached their climax. There were *elections* for the Chamber of Deputies in 1827. Charles openly helped the Ultra-Royalists but they failed to get majority. He thrice held the elections to the Chamber of Deputies to favour the Ultras but they could not come to power in spite of the best efforts of the king. It created dissatisfaction among the people.

(vi) When Charles failed to win majority for the Ultras, he *appointed Polignac his Prime Minister.* He greatly supported the policy of the king. On assuming the office of Prime Minister. he declared—

"*His object was to reorganise society, to restore to the clergy its former preponderance in the states, to create a powerful aristocracy and to surround it with the privileges.*"

(vii) Polignac's declaration created a great crisis He followed a reactionary policy to suppress the elements of nationalism. This brought disgrace for Charles and his rule. People began to hate him and came forward to resist his reactionary policies. *The Chamber of Deputies demanded the dissolutian of the ministry* led by Polignac, Charles, refused to accept their demand. He told them frankly that his decisions were unchallengable. At the same time he used to say—

"*His own brother Louis XVI had come to a tragic and because he had made concessions*"

(viii) Charles X *disbanded the National Guard in* 1827. This infuriated the people because they could not tolerate the dissolution of a national institution in this summary fashion.

(ix) According to his reactionary policy, Charles X *issued four Ordinances* on 25th July, 1830. (1) He imposed censorship on press and deprived it of its freedom. (2) He dissolved the Chamber of Deputies (3) The franchise was made more rigid. Only nobles, feudal lords, higher clergy and rich persons got the right to vote. As a result, the number of voters was reduced from 100 000 to 25,000. (4) It was declared that the new election would be held on 30th September, 1830. In support of his policy he said—

"*A turbulent democracy is endeavouring to supplant the legal authorities. It dominates the elections by means of newspapers and associations, it endeavours to filter the rights of the crown and to dissolve the Chamber. A government that has no right to take measure which if they over-step the ordinary methods of legislation, are undoubtedly in accord with the Charter.*

2. Events of the Revolution—Charles X's ordinances threw a challenge to the people and they accepted it. Teey added fuel to the fire. The Liberals and the Moderates instigated the people and inspired them for a revolution. This revolt was limited to Paris alone. Thousands of people marched in procession raising the slogan 'Down with the Ministry. Long live the Charter There started a civil war between the revolutionaries and the government troops in July, 1830. It continued for three days. About 10,000 revolutionaries fought with 14,000 soldiers. To quote **Hayes**—

"*It was a strange irony of fate that the French armies which had so recently carried message of equality and fraternity to the people of Europe, should be weapon of Divine Right of Kings on behalf of conservatism and reaction.*"

The revolutionaries constructed barricades to lanes and streets and began to fight the troops. It was difficult to despatch artillery upto these barricades. The soldiers tried to demolish them but their efforts met with little success. To quote **Hazen**—

"*The streets were paved with large stones. They could be torn up and piled in such a way as to make fortresses for the insurgents. In the night of July 27-28, the streets were cut up hundreds of barricades made in this manner of paving stones, of over-turned wagons, of barrels ond boxes, of furniture, of trees and objects of all description. Against such obstacles the soldier could make but little progress. If they overthrew a barricade and passed on, it would immediately be built up again behind them threatening them by cutting their line of re-inforcement and of possible retreat.*"

The soldiers continued fighting for three days against heavy odds. Many of them joined the revolutionaries. Seeing the circumstances going against him, Charles X tried to compromise with the revolutionaries but he failed. He declared his grandson as the king of France, abdicated the throne and fled away to England. After two years, he went to Austria and died there in 1835.

However, the people of France could not agree to the form of government to be established in France. The Republicans were in favour of setting up a Republic in France but the Moderates and Liberals were opposed to it. They were of the view that if a Republic was established in France, there was a fear of a war between France, and other European counties having monarchical form of governments. Under these circumstances, Louis Philippe, a Prince of another branch of the Bourbon Dynasty was proclaimed the ruler of France. He enjoyed the support of the republican leaders such as Lafayette because Louis Philippe was a man of liberal ideas and favoured the constitutional form of government. To quote **Lafayette**—

"A monarchy under so liberal and democratic a Prince would after all be the best of republics."

In this way, Louis Philippe ascended the throne of France on 7th August 1830.

3. **Effects of the Revolution**—The July Revolution of 1830 had special significance in the history of France. The task of the French Revolution of 1789 which had remained incompleted hitherto was now completed by this revolution. The fundamentals of the revolutionary ideology i.e., equality, liberty and secularism became secure for ever. It led to the establishment of the rule of the Orleans dynasty in France instead of that of Bourbon Dynasty. It could not abolish, monarchy in France. Though Louis Philippe recognized the constitutional principles but he established monarchical form of government in France. It brought instability in the administration and France could not follow a stable home and foreign policy. They remained fickle during the reign of Philippe. Some amendments were made in the Constitutional Charter of 1814 as a result of this revolution. The 14th clause of the Charter was removed because according to this clause the king had the right to frame arbitrary laws. The king was denied the right to issue ordinances. The power of legislation was given to the Chamber of Deputies. The king promised to safeguard the rights of the individuals. Catholicism was declared as the state religion but everyone was deemed equal in the domain of religion. This revolution gave a severe blow to the power of the Ultra-Royalists.

Effects on different Countries of the Euorpe—The July Revolution of 1830 profoundly affected the different countries of Europe such as Belgium, Poland, Germany, Italy, England etc. It encouraged the the democratic movements and shattered the Settlement of the Vienna Congress. To quote **Hazen**—

"It was the signal and encouragement for wide spread popular movements which for a short time seemed to threaten the whole structure erected in 1815 *at Vienna."*

Effects on Belgium According to the Vienna Settlement, Belgium had been annexed to Holland. But the people of the two countries could not become a national state as they had different languages, religions, cultures and tendencies etc. Their ideals and economic life were also quite different. The people of Belgium were Roman Catholics but those of Holand were Protestants. The population of Belgium was double than that of Holland but all the important civil and military posts were held by the Dutch. Belgium had close commercials relations with France. which imported much of her goods but Holland was the bitter foe of France. Heavy restrictions were imposed on the freedom of press, speech, writing, individual liberty etc. in Belgium.

The people of Belgium suffered untold miseries and there was great discontentment among them against this unnatural union of two countries who had nothing in common. It awakened national feelings in them and the July Revolution of 1830 added fuel to the fire and led to a violent military revolt in Belgium. To quote **Hazen**—

"The July Revolution came as a spark in the midst of all this inflammable material."

The revolutionaries of Belgium chased away the Dutch army from their capital Brussels. After this, the freedom movement was launched on a large scale. The people of Belgium set-up an Interim Government and declared their independence in October, 1830. They made Prince Leopold of Saxecobourg as the king of Belgium.

The situation in Belgium worried Metternich very much. Louis Philippe, the King of France, took no interest in the suppression of this national movement. The Czar of Russia wanted to interfere but he could not do so for fear of Revolt in Poland. The Prime Minister of England, Lord Palmerston, had sympathy with Belgium. He summoned a Conference of important countries of Europe in London in 1831. In this Conference, England, France, Russia, and Austria recognised the independence of Belgium. In this way, the July Revolution of 1830 paved the way for the freedom of Belgium.

Effects on Poland—The Vienna Congress had divided the kingdom of Poland among Austria, Russia and Prussia. The Czar of Russia carved out an independent kingdom of Poland and himself became its ruler. He gave a new constitution to Poland and set up a parliament there. Catholicism was declared the state religion and the language of the Poles was made the state language. All the services under the state were thrown open to the Poles. In spite of all these concession, the Poles were not satisfied and they wanted to regain their freedom from the foreign rule.

After the death of Czar Alexander I, his brother, Nicholas I became the Czar of Russia. He was reactionary and an arbitrary ruler. Being inspired by the July Revolution of 1830 in France, the Poles revolted.

The revolutionaries chased away the Russian army and killed many Russian officials. The Russian ruler of Poland, Grand Duke Constantine, had a narrow escape and he fled away for the safety of his life. Though the people of France, England and Germany had sympathies with the Poles but rendered them no material help to regain their independence. As a result, the Russian army thwarted the plans of the revolutionaries and smashed their movement ruthlessly. It succeeded in bringing Poland once again under the yoke of Russia. The separate identity of Poland was put to an end and she was annexed to the Russian empire. Heavy punishments were inflicted on the revolutionaries. Thousands of patriots were hanged while many of them were exiled. A larger number of them were sent to Siberia where they died of severe cold. The new Constitution was abolished and a tyrannical rule was imposed on Poland. A reactionary policy was adopted in that country. To quote **Grand** and **Temperley**—

> *"For a quarter of a century, an iron rule was imposed upon her. She lost all and was governed purely by the sword of Russia."*

Effects on Spain—The July Revolution of 1830 infused new life and spirit on the Liberals of Spain. They started a nation-wide movement against the autocratic rule of Ferdinand VII. Ferdinand crushed this movement by force. The Liberals did not feel dis-heartened and they increased their strength by and by. In the elections of 1834, their efforts bore fruit and they got a majority. They demanded reforms in the administration. Ferdinand had no alternative but to give them a new Constitution on the basis of the liberal Constitution of 1812. Thus they succeeded in establishing a constitutional government in Spain.

Effects on Portugal—After the death of John VI in 1826, his grand-daughter, Donna Maria ascended the throne of Portgual. But her uncle Don Miguel deposed her forcibly, occupied the throne of Portugal and set-up a despotic rule there. This led to civil war in Portgual which continued for 6 years. Donna Maria got inspiration from the July Revolution of 1830, framed an alliance with the co-operation of England, France and Spain and launched a national movement against the arbitrary rule of Don Miguel. Ultimately, she succeeded in over-throwing Don Miguel and his tyrannical rule and succeeded in establishing a constitutional government in Portugal.

Effects on Switzerland—The nobles in Switzerland enjoyed special privileges and the laws were framed for their welfare while the interests of the common people were ignored. The July Revolution of 1830 deeply influenced the Liberals in Switzerland. They got the support of the general public and demanded reforms in the administration. The government had to yield and passes many laws in the interests of the public. Due to the effect of the French Revolution the Liberals succeeded in establishing liberal government though their dream of setting-up a Republic there was not fulfilled.

Effects on Germany—The Revolution of 1830 influenced Germany also. Saxony, Brunswick, Hesse, Hanover etc. saw the rise of the revolutionary movements. As a result of this, the revolutionaries succeeded in establishing liberal constitutions there.

Austria and Prussia remained uninfluenced by this revolution. They were strong enough and tried their level best to crush the revolutionary tendencies in Germany. Carlsbad Decrees of 1819 were revived. The laws passed between 1832 and 1834 were reactionary and strict. These laws imposed restrictions on the political conferences and institutions, press, speech and educational institutions. In this way, the revolutionary spirit was crushed by force in various states of Germany.

Effects on Italy—Italy also came under the influence of the Revolution of 1830. The people of Parma and Modena revolted against the unjust rule of their rulers The Queen of Parma, Marie Louis, the wife of Napoleon and the Duke of Modena could not face the liberals and fled away from their kingdoms to save their lives. To quote **Grant** and **Temperely**—

"The Revolution of 1830 provoked a few out-bursts in Italy and fanned the flames of revolutionary activities there."

A rebellion also raised its head in the territories under the domination of Pope. The Austrian Chancellor. Metternich could not tolerate these national movements in Italy. He despatched an army to suppress them. The revolutionaries sought help from France and Italy but in vain. At the same time, they lacked unity. As a result of this, the Austrian army succeeded in defeating the revolutionaries and restoring the absolute rule of the old rulers in these states of Italy.

Effects on England—There were many defects in the election system of England and the franchise was limited. In the 18th century Pitt the Elder, John Wilkes, Fox and the Younger Pitt tried to reform the election system in England but their efforts met with little success because of the opposition of the Lords. During the French Revolution, the Prime Minister of England followed a reactionary policy to save England from the influence of the Revolution. But after the defeat of Napoleon, the movement for parliamentary reforms once again gained momentum in 1830 on account of the Revolution of 1830. Lord Grey became the Prime Minister of England in 1830 when the Whig Party got majority in the House of Commons. To remove the defects in the parliamentary system, the First Reform Bill was passed in 1832 due to the great efforts on the part of Lord Grey. It enlarged the franchise by liberalising the qualification for voting. As a result, the sovereign power came into the hands of the middle class instead of the higher order. It was the first step towards the establishment of democratic form of government in England.

Effects on America—The July Revolution of 1830 deeply influenced America and many social reforms were introduced. The independent state of U.S.A. had come into existence after the American war of Independence and a democratic government was set-up there. Inspite of this, the administration of the country was in the hands of wealthy people i.e. landlords, capitalists and traders who enjoyed many special privileges. The second group consisted of those people who settled there later on. This group was not wealthy and had no say in the administration. Besides these two groups, the Red Indians and Negroes also lived there. They worked as slaves and inhuman treatment was meted out to them.

The Liberals in America started movement for reforms in administration, abolition of special rights and privileges of the rich and abolition of slavery. The French Revolution of 1830 gave impetus to their movement. Consequently, the government had to pass many laws for the welfare of the people. Special efforts were made to improve the lot of the labourers. Their remuneration and working hours were fixed by law. Provision was made for good and airy quarters for them and hospitals were opened to take care of their health. There was a law in England according to which a person could be imprisoned if he failed to clear his debts. This severe law was abrogated. The Northern States abolished slavery. Later on, the Southern States also put an end to this custom after the Civil War.

4. Importance of The July Revolution of 1830—(1) The Revolution of 1830 has special significance not only in the history of France but also of Europe. It had a wide-spread influence. It gave rise to many revolutionary movements in Belgium, Poland, Italy, Germany, Spain and Portugal etc *Belgium became independent* following the effects of the Revolution of 1830.

(2) This Revolution *shook the foundation of the Vienna Settlement* and proved that it was quite temporary. The independence of Belgium was the first great breach of the Vienna Settlement. It established the rule of Orleans Dynasty in place of the Bourbon Dynasty in France. Thus, it gave a severe blow to the principle of legitimacy recognized by the Vienna Congress. To quote **Southgate**—

> *"It marks the definite reversal of one feature of the Vienna Settlement."*

(3) It defeated the reactionary policy of Metternich. *It proved fatal to the reactionary powers* whose influence began to dwindle day by day.

(4) It *strengthened the revolutionary principles of liberalism and nationalism*. They became a universal force never to be suppressed or eliminated in the years ro come.

(5) The Revolution of 1830 injected confidence, zest and spirit into the people and taught them to put up a united and determined resistance against the despotic and tyrannical rule of the arbitrary rulers.

(6) It demonstrated the influence of the organized power and sovereignty of the people. It *encouraged and inspired the democratic movements*. It strengthened the belief that people are the real source of sovereignty. To quote **Hazen**—

> *"The revolution, in fact, gave great impetus to the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people."*

(7) This Revolution completed the task of the Revolution of 1789 and paved the way for the Revolution of 1848. According to **Hearnshaw**—

> *"The most notable effect of the July Revolution, however, was the change which it engendered in the Concert of Europe and the balance of powers. Great Britain witnessed the notable democratic triumph...the Metternich system falling to pieces."*

POINTS TO REMEMBER

July Revolution of 1830.

1. **Causes**—(1) Conflict among the political groups in France. (2) Arbitrary Rule and reactionary policy of Charles X.

2. **Events**—Ordinances of 1830 led to the Revolution ; Conflict among the troops and the revolutionaries in lanes and streets for three days ; Charles fled away and Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, ascended the throne of France.

3. **Effects**—The Revolution of 1830 had tremendous effects on France, Belgium, Poland, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, England and America.

Importance—(1) Revolution in many countries and independence of Belgium (2) Proved the temporary nature of the Vienna Settlement. (3) Reduced the influence of reactionary powers. (4) Strengthened the principles of liberalism and nationalism. [5] Inspired the people to fight against the arbitrary rule. (6) Encouraged the democratic movements. (7) Paved the way for the Revolution of 1848.

Louis Philippe (1830-1848)

Q. 4. Give a brief account of the difficulties of Louis Philippe at his accession. How far were they responsible for his downfall ? (Imp.)

Or

Discuss the policy of the Golden Mean as adopted by Louis Philippe and show why it failed to satisfy the French People ?

Or

"France is bored." Do you agree with this condemnatio of Louis Philippe's internal and foreign policy ?

Ans—Charles X was forced to leave France during the Revolution o 1830. Louis Philippe, the son of Philippe Egalite the cousin of late Louis XVI, was declared the king of France. He belonged to the

Orleans Dynasty. He ascended the throne of France on 7th August, 1830. He was 57 at that time. He took an oath to rule according to the constitution of the country.

At the time of the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, he was only 16 years old. He had faith in Catholicism. He enlisted himself in the revolutionary army and fought for the Republic against Austria and Prussia at the Battle of Valmy but he was suspected of being a traitor. So he fled away from France. He travelled Europe, Sicily, America etc. and ultimately reached Switzerland. He studied Geography and Mathematics. He returned to France during the reign of Louis XVIII, got back his paternal estate and began to live in his native village. He was nominated as a member of the Chamber of Peers. He was very wise, humorous and affable.

Louis Philippe

He established contacts with such people who could help him in future. He added to the number of his followers by professing liberal and democratic ideas. People thought him a liberal patriot and democrat but he had concealed his intention of becoming an arbitrary ruler behind these lofty concepts.

1. **Early Difficulties of Louis Philippe**—Louis Philippe had to face many difficulties at the time of his accession—

(1) At the time of his accession, *his position was not stable* and his right to the throne was weak. Out of 513 members of the Chamber of Deputies, only 219 supported his claim to the throne. His constitutional position was not very sound That is why some of the political groups considerd him a usurper of the throne. His government lacked the support of the people.

(2) *Many of the political groups in France were opposed to him* and wanted the grandson of Charles X installed on the throne of France. The Republicans were not satisfied because the republican principles found no place in his scheme of administration. They hoped that Louis would follow liberal and national policy and help in the evolution of democracy but Louis failed to obliged them. The Bonapartists were eager to put the son of Napoleon on the throne of France. The Liberals supported Louis Blanc and were hostile to Louis Philippe.

(3) Philippe *antagonised the Catholics* because he did not grant state patronage to Catholicism.

(4) Louis Philippe *was also not popular with the labourers and the general public.* He lacked their support. He safeguarded the rights of the capitalists and not of the working class. People hated him and his government because of his conservative and reactionary policy.

(5) *The Czar of Russia and the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich, hated the new order in France,* the despotic rule of Louis Philippe and wanted to interfere in the internal affairs of France but they could not achieve their objective because they remained busy in other affairs.

(6) *England* was also not happy with the new order but she did not like to interfere in the internal affairs of Franee. Louis followed a very weak foreign policy. He did not adopt an independent foreign policy but acted according to the will of England in the external affairs.

2. **His Polity of Golden Means**—Louis Philippe was surrounded by difficulties on all sides So in order to please all the political groups and seek their co-operation he gave up conservative, violent and reactionary policy and followed the middle-path. This Policy of Philippe is known as the Policy of Golden Means. Another cause for adopting this policy was that he was not obstinate and believed in religious tolerance. To please the revolutionaries and the liberals he restored tri-colour as national flag and re-established the National Guard. He tried to win the favour of the Bonapartists by bringing back the remains of Napoleon from St. Helena and placing them among the rulers of Bourbon dynasty. The Royal Palace at Versailles was decorated with the pictures of revolutionary incidents so that the people may see them and get inspiration from them. The roads were also named after Napoleon. To win over the co-operation and sympothy of the Ultra-Royalists and the Republicans, he set-up the government of Bourgeoise of the middle class. He gave various concessions to the capitals and the industrialists. He removed restrictions from the press to ensure individual liberty. He gave up the symbols of old monarchy. He called himself the 'Citizen King'. He tried to bring about a compromise betmeen the ideals of different political groups by following a policy of Golden Means but he failed in the end. In his efforts to please everybody, in fact, he could please nobody.

3. **Home Policy**—There was chaos and disorder in home affairs in France from 1830 to 1840 because of the frequent changes in the ministry during those ten years. A ministry under the leadership of Guizot, however, worked from 1840 to 1848.

(1) Franchise was made more liberal. A person who paid 200 Francs as annual tax was given the right to vote. The measure *increased the number of voters from* 100,000 *to* 200,000.

(2) To ensure individual liberty, restrictions imposed on press and those on *freedom of speech and writing* were waved off.

(3) Special efforts were made to *promote trade, industry, art and craft.* New machines were imported from England and many factories were set-up in the country. Many roads and canals were constructed and railways were laid in France to improve the means of communication. Works of public utility were entrusted to private contractors. In order to encourage free-trade, a trader named Bastia established Free-Trade Association in 1846.

(4) *A Factory Act* was passed in 1841 to better the lot of the working class. Nobody could employ children below 8 years in the factories. Children below 16 years were required to work 12 hours only. Education was made compulsory for children upto 12 years of age. But, unfortunately, this Act could not be properly enforced.

(5) In religious matters, Louis Philippe followed a *policy of religious tolerance and equality.* He entered into a Concordate with the Pope in 1831. Pope was the head of the church but priests were appointed and paid by the government. All religions were equal in the eyes of government. The Jews were treated equally as Christians.

(6) *An Education Act* was passed in 1833 due to the efforts of Guizot. The work of imparting primary education was entrusted to the Church, while schools and colleges remained under the control of the government. It was compulsory for all the educational institutions to impart social and spiritual education. The attendance in schools was not compulsory. As a result of this policy, the number of schools increased a lot but without introducing any reforms in the education.

(7) Some *amendments* were made in the Constitutional Charter of 1814.

(8) Ministerial instability helped Louis Philippe to *establish his arbitrary rule* and, in Guizot, he found a minister of his liking. He had no faith in changes and reforms. He appointed 200 members of the Chamber of Deputies to high posts and began to offer them contracts. Once a member remarked—

' What is the Chamber ? A great bazar where every deputy barters his conscience for a place or an office."

Criticism :—

(1) With the passage of time Louis *Philippe's government lost its constitutional glamour* and he became arbitrary. His policy of Golden Means failed to satisfy any political group. He sacrificed the national interests at the altar of his personal interests and selfishness.

(2) *His administration was bourgeo is in character,* action and purpose. The common people had no hand in administration. Laws were passed in the interests of the capitalists. Nothing was done for the welfare of the people. **Blanc** once said—

"It is the government of the rich, by the rich and for the rich."

(3) *Nothing was done to improve the lot of the agriculturists and working class* The increased use of machine led to unemployment among the labourers. The government passed no law for their betterment It created discontent in them. They set-up secret committees to preach the democratic ideals and the government failed to crush them.

(4) Louis *followed a reactionary and negative policy.* Louis Blanc and Duchess de Berry instigated the people against the policy. He succeeded in suppressing their movement but it created dissatisfaction among the people who began to hate Philippe and his government.

(5) His policy *led to corruption among* the high officials and the government servants. Guizot appointed 200 members of the Chamber of Deputies to high posts and gave them contracts. As a result, the middle class established the domination in the Chamber of Deputies. Once a member criticized Philippe's policy and asked, "*What have they done in seven years* ?" **Lamartine** replied—

"*Nothing, nothing, nothing, France is becoming bored.*"

4. Foreign Policy—Louis Philippe followed a very weak foreign policy. He formulated his foreign policy in harmony with that of England. He failed to follow an independent policy in accordance with the national interests. People of France expected him to adopt an imperialistic and vigorous foreign policy like that of Napoleon to enhance the prestige and glory of France. But he fell short of people's expectation. His policy failed in the end to restore national glory.

(1) People of *Belgium* wanted to instal Duke de Nemurs, the second son of Louis Philippe, on the throne of Belgium but they were greatly opposed by Palmerston the then Foreign Minister of England. As a result, Prince Leopold, the uncle of Queen Victoria, ascended the throne of Belgium. He married the daughter of Louis Philippe, Princess Louis Philippe. It gave a severe blow to the international prestige of France and the people began to hate Philippe.

(2) Louis Philippe's policy towards the *Eastern Question* was also very weak and fickle. Mehemet Ali of Egypt declared war against the Sultan of Turkey and seized some of his territories. Louis had sympathies with Mehmet Ali but England and Russia sided the Sultan of Turkey. Lord Palmerston summoned a Convention in London. England, Prussia, Austria and Russia took part in it but France was not invited to attend it. These countries put pressure on Mehmet Ali and forced him to cede Syria and Crete to the Sultan of

Turkey. Louis took it as a great disgrace. He threatened to wage war against England. Lord Palmerston was not cowed down. He accepted the challenge and started to make preparations for war. At this Louis remained silent and took no action. It shattered the national honour of France and her international glory and prestige was lost.

(3) Liberal and national movements started in *Italy*, Poland and Switzerland. The French sympathised with the cause of the revolutionaries of these countries. On the contrary, Louis established friendly relations with Metternich and supported his reactionary policy to crush these movements. It infuriated the people of France as they were dissatisfied with his policy.

(4) Louis Philippe decided to have matrimonial alliance with *Spain* by marrying his younger son, Duke of Montpensier, to Spanish princess Infanta Maria, the sister of Queen Isabella of Spain. Queen Victoria of England did not favour this alliance because it would have disturbed the balance of power in Europe by enhancing the power of France. Queen Victoria decided to marry the 2nd princess of Spain i.e., Isabella, to Duke of Cadiz. As a result, both the marriages were performed in 1846. England and France were separated and Louis had to turn to Austria This action of Louis antagonised the people of France, proved suicidal for the national honour and Louis fell in the estimate of his own people.

(5) The French had captured *Algeria* during the reign of Charles X. In 1839, the people of Algeria raised a standard of revolt against French domination under the leadership of Abdul Qadir. To suppress this revolt, Louis despatched French army under the Command of General Bugoud. This war continued for a long time and France had to suffer a lot. In the end Abdul Qadir was defeated and arrested. Louis helped 40,000 French men to settle there. In this way, he laid the foundation of Colonial Empire of France. Later on, the French succeeded in seizing Madagascar and many other territories in South Africa.

5. Fall of Louis Philippe—Louis Philippe's policy created discontentment in the people. Not even a single political group was satisfied with his policy of Golden Means. His government was the government for the rich only. His administration was bitterly criticised by all. The liberals and the republicans started movements for reforms. Opposition against Louis increased day by day. To suppress it, Louis followed a reactionary policy and the Prime Minister Guizot fully co-operated with him because he was also reactionary and deadly opposed to reforms. In keeping with his conservative and reactionary policy, Louis declared conferences and committees to be illegal and imposed severe restrictions on press, speech, writing etc. Special Tribunals were set-up to try those who violated laws of the government. Louis also imprisoned thousands of his opponents.

The Liberals and the Republicans arranged for Reform Banquets to gain the support and favour of the people. But Guizot put restrictions on them. Being infuriated by his action, the students, teachers, journalists, labourers, artisans etc. organised a procession and demanded the dismissal of Guizot. Keeping in view the gravity of the situation, Louis dismissed Guizot. Even this step failed to improve the situation which worsened when the mob stormed the palace of Guizot. The police fired at the mob and it caused the death of 23 persons. It added fuel to the fire and infuriated the mob beyond limit. They marched towards the palace of the king in the form of procession carrying the dead bodies on wagons to excite the people. They were raising the slogans, "*Long live the Revolution Down with Louis* !" They surrounded the king's palace. Seeing the situation turning against him, Louis Philippe abdicated the throne in favour of his grandson and fled away to England secretly for the safety of his life. Thus the Revolution of 1848 led to the establishment of the Second Republic in France.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Louis Philippe ascended the throne of France after the Revolution of 1830.

1. **Difficulties of Louis Philippe**—(1) His position was not stable. (2) All the political groups were opposed to him. (3) Catholics were against him. (4) Louis was not popular with the labour and the common people. (5) Czar of Russia and Metternich hated the new order. (6) His foreign policy was weak,

2. **His Policy of Golden mean**—Louis denounced extremism and followed a middle path; To please all the political groups he followed the policy of the golden means.

3. **His Home Policy**—(1) Englarged Franchise; (2) Granted individual liberty; (3) Encouraged trade, industry and arts; (4) Factory act of 1841; (5) Relgious toleration; (6) Education Law of 1833; (7) Amendment of the Charter of 1814; (8) Concessions granted by Guizot to the Chamber of Deputies.

   Criticism—(1) Louis became arbitrary; (2) Domination of the Bourgeoists over government; (3) No reforms for the welfare of agriculturists and working class; (4) Louis Philippe's reactionary policy; (5) Corruption among officials.

4. **Foreign Policy**—Louis followed weak policy and sub-ordinated it to England (1) Failed to put his son on the throne of Belgium for fear of England.

(2) Eastern Question. (3) Did not help the nationalists of Italy, Poland and Switzerland. (4) Problem of Spain. (5) Captured Algeria. (6) He failed miserably in his foreign policy.

5. **Fall of Louis Philippe**—(1) Louis's policy created discontent. (2) He followed the reactionary policy. (3) Demand for the dismissal of Guizot. (4) Liberals stormed the Palace of Guizot. (5) Procession of dead bodies. (6) Louis escaped to England.

The French Revolution of 1848

☞ **Q. 5. Trace the causes and course of the Revolution of 1848 in France. What were its effects on the countries of Europe ? (V. Imp.)**

Or

"The year 1848 was the year of Revolution in Europe." Amplify. (P. U. 1969)

Or

"In the history of Europe, the year 1848 was the year of miracles." Examine the truth of this statement. (D. U. 1964, 65)

Ans—1. Causes of the Revolution of 1848—Another revolution broke up in France in 1848 due to following reasons :—

(1) *Influence of the Middle Class in Administration*—After the Revolution of 1830, Louis Philippe was installed on the throne of France. Lafayette succeeded in bringing about a compromise among various political groups and establishing constitutional monarchy but soon it changed into bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe. Qualifications for voting were so strict that there were only 100. 00 voters in France. They were all rich people of middle class. They had majority in the Chamber of Deputies. So, Louis compromised and made a pact with them to enlist their support. As a result, the bourgeois established their domination over the administration and the government passed laws in their interest only. The common people had no say in the affairs of the government and nothing was done for the improvement of their lot. Louis Philippe's policy did not benefit the agriculturists, labourers and artisans in any way. They were all dissatisfied with his policy. It created discontent among them and excited revolutionary tendencies and paved the way for the Revolution of 1848. To quote **Hearnshaw**—

> *"His sole zealous supporters were comparatively small and practically weak community of the well-to-do middle class."*

(2) *Political Parties in France*—There were many political parties in France. By following the middle path and adopting the policy of Golden Means, Louis tried to please and gain support of all the parties but had failed miserably in his designs. On the other hand, the political parties lacked unity of purpose and action. They were selfish and each tried to achieve its own objectives. The Ultra-royalists considered Louis Philippe as a usurper and were eager to instal Henry V, the grandson of Charles X, on the throne. The Republicans were not satisfied with the conservative policy of Louis Philippe and wished to set up a Republic in France. The Bonapartists cherished the dream of making Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, the emperor of

France. In order to grind their own axe, all the parties tried to overthrow Louis Philippe. Their efforts excited revolutionary feelings among the people.

(3) *Weak Policy of Louis Philippe*—Louis Philippe's home and foreign policies proved an utter failure. He tried to win the support of bourgeois by his moderate home-policy. Thus, he alienated the sympathies and favour of the common people who opposed him tooth and nail. He did not follow a vigorous foreign policy which was, instead, very weak and irresolute. He failed to formulate his foreign policy according to national interests. He could not adopt an inpependent policy in international affairs. He had to bow before Palmerston over Eastern Question and the Problem of Belgium. It proved fatal for the honour and glory of France in international sphere. He rendered no help to the revolutionaries of Italy, Poland and Switzerland but co-operated with reactionary Metternich to suppress liberal movements. He became unpopular with the people and they began to hate him. Compared with the glories of Napoleon, Louis Philippe's monarchy was dull and people denounced it. The failure of his foreign policy discredited him in the eyes of the people. In short, he antagonised the people by his home and foreign policy.

(4) *Growth of Socialism*—Progress in industry gave rise to Socialism which was one of the chief causes of the Revolution. The Industrial Revolution and the factory system threw many labourers and artisans out of employment. Even those who worked in factories failed to get a living wage. So, their economic condition was miserable and they led a wretched life. The deteriorating conditions of the labourers gave birth to socialistic ideals. There ensued a class struggle between the capitalists and the workers. Louis Philippe's bourgeois government joined hands with the capitalists to suppress them. As a result, the patriots and the Socialists supported the labourers and propagated the ideals of Socialism to improve their lot.

Saint Simon and Louis Blanc were the note-worthy Socialists of that time. They fanned the feelings and sentiments of the masses and the workers. They brought home to them how the fruits of their hard labour were enjoyed by the capitalists. They believed in the nationalisation of industry. The organization of the factories should be based on the principle of "*Labour according to capacity and reward according to service.*" Louis Blanc did remarkable work in preaching Socialism. He wanted to overthrow the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe and reorganize the state on the basis of democratic principles. He was of the view that every individual had the right to work and that it was the duty of the state to provide job to every citizen. He believed that the government should set-up factories and hand them over to the workers and the profit earned should be distributed equally among the labourers. To quote **Louis Blanc**—

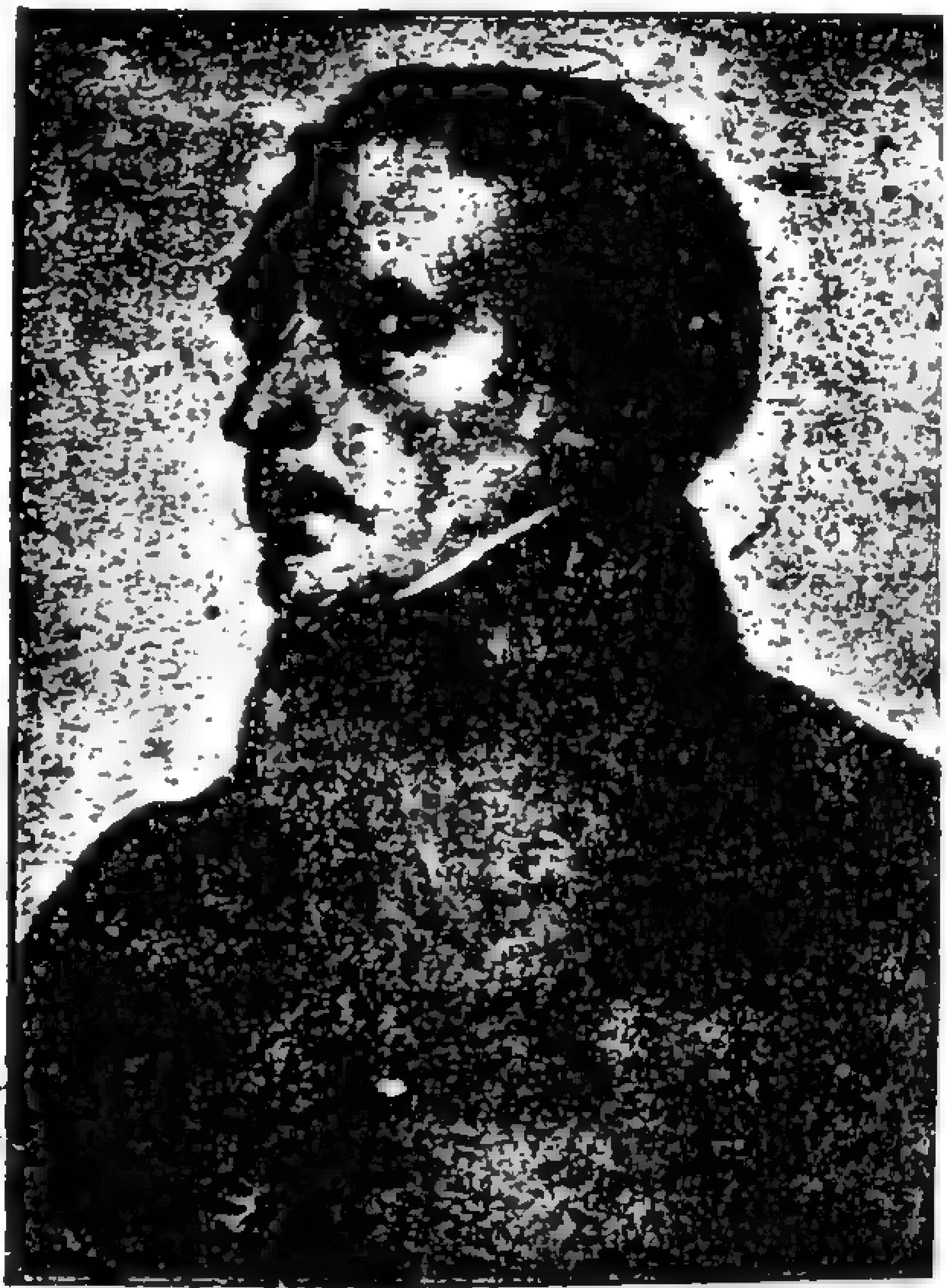
> "*To the able-bodied citizens, the state owes work, to the aged and infirm, it owes aid and protection. This result cannot be obtained except*

through democratic power. A democratic power is that which has th sovereignty of the people for its principle, universal suff.age for its origi and for its goal, the realization of the formula ; Liberty, Equality an Fraternity.

Thus, by preaching Socialism, these leaders inspired the peopl to eradicate the evils of administration and establish a Republic. Thei Socialist ideals paved the way for the Revolution of 1848.

(5) *Immediate Cause*—Louis Philippe remained in power witl the support of the rich people of the middle class who maintained thei majority in the Chamber of Deputies by means of corruption and bribery. To deprive them of their majority, the Socialists started movement for reforms in the parliamentary system. They wanted a change in the organisation of the Chamber of Deputies and enlargement of enfranchise by liberalising the voting qualifications. Louis Philippe and his Prime Minister Guizot were both conservative and reactionary. They rejected their demands and followed a reactionary policy. They imposed restrictions on press, speech and writing. They put many Socialists and reformers behind the bars and set up a special tribunal to try those who violated the laws of the land. Their policy of suppression and repression sowed the seeds of the Revolution of 1848.

Lou BLA



GUIZOT

Guizot

2. Events of The Revolution—To win the support and co-operation of the people, the Socialists organized Reform Banquets all over the country. They excited the masses to clamour for reforms. Louis Philippe and Guizot expressed their displeasure at them, criticized them, and opposed them vehemently. A 'Moon-tar Banquet, was fixed on 22nd February, 1848 in Paris but the government banned it. On the appointed day, the students, teachers, workers and artisans etc. took out a procession and shouted for the demand of the resignation of Guizot. The king was forced to acceed to their demand whereby he dismissed Guizot.

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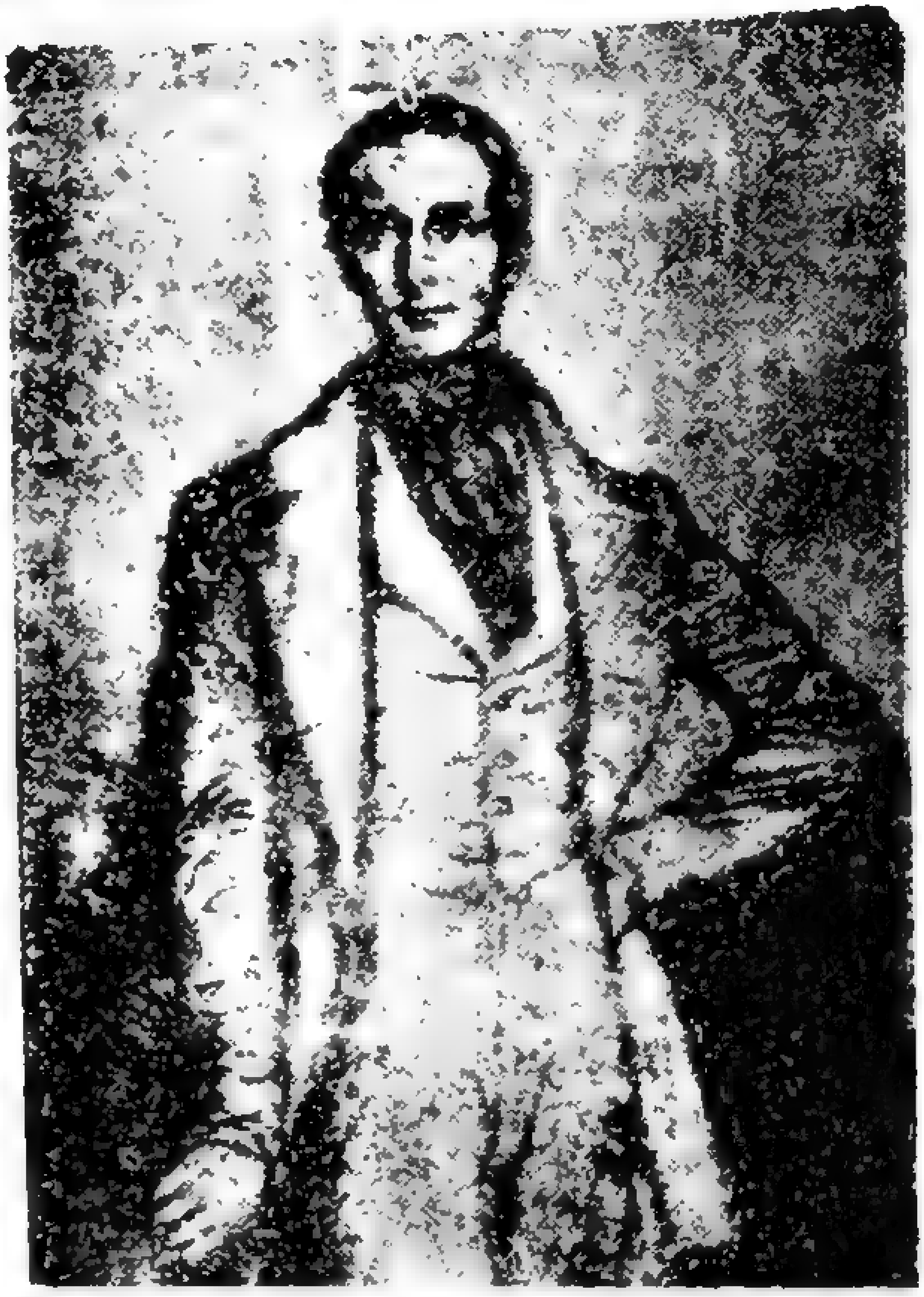
lanc

Being puffed up by their success, the mob besieged the palace f Guizot. To control the situation, the police opened fire and killed 8 persons. It excited the ob and they marched owards the king's palace king the dead bodies ith them in the wagons. hey were shouting :

"Long live the Re-orm ! Long Live the Repu-lic."

The mob surrounded he king's palace. Louis hilippe ordered the National Guard to fire at the mob nd restore order. But they efused to carry out the order f the king and joined the The revolutionaries shouted— mob.

"Louis Philippe massacres us as did Charles X. Let him go to join Charles X."



Lamartine

Under these adverse circumstances, Louis fled away to England under the assumed name of Smith. Before leaving for England, he appointed his grandson as his successor. He died in England after 2 years.

The Socialists and the Republicans set up a provisional government under the leadership of Lamartine. It proclaimed the Second Republic in France instead of absolute monarchy.

3. Effects of the Revolution of 1848—The Revolution of 1848 was an event of far-reaching consequences. There was not only a change in the government of France but there were wide repercussions in the Austrian Empire, Italy and Germany. It paved the way for revolutionary movements in various countries of the continent and people rose against the old regime.

(1) *Effects on Austria* There was a great political unrest in Austria and the Revolution of 1848 added fuel to the fire and the people raised a standard of revolt against the autocratic rule and reactionary policy of Metternich who held the reins of the administration in his hands. Liberal leaders and patriots like Kossuth and Dick did a yeoman's service in organising the people and exciting them against

the arbitrary rule. To crush these revolts, Metternich imposed res trictions on press, freedom of speech and on writing and banne meetings and processions. On March 12, 1848, a few teachers c the Vienna University placed a Charter of demands before the king On the next day, the students, teachers, labourers, artisans etc. too out a procession and marched towards the palace of Metternich On the way, they raised the slogan "Down with Metternich". Th army fired shots at them. This excited the mob still more and the stormed the palace of Metternich. This incident alarmed an unnerved Metternich. He fled away and took shelter in Englan with the Duke of Wellington. His flight was hailed as a great even in Europe. It was considered as the greatest event in Europe afte the Battle of Waterloo. The forces of revolution became stronge everywhere. Ferdinand I, the Emperor of Austria, was terrified He yielded before the upsurge of liberalism and promised to fulf the demands of the revolutionaries and gave them some concessions Accordingly, the set-up a liberal ministry and abolished restrictions impsed on the press and granted freedom of speech and writing. Bu the Liberals were not satisfied and they demanded universal manhoo suffrage because they wanted to set up a Republic in Austria. King wa so much over-awed that he slipped away from Austria. Under thes circumstances, a Constitutent Assembly was summooed to draft the nev Constitution. The Assembly met on 22nd July, 1848. A resolutio for the establishment of Republic was tabled but it was opposed b the moderate royalists and could not be passed. As a result of rif among the members, Ferdinand I was invited to come back and to th head of the constitutional government in Austria.

King's return led to revolts in Hungary, Italy and Bohemia The revolutionaries were so infuriated that they killed the War-Ministe of Austria. Ferdinand I had no other alternative but to leave hi country again. But before leaving Austria, he ordered his troop to suppress the revolution. These troops were still loyal to the king They obeyed his orders and crushed the revolutionaries. Ferdinan came back again to his capital. The defeat of the rebels helped hir to follow reactionary policy again. The only redeeming feature of th Revolution was that it relieved the people of the tyrannies and crue rule of Metternich.

(2) *Effects on Hungary*—At the time of the Revolution of 184 Hungary was ruled by Austria. The Liberals in Hungary gc inspiration from this Revolution and launched movement agains the Austrian rule under the leadership of Kossuth. He was a tru liberal and sowed the seeds of discontent among the people. O 3rd March, 1848 he made a fiery speech. He said :—

'The suffocating vapour of a heavy curse hangs over us, an out of charnel house of the Cabinet of Vienna, pestilential wind sweep by, benumbing our sense and exercising deadening effect on ou national spirit. The future of Hungary can never be secured while i other provinces there exists a system of government directly opposed t

ontitutional principle. It is our task to establish a happier future on the brotherhood of all the Austrian races, and to substitute for the union enforced by bayonets, the enduring bond of a free constitution."

The copies of his speech were distributed in Hungary. His speech further fired the passions of the people. Kossuth demanded a liberal constitution for Hungary. Ferdinand I was frightened and was ready to give some concessions to the people of Hungary. The government passed some laws which are known as 'March Laws.' According to these laws, a separate parliamentary government was set up in Hungary. Landlordism, feudalism, serfdom and special privileges of the nobles were abolished. Liberty of press was assured. Freedom of speech and writing was granted to all. Religious freedom was proclaimed. All the democratic institutions were recognised.

The Magyars gained much by these reforms and their influence in Hungary increased at the cost of other races. The Croatians, Romanians and Serbs were ignored and their interests were not safeguarded This led to a strife among various races inhabitating Hungary. The races other than the Magyars declared a republic in Hungary under the presidentship of Kossuth. The Austrian army snubbed this movement with the help of Russian troops. The revolutionaries could not face the powerful armies of these two countries and failed miserably in the end. Kossuth also had to slip away to England to save his life. Many atrocities were inflicted upon the rebels. The failure of the revolution resulted in the severe domination of Austria over Hungary.

(3) *Effects on Bohemia*—The flames of the revolution also spread in Bohemia. There was great political discontentment among the Czechs. They took advantage of the revolt in Vienna and placed their demand of Constitutional government before the king. The king was already terrified and he accepted their demand. But the Germans in Bohemia opposed them because they could not tolerate Czech domination over them. To solve this intricate problem, a Congress was summoned at Prague, the capital of Bohemia. The representatives of the Czechs, Croatians, Poles, Moravians participated in it. While the Congress was in session a few over-enthusiasts of Bohemia stormed the palace of Imperial General of Austria. The Austrian army suppressed the revolutionaries ruthlessly. Thousands of them were put to death and imprisoned. In this way, the arbitrary rule of Austria revived in Bohemia.

(4) *Effects on Germany and Prussia*—The Revolution of 1848 had its repercussions in Germany and Prussia also. Drawing inspiration from this Revolution, the people of smaller states of Germany also started movement to uproot despotic rule, to set-up constitutional government and unify all the German states under a strong central government. Under the force of circumstances, many princes of these states yielded to the revolutionaries, accepted their demands

and followed a liberal policy. But the people of Prussia, Hanover, Bavaria, Saxony etc. failed to achieve their objective.

The revolt in Vienna, flight and downfall of Metternich heartened the people of Berlin and consequently riots broke out there. The people organised a huge procession and besieged the royal palace. The king ordered his troops to open fire. In this way, 200 persons were killed. This excited the mob and the movement became violent. Ultimately, the king Frederick William had to relent and he promised to set-up a constitutional government in Prussia.

The victory of the revolutionaries encouraged the liberals of other states. National movements were launched by the people of Hanover, Saxony and Bavaria and, in the end, they succeeded in establishing liberal governments in their states. In this way, liberalism triumphed everywhere.

The nationalists of the various German states decided to convene a National Assembly to draft a new Federal Constitution for a unified Germany. The session of the National Assembly (German Diet) was held at Frankfurt in May, 1848. It was decided by the Diet that a parliamentary government should be set-up in unified Germany under the leadership of Frederick William of Prussia. But Fredrick rejected the proposal and refused to accept the crown for many reasans :—

(1) He thought it below his dignity to accept the crown at the hands of the revolutionaries.

(2) He did not like to offend Austria and take the risk of war with her.

(3) Frederick had cherished the dream of setting up his arbitrary rule.

The Frankfurt Diet failed in the end and it was dissolved. Mob violence broke out in many German states and, there, princes were deposed. The Prussian troops suppressed the revolts and restored the princes to their states. There was a popular rising in Prussia also. It was also crushed and Frederick dissolved the Prussian Diet and established his autocratic rule there.

(5) *Effects on Italy*—The tide of the Revolution of 1848 affected Italy also and it infused new life and spirit among the Italians. Italy had been parcelled out into a number of states and the Austrian influence in them was found in abundance Popular movements were launched first of all in Sicily, Naples and then in Sardinia, Tuscany and the Papal States. The rulers of these states had to bow before the nationalists and grant constitutional government to them.

Metternich had succeeded in suppressing all revolutionary movements in Italy from 1815 to 1848. But the news of his fall and flight created a new hope among the Italian patriots. They girded up their lions to regain their independence. The revolutionaries of Milan put up a fierce opposition to the Austrian troops for 5 days and defeated them. The Liberals of Lombardy also chased away the Austrian troops. The princes of Parma and Modena were frightened and they fled away. The Austrian army was also routed in Venice. The success of the popular revolts shattered the Austrian domination in Italy.

Now the patriotic leaders like Cavour, Mazzini and Garibaldi tried to unify all states and set-up a strong central government in Italy. Republics were set-up in Rome and Tuscany due to the efforts of Mazzine. The Sardinian king, Charles Albert, joined the revolutionaries and declared war on Austria. Pope and the rulers of Tuscany of Naples promised to support him because they could not control the rising tide of nationalism. But, later on, these rulers withdrew their support and Charles Albert was left alone. He was defeated badly in the Battles of of Custoza and Novara. He stopped fighting and abdicated the throne in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel who entered into a treaty with Austria. The defeat of Albert gave a severe blow to the nationalism in Italy. Austria seized Lombardy. The Rebublic in Tuscany came to an end. Despotic rule was also set-up in Naples and Sicily. Thus the national movement failed in Italy and led to the revival of the Austrian domination there.

There were many reasons of the failure of the national movement in Italy :—

(1) The nationalists of Italy lacked unity. They failed to conduct their movement for the unification of Italy under one leader.

(2) The patriots had different aims. One group wanted to establish constitutional government under Charles. The 2nd group favoured a Republic in Italy while the third party wanted the Pope to become the Emperor of Italy.

3. The efforts of the nationalists were not directed in the right direction.

(4) The revolutionaries failed to seek the co-operation of the people and excited them for the right cause.

(5) They lacked the guidance of an efficient leader who could direct their energies in the proper channel.

(6) The revolutionaries had antagonized the Catholics of Europe by depriving the Pope of his kingdom and establishing a Republic there. To quote **Grant and Temperly**—

> *"So ended in entire failure the first attempt of Italy to win unity and liberty. What enthusiasm of a few great leaders could do, had been nobly done. But discipline and unity in leadership and in organisation had been notably and fatally absent. Italy, moreover, had found no help from any outside power."*

Though the National Movement failed and he Italians could not e themselves from the yoke of Austria, yet it widened their outlook d they learnt how to struggle for their indepedence.

(6) **Effects on Denmark and Holland**—The Revolution of 1848 oved beneficial for Denmark and Holland. It inspired the Dutch launch a movement for constitutional gernment. The King of olland, William II, failed to crush this ovement. He granted onstitutional government and freedom of ess and speech. The uler of Denmark also fulfilled the demand of the people for popular overnment.

(7) **Effects on Switzerland**—Republic form of government prevailed in Switzerland but the real power as in the hands of the rich people of the middle class or bourgeos. The masses had no say in the administration. The Catholics had lso set-up their reactionary party. The patriots in Switzerland start movement against the undue influence of the rich and the reactiona Catholics and succeeded in establishing popular government there.

(8) **Effects on England**—The workers nd artisans in England were deeply influenced by the Revolution o848. The Chartist Movement gained impetus. They summoned a cerence, got the signatures of about 5 lac persons and planned to orgae a grand procession in London. On the other hand, the governme posted troops in lanes and streets. Under this situation, he procession was cancelled but a Charter of demands was pented in the House of Commons. On verification it was found t most of the signatures were forged. It proved fatal for the moent But, later on, the government itself accepted all the demands the Charter.

4. Results of Revolution—

(1) The Revolution of 1848 *failed tchieve its aims* and objectives because nationalism and liberalism dot succeed in the face of reaction, and national and liberal movem were crushed ruthlessly. It has been rightly remarked the victory s won by autocracy and forces of reaction.

(2) The *permanent results of this ution were very few.* Old regime was set-up almost everywhere. e liberal movements met with little success in Austria, Hun Italy, Bohemia etc. and autocratic rule was again restored in the ates. To quote **Hazen**—

> *"The permanent results of the mid-cy uprising of central Europe were very slight. Everywhere the old goents slipped back into the old grooves and resumed the old traditio*

According to **Hearnshaw**—

> *"If the Italian failure was tragic, trman failure was ridiculous."*

(3) *Only Sardinia and Russia proby the Revolution.* Charles Albert, the ruler of Sardinia, set up a amentary government in his

country. Similar type of government was established in Prussia though it was not as literal as that of Sardinia.

(4) The Revolution of 1848 was not an utter failure. It *gave a severe blow to the arbitrary rule* and forces of reaction. It shook the roots of autocracy and encouraged democratic tendencies and spirit. As a matter of fact, this heralded the end of the Metternich Era in Europe.

(5) It created *bad blood between Prussia and Austria* and there ensued a struggle between the two for supremacy in Germany.

(6) It *prompted liberalism and nationalism* and inspired the people of Europe to launch national movements in Europe. It paved the way for the unification of Germany and Italy.

5. Causes of the Failure of the Revolution—The following were the causes of the failure of the Revolution of 1848 :—

(1) **Lack of Unity**—The revolutionaries of different states lacked unity. There was no uniformity in their aims and objectives. There was a rift between the Socialists and the Republicans in France. They could not agree whether the Revolution should be social or political in nature. Similiar conditions prevailed in Italy and Germany. The revolutionaries in Germany could not decide whether they should establish Monarchy or Republic in Germany. One group in Italy favoured the establishment of Republic while other supported the Pope. The principles and the programme of the Liberals in different countries were different. They lacked unity and mutual contact.

(2) **Racial Differences**—The people of different races under the same king suspected one another. So, they could neither co-operate nor stay united. This problem was most critical in Austria. The Czechs and Germans of Bohemia were torn by mutual jealousies. There were serious differences and rift among the Magyars, Croatians, Rumanians and Serbs of Italy and they pulled in different directions. The Emperor of Austria exploited their differences and crushed the Revolution.

(3) **Lack of co-operation of the People**—The revolutionaries failed to seek the co-operation of the masses. Liberalism was not broadbased. It was confined to the middle class and intellectuals but the masses were still hostile to violent changes. Its influence was limited to big cities only and the tide of the revolution did not reach the village and the peasants

(4) **Lack of Leadership**—The revolutionaries lacked able, tactful efficient and competent leadership. The leaders pulled in different directions and lacked sense of reality and adopted uncompromising attitude. Thus, it became difficult to conduct the Revolution according to any definite and fixed programme. Hence, the kings of different states succeeded in crushing it.

(5) **Co-operation among Rulers**—The rulers of different states possessed the spirit of co-operation and helped one another to crush the revolutionary movements wherever they raised their heads. To suppress liberalism in Italy, Germany and Hungary, the Austrian King despatched his troops to these countries. The King of France helped the Pope who destroyed the Republic of Rome. The help rendered by the Czar of Russia to Austria sealed the fate of Revolution in Hungary.

(6) **Vast Resources of the kings**—The means and resources of the kings were very extensive. The army was the basis of their strength. Various rulers suppressed the movements with the help of their troops. Their reactionary policy succeeded in the end and they were successful in maintaining their despotic rules on the basis of their military power. On the contrary, the resources of the revolutionaries were limited and they could not face their rulers.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Revolution of 1848—

1. **Reasons**—(1) Influence of middle class in administration. (2) Political Parties in France. (3) Weak policy of Louis Philippe. (4) Growth of Socialism. (5) Immediate Cause.
2. **Events**—Organisation of Reform Banquets by the liberals; Government banned it. Revolutionaries demanded the dismissal of Guizot. The king dismissed him. The mob stormed his palace, firing by the police men. procession of dead bodies. Louis Philippe fled away, establishment of Second Republic in France.
3. **Effects of the Revolution**—The Revolution of 1848 deeply influenced Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Germany, Prussia, Italy, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland and England etc.
4. **Results**—(1) It was not a complete success. (2) Permanent results were very slight. (3) Sardinia and Prussia benefitted by it. (4) It gave a blow to autocracy and forces of reaction. (5) Enmity between Austria and Prussia. (6) It encouraged nationalism and liberalism.
5. **Causes of its Failure**—(1) Lack of unity among the revolutionaries. (2) Racial differences. (3) Failure to get the co-operation of the people. (5) Lack of efficient leadership. (5) Co-operation among rulers. (6) Extensive Resources of the kings.

Comparison between the Revolution (1830 and 1848)

Q. 6. Give a brief account of the points of comparison and difference between the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 with regard to their causes, nature and results.

Ans. 1. Similarities—The Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 had the following similarities :—

(1) The *discontentment among the people* gave rise to both the Revolutions.

(2) Both the Revolutions *aimed at the abolition of monarchy,* arbitrary and despotic rule in Europe.

(3) They have special significance not only in the History of France but of Europe also. They deeply influenced France. At the same time, they had *tremendous effects* on Germany, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, England, Holland and Switzerland etc.

(4) They *failed to achieve their aims.* The Revolution of 1830 succeeded in Belgium only. The people of Belgium were successful in shaking the yoke of Holland and gaining their independence, and it was recognized by the big powers of Europe. The Revolution of 1848 benefited only Sardinia and Prussia. Its success in these countries depended on their rulers and not on the people.

(5) Though the Revolutions failed yet they proved that *nationalism cannot be curbed* for a long time. The rulers became conscious about the feelings of the establishment of constitutional government.

(6) Both the Revolutions failed because of the *lack of unity*, resources and absence of able and competent leadership.

Prof. Hayes has drawn out the comparison between the two Revolutions in these words—

"*The February Revolution of* 1848 *was not basically different from the July Revolution of* 1830. *Both the Revolutions were chiefly Prussian affairs, both were essentially political and incidentally social, both were primarily liberal. One, it is true, set up a monarch, with a restricted franchise, while the other established a republic, with universal mankind suffrage. But both recognized the principle of popular sovereignty, both employed the tricolour and the Marseillaise and much more significant, both eventuated in the triumph of property owners and adoption of politics which reflected the wishes of property owners.*"

2. **Dissimilarities**—(1) The Revolution of 1830 was a middle class revolution. It was sponsored by the people belonging to the middle class. Charles X was the champion of Feudalism and rights of the privileged class. He adopted such a policy and passed such laws which were opposed to the concepts of the Revolution and which hit the Middle Class people very hard. To quote **Prof. Hayes**—

"*The principles he had cherished were : union of the altar and throne, revival of the institution of old regime, political, religious, social and intellectual detestation of revolutionary doctrines.*"

The middle class people assumed the leadership of the Revolution of 1830 because they were deadly opposed to the policy of Charles X. To quote **Charles X**—

"*It is only Lafayette and I who have not changed since* 1789."

On the contrary, the *Revolution of* 1848 *was essentially a Socialist* revolution. It was engineered by the Socialists and the Republicans who were hostile to the bourgeois government of Louis Philippe. The condition of workers and artisans was very miserable. The government did nothing to improve their lot. The Socialists like St. Simon and Louis Blanc exploited the situation. They excited the working class and created a stir among them. They launched a violent movement demanding social and political reforms. Louis Philippe refused to accede to their demand. This led to the Revolution of 1848.

(2) The Revolution of 1830 broke out because of the *reactionary policy of Charles X*. The revolutionaries wanted to root out the arbitrary and despotic rule and establish constitutional government in its place. After the flight of Charles X, the revolutionaries did not put an end to monarchy but they installed Louis Philippe on the throne of France because he promised to set-up a constitutional monarchy. The revolutionaries were not in favour of a Republic. The Revolution of 1830 was a revolt against absolutism. But at the out-break of the Revolution of 1848, there was not only *political but also social unrest* in France and the revolutionaries wanted to smash the foundation of monarchy and establish a Republic instead.

(3) During the *Revolution of* 1830 *great stress was laid on constitutional reforms but the Revolution of* 1848 *was natianal in character* because it emphasized nationalism. In 1830 the, movement in Belgium was based on the principle of nationalism and the people aspired for complete independence but, in the rest of the countries, the revolutionaries favoured the establishment of popular governments. On the other hand, the Revolution of 1848 was national in character and the Liberals of Italy, Germany, Austria, Hungary etc, were inspired with the spirit of nationalism and wanted to eradicate monarchy. To quote **Grant and Temperley**—

> *"The autocratic powers by trying to repress and not to moderate or assimilate the expensive force of new ideas produced the explosion of* 1848."

(4) The Revolution of 1830 took place on account of the *pro-Catholic policy of Charles X*. During his reign, Catholics and priests exercised great influence in political matters. On the other hand, the Revolution of 1848 was caused by the *anti-Catholic policy of Guizot*. He started an anti-clerical university at Paris. It created discontentment among the Catholics who began to oppose him.

(5) *Charles X's uncompromising nature paved the way to the Revolution of* 1830, *while Louis Philippe's unpopularity gave birth to the Revolution of* 1848. The number of his supporters was very slight. Guizot's action and policy antagonized the people who became hostile to Philippe. To quote **Hearnshaw**—

> *"No one had wanted him, few respected him, only a small middle class minority continued to support him."*

(6) The *immediate cause of both the revolutions was different*. The 1830 revolution started when Charles X issued four special ordinances while the revolution of 1848 took place when the government banned the Reform Banquet of February 22 and opened fire on the revolutionaries.

(7) *The Revolution of* 1830 *was bloodless*, and it did not cause any upheaval in the social order. On the contrary, the *Revolution of* 1848 *was a bloody* revolution and thousands of persons were killed therein.

(8) In 1830, a *promise* was made to broadbase the franchise but this promise was never fulfilled. In 1848, the franchise was actually enlarged.

(9) The Revolution of 1830 led to the establishment of *Constitutional monarchy* in France but a Republic was set up after the Revolution of 1848. To quote **Hayes**—

"*The Revolution of* 1848 *was a marked progress over the July Revolution of* 1830. *The Revolution of* 1848 *as compared with* 1830 *was republican in spirit and national in character as opposed to monarchical and democratic Revolution of* 1830."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Comparison between the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848

1. **Similarities**—(1) Both were caused by the discontent among the people. (2) Both aimed at the abolition of autocracy. (3) Both failed in their aims. (4) Both encouraged nationalism. (5) Both lacked unity and competent leadership.

2. **Dissimilarities**—(1) The Revolution of 1830 was a middle class phenomenon but that of 1848 was a socialist revolution. (2) The Revolution of 1830 took place due to the arbitrary rule of Charles X but that of 1848 started on account of political and social unrest. (3) The first emphasized the constitutional monarchy but the second was national in character. (4) Pro-Catholic policy of Charles X and anti-clerical policy of Guizot. (5) Charles X was uncompromising while Louis Philippe was unpopular. (6) Difference in immediate cause. (7) The first was bloodless while the second one was bloody. (8) Franchise was not enlarged in 1830 but in 1848 it was enlarged. (9) Constitutional monarchy was established in 1830 but a Republic was set-up in 1848.

The Second French Republic 1848-52

Q. 7. Give a brief account of the Second Republic in France.

Or

What do you know about the chief events in France from 1848 to 1852.

Or

Throw light on the new constitution given to France by Louis Napoleon in 1852 ?

Or

"The name of Bonaparte was a programme in itself." Explain how it helped Louis Napoleon to rise to power ?

Ans.—After the Revolution of 1848, Lamartine proclaimed a Republic in France on 24th February, 1848 from Hotel de Ville. To quote him—

"Royalty is abolished, the Republic is proclaimed, the people will exercise their political rights."

On the other hand, the Socialists declared a Socialist Government based on democratic principles. Two types of governments could not work at a time. Soon the two groups struck a compromise and settled to set up a provisional government. After that, Constituent Assembly was established on the basis of manhood suffrage to formulate new Constitution for France An Interim Government was also set up. The Constituent Assembly drafted a new constitution for Republican France. Accordingly, the election of the members of the Chamber of Deputies and the President were held. Napoleon III was elected as the President. The new constitution was enforced in November, 1848. The Republic came to an end in 1852 when Napoleon III declared himself an Emperor of France. The four year's history of Republic witnessed a severe struggle between the Republicans and the Socialists for the acquisition of power. It was full of great upheaval and turmoil. To quote **Hazen**—

"The History of the Republic was to be a very troubled one."

I. Provisional Government—The Interim Government was composed of two opposed elements. The Republicans had majority in it and their leader was Lamartine. They favoured a Republican Government in France. The leader of the second group was Louis Blanc who was a strong champion of the abolition of monarchy like the Republicans. He wanted to go a step further and re-construct society on a new social pattern. Louis Blanc was of the opinion that every person should have the right to employment. To quote **Hazen**—

"What he most desired was not a political change, but a thorough-going reconstruction of society in the interest of the largest and weakest class i.e., the poor, the wage-earners."

The mutual struggle between these two ideas and the internal dissensions between the two groups weakened the Interim Government. Lamartine headed this government and Louis Blanc was the Minister of Public Works.

The efforts on the part of Blanc led to the passage of a bill according to which it became the first and foremost duty and responsibility of the government to provide job for the labourers and to remove unemployment from the country. To achieve this aim, the Government opened national workshops. A labourer in this workshop got two Francs a day. The carpenters, blacksmiths, masons and cobblers etc. all began to work together in the workshops. The aim of this new order was not to increase production but to provide work to the unemployed labourers. As a result, the number of labourers increased to one lac. The condition of the working class deteriorated. A Commission under the chairmanship of Blanc was set up to devise ways to improve the lot of the workers and artisans. This Commission was only to discuss the matters and make recommendations. It had no right to give a practical shape to its decisions. To quote **Hazen**—

> *"The Commission was a mere debating society, a body to investigate economic questions and report to the government. It had no power of action or of putting its opinion into execution."*

Some writers are of the view that this plan was formulated only to defame Blanc.

A lot of money was wasted in the execution of this plan which failed miserably for want of funds. Louis Blanc became unpopular. According to **Hazen**—

> *"The workshops were excellent material for social agitations. This experiment wasted the noble money and led to a street war of the most appaling kind."*

The failure of this plan resulted in the decline of the influence and popularity of Blanc and Lamartine and gave a severe blow to the power of the Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies.

2. **The National Assembly**--The Interim Government made arrangements for the election of the National Assembly on the basis of manhood suffrage. The elections were held on 23rd April, 1848. The Republicans gained overwhelming majority and the influence of the Socialists was reduced to nothing. A Committee was set-up to consider the problems of the labourers. According to the decisions of this committee, the national workshops were closed. The labourers were ordered either to join the army or to go to the country to work on various projects of Public Works. The workmen refused to abide by this order, so many of them were exiled.

A great discontentment spread among the workmen who were thrown out of employment. They launched a violent movement to uproot the government. They raised barricades and fortified their position in the streets of Paris. General Cavaignac was given dictatorial power to put down this revolt with an iron hand. A severe fight continued constanly for four days from 23rd June to 26th June, 1848. Ultimately, the workmen had to surrender. Thousands of workmen were killed in this civil war. Their leaders were shot dead. A large number of labourers were imprisoned. Thousands were frightened who fled away to save their lives. Thus, this Socialist agitation was suppressed forcibly. The civil war proved suicidal to the influence of the Socialists and it weakened the republic to a great extent. To quote **Hazen**—

> *"The Republic was inmeasurably weakened by this dreadful fratricide strife. It was grovely wounded in the house of its friends."*

3. **Framing the New Constitution**—After crushing the revolt, the National Assembly set out to the task of drafting a new constitution for the Second Republic in France. During the period between

the end of the civil war and the enforcement of the new constitution, the reins of the government remained in the hands of Cavaignac. The New Constitution was enforced on November 14, 1848. It established a Republic in France. Accordingly, the legislature was to consist of a single chamber composed of 750 members on the basis of universal manhood suffrage for a period of three years. The President was to be elected directly by the people for 4 years. He was not eligible for re-election. The elections took place according to the New Constitution and the Royalists gained majority. It was really surprising that a Republic was set up in France when the influence of the Republicans was very slight.

The election of the President was held on 19th December 1848. There were three persons in the field for this post. (1) Lendre Rolland (2) General Cavaignac and (3) Louis Napoleon. Louis Napoleon won the election. He was a man of ordinary intellect. However, the word Napoleon in his name was his main support. This word worked like a magic. To quote **Hazen**—

"*His name was his only capital but it was sufficient. The word Napoleon was seen to be a marvellous vote-winner.*"

His supporters used to propagate that "the name of Napoleon is a programme in itself." They used to say that Louis Napoleon, a descendant of the Great Napoleon Bonaparte will enhance the prestige, power and glory of France like him because victory is inherent in the very word 'Napoleon'.

The effect of the name Napoleon is clear from the words of a peasant at the time of voting—

"*How should I not vote for this gentleman, whose nose was frozen at Moscow ?*"

4. **Louis Napoleon as President**—Louis Napoleon won the election of the President because of the word Napoleon tagged behind his name. He got 54 lac votes while his two adversaries got 20 lac votes. He assumed the office of the President on 20th September, 1848 and took oath to protect the Republic. He himself said—

"*My duty is clear. I will fufil it as a man of honour. I shall regard as enemies of the country all those who endeavour to change by illegal means that which France has established*".

He abided by this oath for three years. Then he began to enhance his powers and popularity. He dismissed some old ministers and appointed new ones in their places. Many restrictions were imposed on the press. The Republican profressors were removed from the universities. To enlist the support of the workmen, he made a plan of voluntary old age insurance. To appease the Roman Catholics he despatched French army to Rome which helped to restore Pope. So, under the garb of reforms and the oath, he began to make efforts to assume the sovereign power and become an autocrat.

In 1850, the Assembly passed a new electoral law that a voter can vote only if he had lived for 3 years in an electoral district. It defranchised about 30 lac workmen. Louis Napoleon opposed it tooth and nail. He wanted to seek a re-election. His supporters wanted that he should be elected for the 2nd term also. Louis Napoleon asked the Assemby to revise the Constitution. The Assembly, refused to oblige him and there started a tussle between the President and the Assembly. His supporters tabled a resolution that Louis Napoleon should be re-elected. Out of 716 members of the Assemby 446 voted in his favour while 270 opposed the move. The resolution could not be passed because it was essential that 75% of the members should vote for it. When he failed in his attempt, he took recourse to use of force. On 2nd December, 1851 he dissolved the National Assembly and made a declaration for the new elections. So on 2nd December, 1851, the anniversary of the Battle of Austerlitz, he staged a *coup d' etat* and arrested his opponents while they were still lying in beds with the help of his troops. He also despatched troops to take hold of the Assembly hall. He had the posters pasted on the walls and made it clear to the people that he wanted to establish the same order as Napoleon Bonaparte did while he was the First Consul of France. In the posters, he declared—

"This system created by the First Consul at the beginning of the century, has already given to France repose and prosperity; it will guarantee them to her again."

A violent revolt broke out on 3rd December, 1851. Boulevards massacre took place on 4th December and it took toll of 150 persons. The revolt in Paris was also crushed. Louis Napoleon put thousands of his adversaries behind the bars. Many of them were exiled. In this way, he put down all opposition and the *Coup d' etat* of 1851 was a complete success. Then he placed a resolution before the people and asked them to approve or disapprove it by saying 'Yes' or 'No'. The resolution ran like this—

"It is the aspiration of the people that Louis Napoleon should continue to adorn the office of the President and frame a new constitution for the country."

The plebiscite was held on the basis of adult franchise 74,39,216 voters voted for it while only 6,40,737 voted against the resolution. Thus Louis Napoleon became the President of France for 10 years, and was empowered to draft a new constitutions. To quote **Hazen**—

"Louis Napoleon, therefore, took a leaf out of the biography of Napoleon I, and climbed to power carrying through a coup d' etat, far more skilfully than his uncle had engineered that of the 19th Brumaire."

By this *coup d' etat* 'Louis Napoleon became all in all and a virtual ruler of France. Republic continued for one year more but, as a matter of fact, it had ended in 1851 and Louis Napoleon was not a President but an arbitrary King.

5. New Constitution of 1852—The new constitution was promulgated on 14th February, 1852. Its main provisions were as under :—

(1) The *President* was to be the executive head and his term was extended to 10 years. He was given the power to sanction all laws and decrees.

(2) The *Ministers* were to be appointed by the President and they were to be responsible to him alone.

(3) The Legislature was to consist of three houses :—

(*i*) **Council of State**—The President was empowered to nominate the members of the Council of State. Its main function was to draft legislation for the consideration of the legislature.

(*ii*) **The Legislative Assembly**—It was to consist of 250 members elected on the basis of adult franchise. It was to deliberate over the legislation drafted by the Council of State and send them to the Senate after its approval or disapproval.

(*iii*) **The Senate**—Its members were to be nominated by the President for life. It was empowered to deliberate over the bills submitted by the Legislative Assemly, to put new resolutions and to interpret the constitution.

In support of this Constitution, it has been said—

"It is the only constitution adopted to the social and administrative institutions of modern France and calulated to secure the liberties of France and the maintenance of the Napoleonic principles."

6. Criticism of the Constitution

(1) All the *powers of the state were centralized in the President.* He became the architect of the destiny of the French nation.

(2) The new constitution was quite contrary to the democratic principles. The ministers were appointed by the President and they were not responsible to the Legislative Assembly.

(3) The President fully controlled the Council of State and the Senate because their members were nominated by him.

(4) The rights of Legislative Assembly were nominal. It was elected on democratic basis but it could not pass laws. It had no power of initiating any legislation. It could neither propose any legislation nor pass any law which was opposed to the will of the President. It could not deliberate over the measures brought before it. Only the Senate had the right to pass the laws. But it was dominated by the President, so we see that the elected Legislative Assembly was utterly subservient to the President. Thus, the laws were passed or rejected according to the will of the President.

(5) The New Constitution became a tool in the hands of Louis Napoleon towards establishment of his despotic rule in France. He

did succeed in his designs and became an absolute ruler and dictator in France.

7. Louis Napoleon became the Emperor of France—Louis Napoleon became the President of France for 10 years, still he was not satisfied. He was ambitious like Napoleon Bonaparte and aspired to become the Emperor. He put his effigy on the coins. He toured the whole country in October, 1851 to establish contacts with the people. He delivered speeches to enlist their support and win their sympathies and become popular among them. He disclosed his desire of becoming an Emperor before the Senate. The members of the Senate were under his thrush because they were nominated by him. One of them tabled a resolution that the President should adorn the throne of France as an Emperor because it is the will of the people of France.

This resolution was passed by the Senate. A plebiscite was held to ascertain the approval or disapproval of the people. About 78 lac voters approved it while about 3 lac voters opposed the resolution. This resoultion was carried by overwhelming majority and, accordingly, Louis Napoleon became the hereditary Emperor of France on 2nd December, 1852 under the name of Napoleon III. In this way, the Second Republic was transformed into the Second Emperor without any difficulty and obstacle. To quote **Grant and Temperley**—

"*The proposal that the hereditary empire should be conferred on him came from the obsequious Senate. It was submitted to plebiscite and* 7,824,000 *were returned as saying 'Yes' while only* 253,000 *said 'No'. Louis Napoleon reigned at once as the Emperor Napoleon III*"

8. Causes of the Failure of the Second Republic—

(1) The villagers in France regarded Napoleon as their national Hero and National Leader. They worshipped him like a God. The word 'Napoleon' which tagged after the name of Louis Napoleon had magical effect on them and they became his supporters. *The people thought that nephew will win same laurels as were won by his uncle.*

(2) *The middle class people also favoured monarchy* because they realized that socialistic or democratic government will be harmful for them. Hence, they also lent their support to Louis Napoleon to become the Emperor.

(3) *Most of the people in France loved old institutions and traditions.* They had a special attachment to the institution of Emperor. Hence, they voted for Louis Napoleon when the plebiscite was held.

(4) The *Catholics of France* had no faith in a Republic. They were opposed to the republican form of government and championed the cause of monarchy.

(5) According to the new constitution, the *legislature was subservient to Louis Napoleon.* He had full control over it. So, he easily succeeded in getting the resolution passed that the President should rule over France as an Emperor.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Second Republic in France 1848-52—Second Republic was set up in 1848 : Rift among Socialists and Republicans ; cmpromise between the two to establish the interim goverement.

1. **The Provisional Government**—National workshops for workmen : increase in their membership ; wastage of national wealth : failure of the commission under the leadership of Blanc. Majority of the Republicans in the National Assembly after the election.
2. **The National Assembly**—(1) Majority of Republicans. (2) National workshops closed. (Revolt by the workmen. (4) Revolt crushed by the government.
3. **Framing of Constitution**—(1) Elections according to the new constitution (2) Majority of the royalists (3) Election of the President on 19th December, 1848. (4) Louis Napoleon won the election by taking advantage of the word Napoleon.
4. **Louis Napoleon as President**—(1) Took oath to protect the Republic. (2) Appointed new ministers. (3) Restrictions on Press. (4) Removed Republican Teachers. (5) Old-age insurance scheme for workmen. (6) Helped to restore the Pope. (7) Coup d' etat and its success :
5. **Constitution of 1852**—(1) President's term of 10 years : (2) President had the right to appoint ministers ; (3) Three Houses of the legislature to frame laws—Council of State, the Legislative Assembly and the Senate.
6. **Criticism of the Constitution**—(1) President all in all ; (2) Opposed to democracy : (3) Presideut controlled the legislature : (4) Legislative Assembly had nominal power : (5) Arbitrary rule of Louis Napoleon.
7. **Louis Napoleon became the Emperor**—(1) Louis Napoleon aspired to become the Emperor (2) Tour of the country A resolution passed in Senate (3) Its approval by the people through Plebiscite : (4) Louis Napoleon became Emperor Napoleon III on 3nd December, 1852.
8. **Causes of the Failure of the Second Republic**—(1) Support of the people and charm in the word Napoleon : (-) Middle class people opposed it : (3) People's love for old traditions. (4) Catholics had no faith in it : (5) Louis Napoleon's control over the Legislature.

The Second French Empire, 1852-1870

The Second Republic of France was transformed into the Second Empire in 1852 and the sovereign power of the state passed into the hands of Louis Napoleon. Louis Napoleon was born in Paris in 1808. He was the son of Louis Bonaparte who was brother of Napoleon Bonaparte When Napoleon was defeated in the Battle of Waterloo, the rest of the members of his family had to take shelter in Italy. Louis Napoleon got his education there. He got a chance to work with the patriots of Italy. Then he spent some years in Switzerland and Germany. He was the staunch supporter of Napoleon and his ideals. After the death of Napoleon's son, the Bonapartists took him as his successor and made efforts to instal him on the throne of France.

He raised a violent revolt in 1836 at Strassburg during the reign of Louis Philippe because he aspired to dislodge him from the throne. Louis Philippe crushed this revolt and he had to seek refuge in America. When Napoleon's remains were brought from St. Helena, he again raised a standard of revolt but he failed miserably and was imprisoned. He escaped from the prison and fled away to England. During the Chartist Movement in England, he worked as a policeman at Trafalgar Square, During the Revolution of 1848, he returned to France. He offered his services to the Second Republic of France and was elected as the member of the National Assembly. In December, 1848, he was elected as the President of the Republic. In 1852, he became the Emperor by putting an end to the Republic and thereby he established the Second Empire in France.

Napoleon III

☞ **8. Describe briefly the reign of Napoleon III with special reference to his home and foreign policy. (V. Imp.)**

Or

Give a brief and critical account of the home and foreign policy of Napoleon III. (D.U. 1962, 65)

Or

"The Empire is Peace," was the motto of Napoleon III. How did he live upto it ? (D. U. 1961)

Or

How far is it correct to say that the Second Empire of France was a liberal empire ?

Ans. At the time of his accession, Napoleon III's position was was not stable. His opponents were still active to restore the rule of the Orleans Dynasty. The Republicans were also hostile to him. Like Napoleon Bonaparte, he wanted to be a benevolent dictator. In order to wield despotic powers and win the support of people he wanted to establish peace, carry out measures for the material welfare of his subjects and the wage wars with foreign powers. His home and foreign policy was based on the achievement of this objective.

1. **Home Policy**—It can be divided into two periods (i) From 1852 td 1860, a period of unlimited autocracy and (ii) 1860-70 when he tried to establish a liberal empire.

(*a*) **Home Policy from 1852 to 1860**—During this period, he adopted both progressive and repressive measures to strengthen and stabilize his position. He clarified his policy in the following words :—

"In a spirit of distrust people say : The empire is war but I say, the Empire is peace. I confess, however, that I, like the Emperor, have many conquests to make. I wish, like him to win and to reconcile the hostile parties."

He took many steps for the welfare of the people and the economic prosperity of the country.

(1) *Progress in Industry and Trade*—After restoring peace and social order, he made efforts to promote trade and industry. Many factories and industrial guilds were established to encourage industry. Means of communication were improved. He constructed railways, roads, canals, harbours etc. Post and telegraph system was extended and Saving Banks were also set-up. Two central banks known as 'Credit Foncier' and 'Credit Mebillier' were also opened. Maritime commerce was also encouraged. The General Trans-Atlantic Company was established to carry on trade with America and Algeria. In order to exhibit the progress of France in industrial and commercial field before the foreign countries, he organized a grand exhibition in Paris. He entered into a commercial treaty with England. Credit Societies were set-up to promote arts and crafts and to give loans on easy terms to the traders. Tariffs were reduced to encourage the Free Trade.

(2) *Progress in Agricuture*—To improve agriculture, he made arrangements to construct good roads, machines and fertilizers to the peasants. Co-operate societies were set up to help the farmers. Animal exhibitions, agricultural universities and agricultural conferences were organised for the encouragement of agriculture. Marshes and drained land were brought under cultivation. Special efforts were made for the improvement of forests and mines. The progress in the field of trade, industry and agriculture led to economic prosperity in France. To quote **Southgate**—

"The reign of Napoleon III was a period of material prosperity for France."

(3) *Work of Labour Welfare*—He carried out many measures to enlist the sympathies of the workmen. To save the labourers from the tyrannies of the capitalists, they were given the right to strike peacefully and to form trade unions. Conaliation Board was set up to settle the disputes between the workers and the capitalists. National festivals were declared paid holidays for the workmen. The Convalescent Homes were opened to enable the labourers to recoup their health and enerrgy. Arrangements were made to give them remuneration in case of accidents. A scheme was formulated for insurance against old age. The labourers were allowed to form co-operative societies for collective buying and selling. They could also set up co-operative societies to get loans Maternity centres were established for the welfare of women and children. Orphanges were opened for the orphans while hospitals and asylums were founded for the poor

(4) *Beautification of Paris*—A scheme was formulated under the supervision of Baron Houssmann to beautify Paris and to make it a neat and clean city. He took various steps to enhance the splendour and grandeur of Paris.

(5) *Religious Policy*—In order to gain the support of the Catholics, he championed the cause of Catholicism. He recognised the Catholic

Church and granted state patronge to it. He despatched troops in Rome to restore Pope. He helped Catholics to increase their influence in the universities and other educational institutions. In this way, the Church regained control over education.

(6) *Suppression of Political Liberty*—There is no doubt that Napoleon III took various steps for the welfare of the people of France but he behaved like an autocrat and a despotic ruler. He suppressed the individual liberty and attached no importance to manhood suffrage. His government appeared democratic but in actual practice his was an arbitrary rule. The electoral machinery was rigorously controlled by the government. The elections were, however, not free. The official candidates were helped by the government and their expenses were borne by it while the other candidates had to bear their expenses. Every candidate had to take oath of loyalty to the king. Any political offender could be imprisoned or exiled without any trial. The Council of State, the Legislative Assembly and the Senate were completely controlled by the emperor. The ministers were appointed and dismissed by the emperor. They were responsible to him. In short, the machinery of government was under his control.

The activities of the teachers and the students were watched strictly. They had to take an oath of loyalty to the government. Teachers in the universities worked under the strict supervision of the ministers and it was absolutely essential for them to obey their elders only those subjects approved by the government were taught in the educational institutions.

The press was controlled by the government. The journalists were appointed and dismissed by the Home Minister. Only the newspapers, friendly to the government, were allowed to be printed. Books and newspapers hostile to the government were banned. The government could also ban processions and meetings. With the help of German Security Act of 1858, he crushed the opposition of the Republicans and the Socialists. A net-work of spies was spread throughout the country. The police system was also made more efficient.

From the above description, it is obvious that Napoleon did praisworthy work to establish peace and order as also towards the promotion of agriculture, trade and industry. But people had to pay a heavy price for it and they were deprived of their political liberty.

Hazen has rightly said that his empire was repressive and progressive. To quote Prof. **Hazen**—

"Thus in an air of general prosperity of economic expansion, of multifarious activity, men forgot their loss of liberty and even the great famines, great floods, and important business failures occurred during this period did not produce the usual unrest."

(b) **Home Policy From 1860 to 1870**—Upto 1860 Napoleon established law and order and promoted works of public utility and welfare. Everything was done with a selfish motive. He wanted to consolidate his power and become an autocratic ruler. But he was fully aware of the fact that he could not deceive all the people for all he times. His policy towards Italy antagonized the Catholics of France. he commercial treaty with England proved harmful and there was a great fall in the national income. As a result, the traders also became hostile to him. So he amended the Constitution in 1860 and, in order to gain the support of the Liberal Party, he made it more liberal and introduced many liberal reforms.

The Senate and the Legislative Assembly were empowered to hold liscussion on the annual address of the Emperor to the legislature and o accept or reject it. Parliamentary debates were published to keep the people in touch with what happened in the legislature.

The Republicans gained majority in the elections held in 1863. Their leaders Simon, Thiers and Ferry began to oppose the Emperor. Restrictions on the press were waved off. Freedom of speech and writing was restored. Right to hold meetings was granted to the people. After 1866, the ministers were to sit in the legislature, take part in debates and answer questions put to them.

Ollivier formed the ministry after the general elections of 1869. His ministry was responsible to the legislature and not to the king. The public finance was also brought under the control of the legislature. To quote **Olliver**—

> *"It was the most truly liberal constitution which France has enjoyed since* 1789."

Many reforms were carried out in 1869. The administration was decentralized and local self-government was established in the provinces. Members of various Councils were elected by the people. imary education was made compulsory and free. Saving Banks were ed in the country-side. Child labour was forbidden in the factories. e reforms were gladly approved by the people. In his speech on 1st November, 1869, he said—

> *"France evidently desires liberty but liberty united with order. It ill answer for order; assist me genltemen, to save liberty."*

prepared an elaborate scheme of reforms but he could not because he was defeated and imprisoned after the Battle of 1870.

Foreign policy of Napoleon III—Napoleon III was a man peace and lacked the qualities of a successful general. But he nted to follow in the foot-steps of Napoleon Bonaparte and ke France the most powerful and prosperous country in Europe. s Foreign Policy can be divided into two periods—(i) From 1852-60, when he succeeded and (ii) From 1860 to 1870 when his Foreign failed miserably and led to his downfall.

(a) **Foreign Policy from 1852 to 1860**—Napoleon III was eager to enhance the international glory and prestige of France. He wanted to impress the people and become popular among them. To achieve his objectives, he had to follow a vigorous foreign policy and wage wars unnecessarily. In his speech, he himself remarked—

"My wish is to deal in the great things, for striking the imagination of my countrymen Your inheritance is glory, not war."

(1) *Napoleon III and Pope*—Napoleon III was very anxious to win the support of Catholics to strengthen his power. Pope of Rome had been deposed and a Republic had been established there. Napoleon III despatched his troops and succeeded in restoring Pope in Rome.

(2) *The Crimean War*—The relation between Czar Napoleon I of Russia and Napoleon III were far from cordial. So Napoleon III joined England and Turkey in the Crimean War against Russia. Russia was defeated and the war came to a close after the Treaty of Paris in 1856. It was a personal triumph, of Napoleon III He humbled Czar, avenged the old defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte and checked the Russian fluence in the Black Sea. France had to spend crores of rupees and 75,000 French Soldiers were killed in this war But it enhanced the international glory of France and stabilized the position of Napoleon III at home. To quote **Hazen**—

"In 1856, Napoleon III was the zenith of his power. The empire had been recognized by all other states of Europe. He was supposed to have the best army in Europe, and he was honoured in the face of all the world."

(3) *Napoleon and Rumania*—By the Treaty of Paris of 1856, Napoleon not only checked the designs of Russia in Middle East but also helped Maldavia and Wallachia to gain autonomy. Later on, these two Turkish provinces were united together and an independent kingdom of Rumania came into existence.

(4) *Napoleon and Italy*—In 1859, the patriots and nationlists of Italy launched a movement against the Austrian domination in Italy under the leadership of the king of Sardinia. The Prime Minister of Italy, Cavour, sought Napoleon's help and promised to give him the provinces of Savoy and Nice in return. Napoleon despatched 200,000 French troops. The Austrian army was defeated. But, after this success, Napoleon made an armistice with Austria because he feared that a powerful Sardinia might prove dangerous to France. But, according to his agreement with Napoleon, Cavour had handed over Savoy and Nice to him and annexed some parts of Italy to Sardinia and in this way he paved the way for the unification of Italy. Napoleon's policy in Italy was fluctuating. Still, he gained the provinces of Savoy and Nice and added to the international prestige of France. His policy in Italy did not prove useful for France. Russia was her enemy and his policy in Italy antagonized Austria also. England lost all faith in her. The Italian intervention

weakened his position in France also because Catholics and Liberals became his opponents.

Napoleon and China—In 1860, the combined armies of England and France attacked China. They inflicted a defeat on the Emperor of China and forced him to sign the treaty of Tientsin. According to this treaty, the harbours of China were thrown open to Christian missionaries and European traders.

(b) **Foreign Policy from 1860 to 1870**—In order to win the support of the Liberal party and divert the attention of his critics at home, he followed a glorious and vigorous foreign policy and supported nationalism in European countries. As a result, he had to face many international problems and his foreign policy proved an utter failure. This led to the fall of Napoleon and the end of Second Empire in France. It gave a severe blow to the international fame of France. To quote **Hazen**—

> *"He adopted a showy aud risky policy whose consequences were to prove embarassing and ultimately ruinous."*

(1) *Problem of Mexico*—Foreign domination in Mexico came to end in 1823 but she was under the financial obligation of Spain, England and France. In 1861, a Republic was set-up in Mexico with Jaurez as the President. The government of Mexico repudiated the public debts of these countries. They sent their armies against Mexico and seized its custom houses.

President Jaurez was frightened and he settled the outstanding financial dispute. At this, Spain and England withdrew their forces but France retained her army there. She wanted to intervene in the internal affairs of Mexico to win the support of Catholics at home to glorify the Empire, to establish colonial empire in the New World and gain valuable commercial advantages for France. The French troops invaded and captured Mexico. Jaurez fled away. Napoleon dec'ared Maximillian, the brother of Austrian Emperor, as the king of Mexico in 1864. The Republicans of Mexico raised a standard of revolt in 1865. They were helped by the American President. The French army was defeated at Peubla and it had to vacate Mexico in 1866. Maximillian was seized and assasinated. Jaurez again became the President.

The Mexico War was as disastrous for Napoleon III as the Spanish War had been for Napoleon Bonaparte. France had to suffer in men and money. According to **Sougthgate**—

> *"Napoleon's reputatian suffered severely from this adventure. He had wasted men and money, he had deserted a man whom he had promised to support. His pre-occupation in the new world had pvevented him for a time from taking a prominent part in European affairs."*

(2) *Problem of Poland*—Poland was under Russian domination. The nationalists in Poland wanted to liberate their country. So they revolted against Russia in 1863. Napoleon and Catholics of France supported the nationalists. But, when Russia took military action,

he remained passive for fear of Austrian and Prussian intervention. As a result, Russia crushed the revolt ruthlessly. His weak policy estranged Russia and the Catholics and the Liberals of France were also dissatisfied.

(3) *Austro-Prussian War and Napoleon*—The Chancellor of Prussia, Bismarck, wanted to unify Germany. He annexed two Danish provinces of Schleswig and Holstein. So, war started between Austria and Prussia in 1866. Bismarck met Napoleon and secured neutrality by promising to cede some territory on the bank of Rhine. Napoleon accepted it gladly because he was desirous of extending the boundaries of his empire upto Rhine. At the same time, he thought that the war between Austria and Prussia would weaken both the countries and he would be in a position to intervene effectively and extract more favourable terms for France. Bismarck inflicted a crushing defeate on Austria at Sadowa and his influence in Germany was completely eliminated.

This victory upset all his plans. It was a challenge to France and a danger to her security. Prussia became a powerful country and it upset the balance of power in Europe. His weak and timid policy was critieized by all in France. **Theirs** remarked in the National Assembly—

"It was France, who was defeated at Sadowa."

Had Napoleon intervened and succeeded in bringing about a compromise between the two countries, he would have become the master of the situation, enhanced the prestige of France and hampered the unification of Germany. Without having fought, they were oppressed by the sensation of defeat. His foreign policy proved fatal to the international position and influence of France.

(4) *Prussia and France*—After her victory against Austria, Prussia became a more powerful country of Europe. Bismarck outwitted Napoleon and now he started preparations for war with France. Bismarck waged war against France in 1870. Napoleon had to fight without proper military preparations. He was defeated in the Battle of Sedan and imprisoned. His decline brought about the end of the Second Empire and led to the establishment of Third Republic in France. According to **Hazen**—

"The war was destined to prove the most disastrous in the history of France."

(c) **French Colonies Abroad**—Napoleon III established French colonies abroad and extended the colonial empire of France. He established a French colony in the island of New Calodonia in Atlantic Ocean in 1853. In 1857, he occupied Algiers. He annexed Cochin-China to French Empire in 1858. In 1860, he gained valuable trade concessions from the Emperor of China and succeeded in establishing his monopoly in the China Sea. Mexico expedition was undertaken in 1862, with the same object in view. He captured Cambodia situated in East Asia in 1863 and annexed her to his empire.

From the above description, we see that his foreign policy contained contradictory elements. In Italy, he helped to restore Pope but his dual policy did a great harm to nationalism. There was no tinge of religion and nationalism in the Crimean War. In order to enhance his reputation, he co-operated with great powers. In Italy, he stood by Sardinia in the beginning but, after the success of Austria, he made an armistice with her because he felt alarmed at the growing strength of Austria. He followed a vacillating policy in the Austro-Prussian war. In the beginning, he excited the nationalists of Poland against Russia but backed out at the eleventh hour. A similar policy was adopted by him in Mexico. Hence, his foreign policy failed miserably and was the real cause of his downfall.

3. **Was the Second Empire Liberal ?**—In order to answer this question, we must study the events of his reign. After coming to power, Napoleon drew a plan to secure internal peace, to encourage work of public utility and welfare and to enhance international glory of empire. There is no doubt that from 1852 to 1860, he enjoyed absolute powers yet he supported liberalism. His election was based on plebiscite and was approved by the people by a thumping majority. He performed many works for public welfare and tried to establish liberal rule in France. Special efforts were made and many measures were taken to improve the lot of the poor and the orphans Many reforms were introduced to ameliorate the condition of the labourers and artisans. He promoted agriculture, trade and industry to bring prosperity to his people. By taking these measures, he tried to fulfil the promises made by him in his first speech.

From 1860 to 1870, he carried out many liberal reforms at home and sympathized with the liberal movement's abroad to gain the support of Liberal party in France. In the general elections of 1863, the Republicans gained majority in the National Assembly. Their leaders, Thiers, Simon and Gambetta began to criticize the government. As a result, he tried to introduce a number of liberal reforms. He removed all the restrictions on press, freedom of speech and writing. Senate and the Legislative Assemly were given the right to discuss the annual speech of the Emperor. In order to keep the public in touch with the affairs of the government, the reports on parliamentary debates were published. The Ministers were to sit in the legislature to answer questions and take part in debates. In this way, he tried his level best to liberalize the government.

Napoleon carried out these liberal reforms to become popular at home and to win the sympathy and support of various political parties in France. Instead, the people began to criticize the government more bitterly. These liberal measures created further opposition in the country. His foreign policy created dis-content among the people and they were totally dissatisfied with it. Both the Catholics and the Liberals attacked his Italian policy. He did not help Austria against Prussia. In this way, he indirectly helped Prussia to become a powerful country in Europe and it threatened the security of France. His defeats at the hands of Bismarck discredited him both at home and abroad. His misadventure in Mexico and his vacillating and uncertain policy in Poland proved detrimental to the interests and international fame and honour of France. The failure of his foreign policy created great unrest in France. He tried to appease his critics by granting them more concessions and by liberalizing his government.

He declared to set up a responsible government in the country. He announced that the ministers would be selected from the members of Legislative Assembly and would be responsible to it. Legislative Assembly was empowered to initiate legislation and control the finances of the state. The Senate was given the same status as the House of Lords enjoyed in England. Press censorship was further relaxed. He promised that elections would be fair and free and the expenses of the official candidates would be borne by the candidates themselves and not by the government. After the general elections of 1869, Olivier was asked to form the ministry. A new constitution was drawn up according to the reforms mentioned above and it was approved by the people after a plebiscite in 1870. It was considered a triumph for Napoleon and it strengthend his position besides making his rule more liberal. But a war broke out between France and Prussia in 1870 and napoleon was defeated and taken prisoner. As a result of his fall, the scheme for reforms remained on papers and it could not be executed. In fact, all his reforms were a mere show-work, an attempt to disguise his self-motive of holding power.

Napoleon III's Home and Foreign Policy 1. Home Policy—

(a) *From* 1852 *to* 1860—(1) Encouraged trade and industry (2) Improvement in agriculture : (3) Works of welfare ; (4) Beautification of Paris (5) Religious policy ; (6) Suppression of Political Liberty.

(b) *From* 1860 *to* 1870—It was more liberal during this period. (1) Legislature was empowered to deliberate over emperor's annual speech. (3) Parliamentary reports were published. (3) Freedom of Press. (4 Ministers to sit in legislature. (5) Olliver's Ministry in 1869. A scheme for liberal reforms and new constitution but it could not be enforced due to the fall of Napoleon.

2. **Foreign Policy :**

(a) *From* 1852 *to* 1860—(1) Napoleon helped to restore Pope. (2) Crimean War. (3) Napoleon and Rumania. (4) Napoleon and Italy. (5) Napoleon and China.

(b) *From* 1860 *to* 1870—(1) Problem of Mexico. (2) Problem of Poland. (3) Austro-Prussian was and Napoleon ; (4) Prussia and France.

3. **French Colonies Abroad.**

4. **Was the Second Empire Liberal ?**

Outwardly it was, but internally it was not so.

Franco-Prussian War, 1870-71

☞ Q. 9. What do you know about the causes, events and results of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 ? (D.U. 1964) Imp.

1. Causes of the War—The following causes led to the war between France and Prussia in 1874 ;—

(1) *Napoleon's Failure in the Mexico Campaign*—Napoleon was bitterly criticized for his home and foreign policies. To appease his critics, he wanted to achieve something remarkable in the foreign field. He got a chance and intervened in the affairs of Mexico. His Mexico campaign was an utter failure. It damaged him morally before Europe and lowered his prestige at home. It proved disastrous for him. He wasted men and money. His reputation suffered severely in this adventure. He was regarded selfish, coward and timid by other European countries which suspected his intentions and designs. So he wanted to wage war against Prussia to recover his honour and international glory and prestige of France. To quote **Ketelbey**—

> *"The French Emperor thereupon made a further and last bid fo compensation."*

(2) *Enmity between France and Prussia*—Mutual enmity, hatred and jealousy of France and Prussia was also one of the major causes of the war. A war broke out between Austria and Prussia in 1866. Napoleon III adopted a policy of neutrality. He thought that the war would be a long drawn-out affair and exhaust both the countries. He wanted to intervene at the last stage to act as an arbitrator and extract favourable terms. But his calculations misfired and the war came to an end after seven weeks. Prussia defeated Austria in the battle of Sadowa, and humbled her pride. As a result, Prussia became very powerful. The increased military strength of Prussia alarmed France and she became a danger to her security. Napoleon's weak policy was strongly criticized by the people. Without having fought, they were oppressed by the sensation of defeat. **Thiers** said in the Legislature—

> *"It was France who was defeated at Sadowa."*

The French took it as their humiliating defeat and shouted the slogan : "Revenge for Sadowa."

On the other hand, the Prussians also hated France. They could not forget the crushing defeats and insults inflicted upon them by Napoleon Bonaparte who had weakened Russia to great extent. Under these circumstances, war was ineveitable.

(3) *Poisoning of Public Opinion by Newspapers*—Both the countries were on inimical terms. The newspapers of one country began to criticize the policies of the other. Their governments did not try to put a check on them. As a result of their false propaganda, the newspapers of both the countries poisoned the public opinion. They instigated and excited the people so much that war became imminent.

(4) *Bismarck's Desire for the unificction of Germany*—After the defeat of Austria in the battle of Sadowa in 1866, Bismarck united the northern states of Germany and transformed it into a confederation of north Germany under his leadership. He wanted to annex the southern states of Bavaria, Baden, Hesse and Wurtemberg to complete the task of the unification of Germany under a strong central government. At the same time, Bismarck was fully aware of the fact that this work could not be completed without defeating France who

was deadly opposed to the unification of Germany. To Bismarck and his military friends, it was clear that they could not reckon on completing the half finished fabric of German unity without a violent clash with France.

Bismarck had complete knowledge about the weakness of the military strength of France. He wanted to exploit it for the purpose of unification of Germany at the earliest. Napoleon could not tolerate his designs. So, there was no alternative but war under these circumstances.

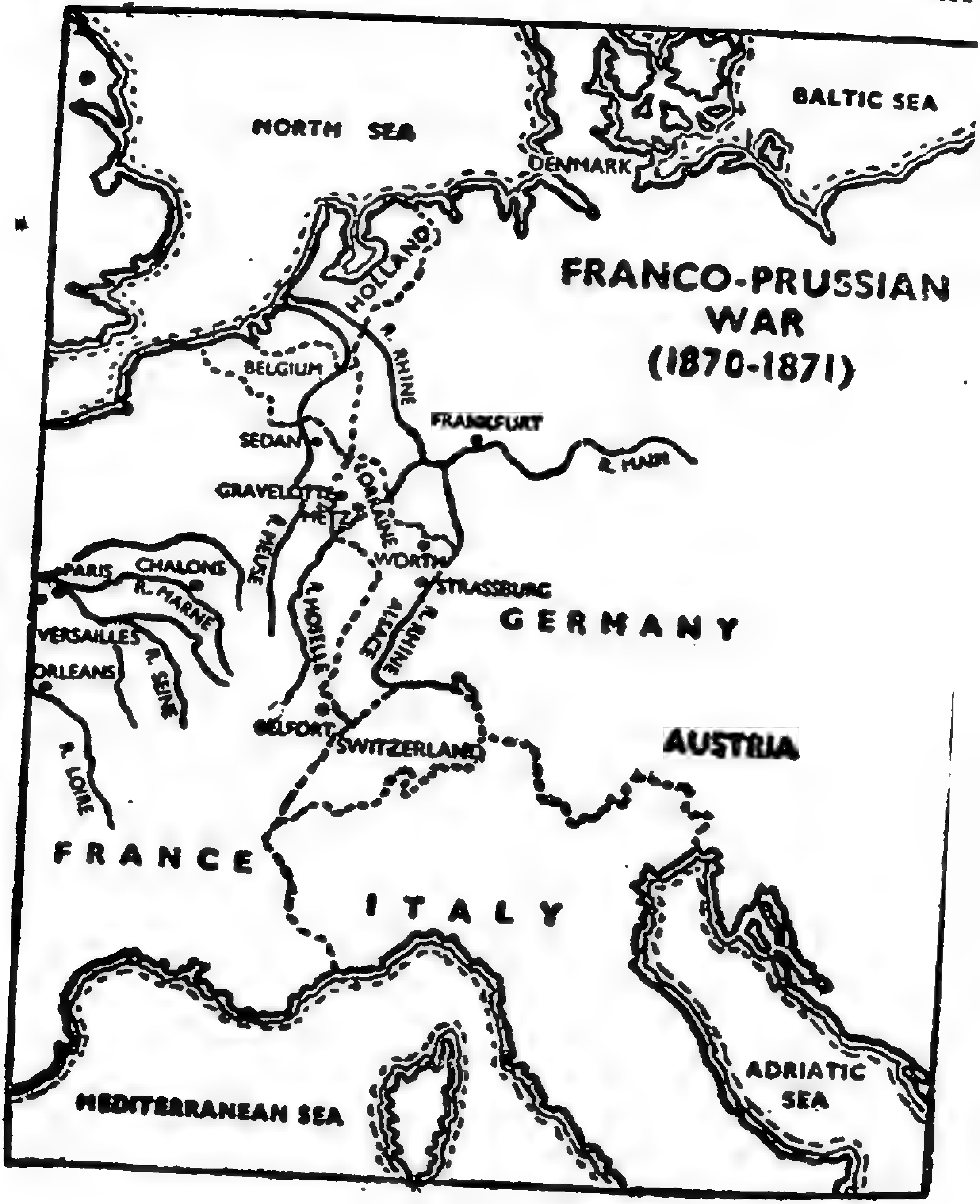
(5) *Napoleon demanded some territory on the Bank of Rhine*—Before the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, Bismarck met Napoleon III at Bearritz in 1865 alone and secured his neutrality in case of war between Austria and Prussia on the vague and verbal promise of allowing him to annex some territories on the bank of Rhine. Nothing was committed on paper. Napoleon remained neutral during the war and Prussia defeated Austria and Sadowa. After the war was over, Napoleon asked Bismarck to fulfil his promise. Bismarck was a pastmaster in diplomacy. He outwitted Napoleon and refused to cede even an inch of Rhineland. Bismarck excited the ruler of Bavaria against Napoleon by telling him Napoleon's intention to grab Bavaria. As a result, the southern states of Germany, such as Baden, Hesse and Wurtemberg began to suspect Napoleon's designs and lost all faith in him.

(6) *Diplomacy of Bismarck*—If Napoleon was very ambitious, Bismarck was a shrewd diplomat. Napoleon wanted to annex Belgium but Czar opposed it and flouted his designs. Bismarck revealed the French designs to England who began to distrust Napoleon's intentions. By this act of diplomacy, Bismarck created bad blood between England and France. Napoleon also wanted to buy the province of Luxemberg from the ruler of Holland but Bismarck stood in his way. Bismarck made an alliance with Russia and secured the neutrality of Italy also. In this way, by his clever diplomatic moves, Bismarck succeeded in isolating France from other European countries and gave a blow to his designs. It created bitter enmity between the two and the war between these two countries looked imminent.

(7) *Re-organisation of Military Power*—After the creation of North German confederation, Bismarck increased his army and organized it on the Prussian model. The extra-ordinary increase in her military strength alarmed France who felt a danger to her security.

(8) *Immediate Cause*—The problem of Spanish succession was the immediate cause of the war. The people of Spain raised a standard of revolt against the arbitrary, unpopular and inefficient rule of their queen Isabella. She could not face the rebels and fled away to France.

The Spaniards offered the crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, the cousin of the king of Prussia. Bismarck also favoured it because he wanted to get more political and commercial concessions. This offer was declined by Leopold because Napoleon III opposed it tooth


NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR (1870-1871)
HOLLAND
R. RHINE
BELGIUM
FRANKFURT
R. MAIN
SEDAN
GRAVELOTTE
METZ
LORRAINE
R. MEUSE
PARIS
CHALONS
R. MARNE
WORTH
STRASSBURG
GERMANY
VERSAILLES
R. SEINE
R. MOSELLE
ALSACE
R. RHINE
ORLEANS
R. LOIRE
BELFORT
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
FRANCE
ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

and nail. Bismarck was infuriated because he wanted to wage a war against France. The French ministry asked the king of Prussia to promise that no descendant of Hohenzollern dynasty would be offered the crown of Spain. The French Ambassador Benedetti placed this demand before the Prussian King as desired by his government and sought a guarantee from him that the candidature of Leopold would not be renewed. The Prussian king refused to give any assurance. Bismarck, who was in favour of a war, thought it a good chance to provoke the people of both the countries. He published the report of interview between the King and the French Ambassador in such a way that he provoked the French people and the Prussian alike. To quote **Bismarck**—

"If I do this, it will have the effect of red rag on the Gallic bull."

It produced the desired effect. The passions in both the countries ran high and the newspapers added fuel to the fire. The French thought that their Ambsasador had been insulted while the Prussians said that their king had been insulted. This worsened the situation and war between the two countries became imminent and inevitable.

Napoleon III was not in favour of a war because he knew that French army was ill-organized, ill-equipped and out-numbered by the Prussians. But he had to yield to the pressure of his Ministers and the French Public and he declared war against Prussia on 15th July, 1870.

2. **Events**—Prussia also declared war and the South German States joined Prussia against France because they were aware of Napoleon's intention to annex Rhinish provinces. Napoleon was determined to give a grim fight to the enemy and declared—

"We shall not yield an inch of French soil nor a stone of French fortresses."

But France under-estimated the strength of Prussia. French troops were out-numbered by Prussia and the French army was no match for the Prussian army which was better equipped and better trained. French generals were inefficient as compared to the Prussian generals.

Hazen has compared the two armies in these words —

"The French army was poorly equipped and was for inferior in number and in the ability of its commanders to the Prussian army."

The Prussians gained very swift victories. The French had to face many heavy odds and many of their towns were captured by the enemy. The Prussian Prince defeated the French army and seized Alsace and Lorraine. They besieged the fort of Metz which was under the command of French general Bazaine. Napoleon led an army towards Metz to help Bazaine. He was, however, defeated badly at Sedan and was forced to surrender 100,000 men. He was soon imprisoned.

In his message of 3rd September, he said—

"The army has been defeated and is captive. I myself am prisoner."

With his defeat and surrender, their empire also fell and there was choas in France. The Empress also fled to England. A Republic was established again in France on 40th September, 1870. A Provisional Government of National Defence was set up under the Leadership of Gambetta. Napoleon's fall has been rightly summed up in the following words —

"It was the end of Bonapartism, the system of monarchy based on plebiscite, which, after uniting all Europe under the sceptre of the first Napoleon ended by leaving France shorn of territory and prestige and faced by a new and formidable rival."

France was in a critical position at that time. About 100,000 French soldiers had been taken prisoners. The other army under Bazaine had been besieged at Metz. After the victory of Sedan, the Prussian Army marched towards Paris and besieged it. Gambetta raised an army consisting of 180,000 troops within six weeks and got ready to face the enemy but he met with little success. On the other hand, the French General Bazaine surrendered at Metz on 27th October with 170,000 men. Fall of Metz proved suicidal to France. As a result of this victory, the Prussian army at Metz joined the other army at Paris and strengthened the seige of Paris. Paris was heavily bombarded and the people of Paris suffered miserably for want of food. Panic and severe cold added to their difficulties.

Hazen has given a graphic description of the sufferings of the people of Paris in these words :—

"Famine started the Parisions in the face. After November 20, there was no more beef or lamb to be had, after December 15 only thirty grams of horse-meat a day per person, which, moreover, cost about 2 dollars and half a pound, after January 15 the amount of bread, a wretched stuff, was reached to 300 grams. People ate anything they could get, dogs, cats, rats. The market price for rats was 2 Francs a piece; By the 31st of January, there would be nothing left to eat Additional suffering arouse from the fact that the winter was one of the coldest on record."

As a result of this, Paris surrendered on 28th February, 1871 and France sued for peace.

Treaty of Frankfurt—After a long negotiation, the terms of the peace were settled and Treaty of Frankfurt was signed on May 20, 1871. The terms of this treaty were made strict intentionally :—

(1) France had to cede Alsace and Lorraine to Prussia.

(2) A war-indemnity ammounting to 5,000,000,000 Francs was imposed on France and she had pay to it within three years.

(3) An occupation army was kept in France and it was to stay there till she paid the war-indemnity. To quote **Hazen**—

"The Treaty of Frankfurt remained the open sore of Europe after 1871."

3. **Results of the War**—(1) *End of the Second Empire in France*—Napoleon III was defeated on Ist September, 1870, and he was taken prisoner along with 100,000 men. The news of his surrender was received in France on 3rd September. According to the law of the land, no imprisoned king could act as a ruler. To quote **Thiers**—

> *"There was a vacancy of power."*

With the fall of Napoleon, the empire also collapsed and a Republic was set up in France again.

(2) *Republic in France*—The session of the National Assembly was called after the decline of the Emperor. The mob of Paris surrounded the Assembly Hall and raised the slogans—

> *"Down with the Empire ! Long live the Republic !"*

The Republican leaders, Gambetta, Karve and Ferry declared a Republic in France from the Hotel-de-Ville. After the Treaty of Frankfurt, the National Assembly shifted the capital from Paris to Versailles. At that time, the Royalists had majority in the Assembly. Their move of shifting the capital was suspected by the Republicans. They opposed it with full force. A severe civil war broke out in France as a result of the enmity of these two political parties. It continued for six weeks and came to an end after a great bloodshed. The Third Republic was established in France on 31st August, 1871, and Thiers became its President.

(3) *Unification of Germany*—This war paved the way for the nification of Germany. During the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, russia inflicted a crushing defeat on Austria. After this victory ismarck brought about the merger of Northern States and established he North German Confederation. The Southern States did not join t. Bismarck was desirous of establishing a united Germany. During his war, the Southern States stood by Bismarck and after the victory hey agreed to join the Confederation of North German States. As a esult, the united German Empire was proclaimed on 18th January, 871 in the Hall of Mirror of Versailles and King William I of Prussia vas declared as the Emperor.

> *"There, surrounded by sovereigns, generals and soldiers, Bismarck ead the imperial decree which sealed the first part of his life-work and he Grand Duke of Baden led the loud cheers for King William I of russia, now by the Grace of God and the will of his fellow princes, erman Emperor."*

(4) *Power of Prussia increased*—The Treaty of Frankfurt was etrimental to France but it added greatly to the power and the restige of Prussia. Prussia became a first-rate power in Europe. he captured the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and seized the rts of Metz and Strasburg and got a huge sum as war indemnity. e could maintain a large army at the expense of France. To quote **etelbey**—

"The Franco-German War made Germany the mistress of Europe and Bismarck the master of Germany."

(5) *Unfication of Italy*—Another significant result of the Franco-Prussia War was that it facilitated the task of unification of Itlay. Napoleon III withdrew his forces from Rome when he waged war againet Prussia. It weakened the power of the Pope of Rome. Victor Emmanual, the King of Sardinia, took advantage of this golden opportunity and captured Rome. After this, he captured Venice also. The famous patriot of Italy. Garibaldi had already seized Sicily and Naples. The seizure of Rome provided a capital to his unified state.

A writer has summed up the results of the Franco-Prussian War in the following words—

"The clever and ruthless diplomacy of Bismarck achieved within the small period of a decade German unification which had eluded the German patriots in 1848. Austria was successfully ousted and France was humbled Prussia had successfully Prussanized Germany as a result of her policy of "Blood and Iron."

Various historians and writers have expressed their views differently about the results and the importance of this Franco-Prussian war, To quote **Hazen**—

"The war was destined to prove the most disastrous in the history of France."

Schaphro says—

"Never was a victory so complete as that of Germany, and never a defeat so humiliating as that of France."

He further says :—

"The annexation of Alsace and Lorraine created an unbridgeable chasm between France and Germany and was not the least among the causes of the First World War."

According to **Ketelbey**—

"There was an empire in Germany that was not Austrian, there was Republic in France, William of Prussia was the greatest sovereign of his day and Napoleon III on exile in Kentish village."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71

1. **Causes**—(1) Napoleon's failure in Mexico compaign ; (2) Enmity between France and Prussia ; (3) Poisoning of Public opinion by newspapers ; (4) Bismarck's desire for the unification of Italy ; (5) Napoleon demanded some territory on the bank of Rhine ; (6) Bismarck's diplomacy ; (7) Re-organisation of military power. (8) Immediate cause.

2. **Events**—France was not fully prepared for it ; Prussia gained successive victories and captured Alsace and Lorraine ; seige of Metz. Napoleon was defeated at Sedan and imprisoned. Establishment of Republic in France Seige of Paris. Fall of Metz and surrender of the French at Paris.

8349

3. **Results**—(1) End of Second Empire of France. (2) Republic in France. (3) Unification of Germany. (4, Power of Prussia increased (5) Unification of Italy.

Causes of the Downfall of Napoleon III and his Estimate.

Q. 10. Account for the downfall of Napoleon III and form an estimate of his character.

Or

What were the causes of the downfall of the Second Republic in France ?

Ans—I. Causes of the Downfall of Napoleon III or the Second Empire in France—After his accession to the throne, Napoleon tried his level best to fulfil the promise made by him in his first speech. He succeeded in his policy upto 1860. Though he was an autocrat, yet he followed a liberal policy and established peace and order in the country. He improved the economic condition of the people and made France a prosperous country. He enhanced the international prestige, power and glory of France. But after 1860, he failed miserably in internal as well as external affairs, and his end was very tragic. After his fall, the Second Empire also collapsed like a house of cards. The following causes led to his downfall :—

(1) *Despotic Rule of Napoleon III*—There is no doubt that Napoleon introduced various reforms for the prosperity and welfare of the people, But people gained prosperity at the cost of their political liberty. Napoleon was despotic and he deprived the people of their political rights. People had no say in the affairs of the government. All the administrative powers were vested with the Emperor. He was all in all and there was no limit to his powers. He ignored the concepts of the Revolution and behaved like an autocrat. He became so mad with power that he forgot altogether that it was difficult nay impossible to crush the revolutionary tendencies and annihilate liberalism because they had taken deep root in the French soil. He failed to win the support of people and became unpopular because of his arbitary rule. In the 2nd half of his reign he followed a liberal policy and carried out a number of liberal reforms and sympathized with the liberal movements abroad, to gain the favour and support of Liberal Party in France. But his policy failed badly and he could not achieve his aims and objective. He failed to win the public support and sympathy. His faulty policy led to his decline.

(2) *Napoleon's Home Policy*—Napoleon introduced various reforms to improve the lot of the people. But his liberal policy created discontent and dissatisfaction among the different sections of the society and they began to criticize his government all the more bitterly. The traders and industrialists were alienated by his reforms for the welfare of the workmen, his free trade policy and his commercial treaty with England. The Catholics attacked his Italian policy. The Liberals also did not approve of his home policy. The Ultra-Royalists regarded him

a usurper who had forcibly occupied the throne. In short, Napoleon failed to appease any political party in France. The number of his opponents went on increasing day by day and it proved a great cause of his downfall.

(3) *Napoleon's Foreign Policy*—Napoleon's foreign policy was an utter failure ; it was composed of opposite elements. Nepoleon wanted to extend the boundaries of his empire, and glorify the empire by enhancing its international fame and prestige. But, he wanted to use peaceful means to achieve his aim. These two things were quite contrary to each other. He alienated Spain, England and Austria by his Mexico campaign. They lost faith in him and suspected his designs. His dual policy in Italy antagonized Austria. His diplomatic defeat at the hands of Bismarck in Austro-Prussian War earned a bad name for him at home and abroad. It also added to the military strength of Prussia and she became a powerful country in Europe. If Napoleon's Italian policy was inconsistent, his German policy was meddle-some and confused and incoherent.

Russia also was hostile to him because of the part played by him in the Crimean war. His defeat at the hands of Prursia at the Battle of Sedan led to his fall. Napoleor did not follow a vigorous foreign policy. His week and vacillating policy in foreign affairs brought about his downfall. The Second Empire in France came to an end due to his blunders in Italy and Germany. To quote **Ketelbey**—

"The glory of his victories, at first, was brilliantly successful but in the end it entangled him in a hopeless embarrasment and led directly to the overthrow of the Empire and brought misery and humiliation to France."

(4) *Defects in his Character*—Defects in Napoleon's Character also caused his downfall. He made many promises at the time of assuming sovereign power but he lacked ability to fulfil them. He was an incompetent person and lacked firmness and capacity to work. He lacked courage and vision.

He tried to deceive the people through his cleverness but he failed to win their support and co-operation because they had no faith in him. His character was self-contradictory. He combined in himself diverse traits. He was a mixture af opposites. He was a fatalist and lacked self-confidence. He gained the throne of France through good luck. He depended on fate to glorify the empire and assume the leadership of Europe. Fate eluded him and he failed miserably in the end. It has been remarked—

"It was a tragic fall, but not unfilling and no more unjust than the fate which had put him on the throne."

2. Estimate of Napoleon III's Character and Work—It is tifficult to from a correct and exact estimate of Napoleon III's characder. His character was self-contradictory and he combined in himself diverse traits. He was a 'mixture of opposites'. That is why some writers have called him 'Imperial Sphinx.' According to others, he was "an enigma to France and Europe."

There was a world of difference in his thoughts and actions. Some writers are of the opinion that he was both a politician and a fool. He dazzled France, he puzzled Europe and was in the end neither trusted nor understood.

According to French Historians—

"One half of him was Machiavells an Italian diplomat, and the other half was a funny character Don Quixote."

He had no moral principles. He lacked self-confidence and did not trust others. He could not tolerate and face opposition. He did not possess foresight and was incapablo of forming distant plans. He used to say—

"I never form distant plans. I am governed by the exigencies of the moment."

Though he had the word 'Napoleon' tagged after him but he lacked the capacity to work, ability, and firmness. That is why Victor Hugo called him '*The Little Napoleon*'.

"Napoleon Le Petit has not the genious of Napoleon Le Grand."

From the very beginning, people considered him selfish, conspirator and usuper. To quote **Prof. Lodge**—

"His early training had been that of a conspirator and he remained a conspirator even when he had attained the throne."

He used to build visionary plans but had not the capacity to put them into practice. He had neither drive nor organising ability. He could not apply himself firmly to routine administration. He lacked the ability to come to a clear-cut decision. Even if he made a decision, he took no time to go back oh it. To quote **Lord Palmerston**—

"His mind was full of schemes as a warren is full of robbits."

He was very lazy, weak and sluggish. He was incompetent and inefficient and lacked ability to perform great deeds. To quote **Bismarck**—

"A great though concealed incompetence."

He was a fatalist to the backbone. He got the throne of France by sheer good-luck and he wanted to become the leader of Europe by depending on his fate. This however, was a great mistake on his part. Fate deceived him in the long run and he failed miserably. He plunged into a war against Prussia without prepartions which proved disastrous for him. He was ambitious like Napoleon but lacked courage to realize the ambitions.

In spite of his short-comings and drawbacks, he was praised by Queen Victoria in the following words—

"One cannot know him without seeing that there is much amiability and kindness in him. He is gifted with a powerful self-control, great calmness and one even might say, great gentleness...He committed all these unpardonable acts under the constant guidance of the idea that he was accomplishing the destiny that God had alloted him and that, however cruel and hard in themselves, these acts were necessary to reach the end to which he believed himself to be called."

There are contradictory elements even in his home and foreign policy. At the time of his accession, he declared that Empire means peace but he followed an aggressive foreign policy. He used to say—

"Empire means peace because France desires and when France is satisfied, the world is at peace."

He gave France democracy and order, and social welfare and social discipline. But he was selfish. He introduced various reforms simply to win the support of the people and to become popular among them. He wanted to divert the masses from politics and rule as an autocrat. To quote **Ketelbey**—

"He had established a despotism by despotic methods, yet he was no despot."

He could not please the ultra-Royalists, Republicans, Liberals, the merchants and the industrialists. His weak internal policy failed to win the support of any political group and different sections of the society. He died unwept and unsung. To quote **Thiers**—

"Empire is a tree that stands on props, but has no root."

His foreign policy was also composed of diverse elements On one hand, he believed in peace and on the other hand he was ambitious like Napoleon and wanted to glorify the empire and enhance the international honour and prestige of France as also enlarge the boundaries of his empire. He was the champion of glory, nationalism and conservatism. He was successful in establishing peace and order in France but when he tried to increase her glory, he failed badly and his faulty policy brought about his downfall. To assume the leadership of Europe and to glorify France, he interfered in the internal affairs of other countries. His foreign Policy was an utter failure in Mexico, Italy and Germany and proved detrimental to the international prestige of France and created discontent among the people. War against Prussia was the chief cause of his decline. It has been rightly remarked—

"His vacillation and double crossing in Italian campaign, his misadventure in Mexico and his diplomatic defeats at the hands of Bismarck thoroughly discredited him both at home and abroad."

After his defeat in the Battle of Sedan in 1870, he was imprisoned. He was released when the Treaty of Frankfurt was signed. He took shelter in England and died there in 1873. So we see that Napoleon III failed because of his defeats and his weak and vacillating and contradictory home and foreign policy.

Seaman has evaluated his character and achievements in the following words—

"*He had more of that fire in the belly that makes a man of actions. He had neither drive nor organising ability, nor the gift of steady application to routine administration such as characterised his uncle or Frederick the Great or Louis XIV and his lack of ability to come to clear-cut decision about anything is the most pronounced feature of his character. Whenever decision was at last grudgingly and uncertainly wrung from him, he could only with difficulty be persuaded from going back on it. The coup d etat, the entry into Crimean war and into the Italian war, the decision to take no action in* 1866, *and to take an action in* 1870; *he regretted them all as they were made and endeavoured to go back on all of them except for his decision of* 1870, *which proved fatal.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Causes of the Failure of Napoleon III**

(1) His despotic rule (2) His home policy. (3) His foreign policy. (4) Defects in his character.

2. **Estimate of Napoleon III's Character and Work :**

(1) Diverse traits and mixture of opposite elements. (2) Imperial Sphinx. (3) World of difference between thoughts and action. (4) Politician but fool (5) Characteristics of Machiavelli and Don Quixote. (6) Lack of moral principles (7) Lack of foresight—Little Napoleon. (8) High schemes but lacked ability to put them in practice. (9) Fatalist. (10) Praised by Queen Victoria. (11) Diverse elements in home and foreign policy. (12) Selfish and failed to win support of any political party and the people (13) Foreign policy was very weak and vacillating. It brought about his downfall.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. Give a brief account of the reign of Louis XVIII.
2. Give a critical acount of the different political parties in France during the regin of Louis XVIII.
3. What led to the fall and flight of Charles X and what forces led to the succession of Louis Philippe to the throne of France.
4. Trace briefly the courses of events leading to the French Revolution of 1830. What were its effects on the various countries of Europe ? (*P.U.* 1956, *D.U.* 1963)
5. Describe briefly the July Revolution of 1830 with special reference to its causes, its contagious effects and its importance.
6. "The revolution of 1830 was an event of great significance in the history of France." Amplify the statement.
7. Why did the July Monarchy of 1830 become unpopular ? Explain.

8. Give a brief account of the reign of Louis Philippe with special reference to the difficulties at his accession and his home and foreign policy.

9. "France is bored" Do you agree with this condemnation of Louis Philippe's internal and foreign policy ? In either case give your reasons. (*D. U* 1962)

10. "Louis Philippe's reign produced unfortunate results in France but brought benefits to Europe." Discuss. (*D.U.* 1969)

11. Discuss the causes and course of the Revolution of 1848 A.D. in France.

12. What were the effects of French Revolution of 1848 A.D. on the countries of Europe ? Why did it fail ?

13. Trace the progress of rovolutionary moments in Europe from 1830 A.D. 1849 A.D. (*D.U.* 1963, 68)

14. "On the 24th February there was neither purpose nor idea." To what extent is this true of the French Revolution of 1848 A.D. (*D.U.* 1964)

15. "The year 1848 A.D. was the year of Revolution in Europe. Amplify. (*P.U.* 1964)

16. "The Revolutions of 1848 A.D. were in reality the work of towns." Discuss. (*D U.* 1965)

17. "The year of 1848 A.D. was the year of miracles." Examine the truth of the statement. (*D.U.* 1965)

18. Discuss the main causes of the Revolutions of 1830 A.D. and 1848 A D. (*D.U.* 1960. 64)

19. What led to revolts in France in 1830 A.D. and again in 1848 A.D. (*P.U.* 1965)

20. The Revolutions of 1830 A.D. and 1848 A.D. were vastly different. Justify.

21. Describe briefly the main points of comparison and difference between the Revolution of 1830 A.D. and 1848 A D. with regards to their causes, nature and results.

22. Waat do you know about the new constitution given to France by Louis Napoleon in 1852 A.D. ?

23. Give a description of the main events of France from 1848 to 1852 A.D.

24. Describe briefly the reign of Napoleon III with particular reference to his home and foreign policy, his character and causes of his downfall. What causes would you attribute to the fall of the Second Empire ?

25. "The historv of the 2nd empire from its foundation in 1852 A.D to 1860 A.D, was a period of despotic government and of great uninterrupted success." Discuss. (*A.U.* 1956)

26. Give an estimate of the work and charac ter of Napoleon III of France. Was he a visionary ? (*A.U.* 1963)

27. "The Empire is Peace" was the motto of Napoleon III. How far did he live upto it ?

28. Give a brief and critical account of the home and foreign policy of Napoleon III.
(*D. U.* 1960, 62, 63, 65, 68, 69).

29. To what extent was the Second Empire of France a liberal Empire ?

30. Describe the circumstances that led to war between France and Germany in 1870 A.D.

31. Examine the causes of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 A.D. Why is it considered a landmark in European History ?
(*D. U.* 1864)

32. Why did Prussia go to war against France in 1870 and what were its results ? (*P U* 1960)

33. Give a brief account of the internal development of France under Napoleon III. (*D U* 1970)

34. What were the causes, course and results of the war of Belgian independence ? (*P.U.* 1967, 71)

35. Describe the events of the Revolution of 1848 A.D. in Germany, Austria and Italy. (*Pb. B.A.* 1970)

36. How was France taken over and governed by Napoleon III ?
(*Pb B.A.* 1970)

37. Review the foreign policy of Napoleon III ? (*Pb. B.A.* 1971)

38. Analyse the circumstances leading to the establishment of the July Monarchy, and indicate the significance of the French Revolution of 1830 A.D. (*Delhi M.A.* 1970)

39. "Although the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 A.D. were simultaneous and inspired by a common ideology, yet they were isolated phenomena." Comment. (*Delhi M A.* 1970)

40. Sketch the economic development of France during the Second Empire. (*Delhi M.A.* 1970)

41. The Revolution of 1830 A.D. in France was caused neither by war nor by state of bankruptcy. Its causes were political. (Woodward). Discuss. (*Pb. M.A.* 1971)

42 'Napoleon III ruined France as a great power.' (A.J.P. Taylar) Discuss. (*Pb. M.A*- 1971)

43. 'Even without the military disasters of 1870 A.D., the collapse of the Second Empire could not have been long delayed.' Discuss. (*Pb. M.A.* 1971)

44. Discues the causes of the French Revolution of 1830 A.D. and show its effects on Europe. (*Pb. B.A.* 1972)

45. The Revolutions of 1848 A.D. were in reality organised in towns. Discuss. (*Delhi B.A.* 1972)

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

A Republic had been established in Italy three centuries before the birth of Christ. It was known as the Roman Republic. In 27 B.C a general named Julius Caesar put an end to the Republic and set-up the Roman Empire. After his death many emperors ruled over this empire and enhanced its glory and power. After the decline of the Roman Empire in the 5th century A.D the influence of Pope began to increase. The enmity between the Holy Roman Emperor and Pope led to chaos and anarchy in Italy. Many foreign invaders took advantage of Italy's weakness and invaded Italy during the Medieval Age. With the passage of time, Italy lost its unity and was dismembered into small states. Northern Italy was under the domination of Austria. Tuscany, Modena and Parma were ruled by the rulers of Hapsburg Dynasty under the complete control of Austria. The rulers of Bourbon Dynasty ruled over Sicily and Naples Pope ruled over the central part of Italy. The people of Italy were orthodox but the people of different parts had their own traditions. As a result of this, nationalism could not take deep roots in Italy. Thus, we see that political and geographical condition and the lack of national spirit stood in the way of the unification of Italy. The Chancellor of Austria, Metternich, once remarked that Italy is a mere Geographical Expression.'

When Napoleon Bonaparte became the Emperor of France, he put an end to the rule of Bourbon rulers and domination of Austria in Italy. He conquered many small kingdoms and formed a kingdom of Italy under the domination of France. He established a uniform system of administration, encouraged nationalism in Italy and indirectly paved the way for the unification of Italy. As a result of this, the patriots of Italy ultimately succeeded in establishing a unified Kingdom of Italy.

☞ Q. 1. Give a brief account of the History of Italy from 1789 A. D. to 1870 A. D.

(Imp.)

Or

Briefly review the history of liberation and unification of italy.

Or

"Out of the mud of Crimea, a new Italy was born" Outline the stages by which Italy was unified.

Ans—It has been described above that Napoleon established the Kingdom of Italy under the domination of France and *unconsciously* paved the way for the rise of nationalism and unification *of*

Italy. But nationalism and liberalism in Italy received a death blow at the hands of the leaders of Vienna Congress in 1815 and Italy was divided into small states and the old rulers were restored to their respective thrones. Rome and adjoining territories were placed under the Pope. Tuscany, Parma and Modena were restored to the Hapsburg princes. The Kingdoms of Sicily and Naples were restored to Ferdinand I. Sardinia and Genoa were annexed to the Kingdom of Piedmont. Lombardy and Venetia formed the parts of Austrian Empire. Thus the Kingdom of Italy was reduced to a mere 'geographical expression'. The system of government in all these states was reactionary and the influence of Austria was supreme. Mazzini has described the situation in Italy after the Vienna Settlement in the following words—

"*Country, liberty, brotherhood all are wrested from them, their faculties are mutilated, chained within a narrow circle, traced for them by men who are strangers to their tendencies, to their wants, their wishes. Their tradition is broken under the care of an Austrian corporal, their immortal soul feudatory to the stupid caprices of a man seated on a throne at Vienna.*"

Under these circumstances, the patriots of Italy such as Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour girded up their loins to complete the task of the unification of Italy and they succeeded in the long run. The poets and philosophers of Italy played an important role in creating mental revolution among the Italians. They created unity of thought and political ideas. This task was performed by Mazzini and Garibaldi who wielded tremendous influence on the intelligentsia. They started movement for literary and national revival known as '*Resorgimento*'. They inspired people to work for the achievement of freedom and unity. The task of the unification of Italy can be divided into five stages.

I First Stage—The Vienna Settlement produced various problems and difficulties for the patriots of Italy. The reactionary and autoratic rule in Italy was a great hurdle in the way of the unification of Italy. The people of Italy were orthodox and tradition-loving. Pope and rulers of Austria were also a great hindrance. Under these conditions, Mazzini swayed the minds of people through his writings and inspired his compatriots with a great missionary zeal. To quote **Hazen**—

"*Mazzini was the spiritual force of Italian resurrection.*"

(1) *Carbonari Revolt*—The Vienna Congress gave a severe blow to the unity of Italy but it could not crush the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. The patriots of Italy set-up secret societies to regain their independence. They were known as 'Carbonari.' The traders, soldiers, servants, labourers and government servants were the members of these societies. They, however, lacked unity. They were not clear about their aims and had no definite procedure of work. They consisted of the revolutionaries of dis-satisfied classes of society. Their

main aim was to root out the arbitrary and reactionary rule and regain freedom. But their efforts failed in the long run.

There was a revolt in Spain in 1820 against the despotic rule. Being inspired by this movement, the members of the Carbonari raised a standard of revolt in Piedmont in the North and Naples in the South. Forced by circumstances, Victor Emmanuel, the ruler of Piedmont and Ferdinand I, the ruler of Naples, proclaimed liberal constitutions in their states. But the Austrian Chancellor Metternich, interfered in the affairs of these states and crushed these national movements forcibly. As a result, the liberal constitutions were cancelled and the reactionary governments were once again restored there.

(2) *July 1830 Revolution in France and Italy*—The July Revolution of 1830 A.D. in France deeply influenced other countries of Europe. As a result of this revolution, the French King Charles X had to leave his country and Belgium was freed from the clutches of Holland. There were revolts in the Papal States, Parma and Modena in Italy. The rulers of Parma and Modena had to run away to save their lives. France had sympathy for the revolutionaries of Italy but she did not openly support them for fear of annoying Austria. As such Austria crushed the revolutionary movements and inflicted severe punishments upon the revolutionaries. They were killed in large numbers. Thousands of them took shelter in foreign countries.

Mazzini also took leading part in the National Movement. He was arrested and later on exiled for six months. The fire of revolution and patriotism kept burning in him and in 1832 he founded a new party known as '*Young Italy*' in the city of Marseilles in France. The branches of this party were set up all over Italy. Its motto was "*God, people and Italy*" He wanted to create an awakening among the people through education and literature to achieve unity and independence from foreign yoke. He was in favour of establishing a Republic in Italy. He wanted to infuse revolutionary ideas in the minds of the youngmen of Italy. He believed in working secretly. This party had no power behind him and Mazzini did not like to seek foreign help for the achievement of his aim. To quote him—

"*The only thing wanting in twenty millions of Italians, desirous of emancipating themselves, is not power, but faith.*"

The membership of this party went on increasing and soon it rose to 50,000 patriots. Through this party, he roused the feeling of unbounded patriotism, faith and hope and infused new life among the youngmen of Italy. He instilled in them a self-sacrificing sense of duty. In this way, he prepared the youngmen to achieve freedom and unity. To quote him :—

"*Place youth at the head of the insurgent multitude, you know not the secret of the power hidden in their youthful hearts, nor the magic influence exercised on the masses by the voice of youth. You find among the young a host of apostles of the new religion.*"

Mazzini created a mental revolution among the people and inspired the youngmen with the spirit of nationalism and patriotism. He encouraged them to uproot the foreign rule. He has been rightly called the founder and forerunner of Italian nationalism.

(3) *Effects of the Revolution of* 1848 *on Italy*—Revolution again broke out in France in 1848. It had a great effect on Austria and the Liberals raised a standard of revolt. Metternich had to save his life by taking shelter in England. This incident inspired the patriots in Italy also and they launched a national movement in Milan, the capital of Lombardy Charles Albert, the ruler of Piedmont, supported the revolutionaries. He attacked Lombardy and chased away the Austrian army. A Republic was also set-up in Venetia. In the beginning, Pope and rulers of Tuscany and Naples promised to help Charles Albert but soon they backed out of their promise for fear of Austria. There was a revolt against Pope in Rome and a Republic was established there. Mazzini was appointed its president and Garibaldi was entrusted with the duty of its protection. But Albert was defeated by the Austrian army at the battles of Custozza and Navora. In this way, Austria established its domination over Lombardy once again and old reactionary rule was restored in Tuscany and Venetia. The French Emperor Napoleon III helped Pope and put an end to the Republic in Rome and Pope's authority was also restored there. Charles Albert abdicated his throne in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel who became the ruler of Piedmont. He established constitutional government there and assumed the leadership of the movement for the unification of Italy. Mazzini and Garibaldi had to flee from Italy. Though the efforts for unification failed in 1848, yet they encouraged nationalism. To quote **Grant & Temperley**—

"But failure had not stifled the sense of nationality. It had rather hastened it."

With the failure of the Revolution of 1848—49. Italy returned to her former condition i.e., division into small states, arbitrary government and domination of Austria. But the revolutionaries learnt three important lessons—(1) The Italian unification cannot be completed under the leadership of Pope. (2) It is useless to establish a Republic because the Republicans had no army. (3) Unity can be achieved under the leadership of the rulers of Sardinia and Piedmont.

(4) *Efforts of Cavour*—Cavour was another patriot of Italy who played a significant and praise worthy role for the independence and unification of Italy. He was in favour of limited monarchy and constitutional form of government He wanted to complete the work of achieving independence and unification of Italy under the leadership of the ruler of Piedmont. That is why he wanted to make Piedmont a premier state in Italy so that she could take the lead and play her rightful role in the cause of Italian independence and unification. When he became the member of Parliament, he said—

"Piedmont, gathering to itself all the living forces of Italy, would be soon in a position to lead our mother country to the high destinies to which she is called."

In 1850, he was appointed as a minister for agriculture and trade. Being impressed by his ability, Victor Emmanuel made him his Prime Minister in 1852. He introduced many reforms to improve the economic condition of Piedmont. He framed many plans to promote agriculture and industry. He improved the means of communication to encourage trade. He made commercial treaties with foreign countries. He organised a vast, strong and disciplined army consisting of 100,000 soldiers. The Church was brought under the strict control of the state and the clergymen were deprived of their special privileges. He organized a National Society to enlist the support of other Italian states and to win over the confidence and approval of different countries and rulers of Europe. To quote **Hazen**—

"He sought to make and did make Piedmont, a model small state, liberal and progressive, hoping, thus, to win for her, Italians of other states and the interest and approval of the countries and rulers of western Europe."

(5) *Cavour and the Crimean War*- Cavour was both a patriot and an able diplomat. He was a realist and an opportunist and not an idealist like Mazzini. He was convinced that Italian unification could not be brought about without the outside help To quote **Hazen**—

"Though a minister of a petty state of only five million people, Cavour was the most dynamic personality in Europe."

He wanted to secure a powerful ally to achieve his aims. He tried to seek help from England and France. England had sympathy for the Italian cause but was not in a position to support her because she did not like to break the international treaties. So, he turned to France because the French army was very strong and powerful and the French Emperor Napoleon III was very ambitious. To quote **Cavour**—

"Whether we like it or not our destinies depend upon France."

He got a golden chance to secure a foreign ally when the Crimean War broke out in 1854. England and France helped the Sultan of Turkey against Russia in this war. Cavour sent 15,000 soldiers to help England and France. Russia was defeated in this war which came to an end in 1856 and a conference was held in Paris to settle the terms of this Treaty of Paris. This war has also a special significance in the History of Italy. It has been rightly remarked that "*Crimean war wa a land mark in the history of Italian independence and unification.*"

Cavour took part in this conference and he was regarded as th representative of all the Italian States. Cavour declared that the proble of Italy was not a local affair but an international one and that it wa difficult to maintain peace in Europe without the unification of Italy It was a master stroke of policy. It raised the status of Italy and sh also enlisted the sympathy of England and France. **Grant an Temperley** have praised his success in these words—

"It was the life task of the subtle mind of Cavour to re-arrange th web so as to admit a free and united Italy."

This diplomatic success of Cavour marked the beginning of the Italian unification. He attracted the attention of different European powers to the problem of Italy and got support from England and France. After this war, Piedmont became so powerful that she could face even Austria. It has been rightly said—

"*Out of the mud of Crimea, new Italy was born.*"

(6) *Cavour and Compact of Plombiers*—The French Emperor Napoleon III supported the principles of nationality and had sympathy with the cause of Italian patriots because he had been a member of Carbonary during his youth. He had a secret meeting with Cavour at Plombiers on July 20, 1858 and entered into an agreement with him. Its main provisions were. (1) If Cavour could prove Austria to be an aggressor, the French armies would help Piedmont to drive away Austria from Lombardy and Venetia. (2) If the allies won, Lombardy, Venetia, Parma and Modena etc. would be handed over to Piedmont and France would get Savoy and Nice as compensation. (3) Rome would remain under the domination of the Pope. (4) Two parts of Sicily would remain as separate kingdoms. (5) Victor Emmanuel's daughter would be married to Prince Victor Jerome Napoleon, a cousin of the Emperor. Soon Cavour sent his troops on the borders of Lombardy to provoke Austria. The ruler of Piedmont declared in the Parliament—

"*We are not insensible to the cry of woe that comes to us from so many parts of Italy.*"

Austria also amassed troops on the border. At the same time, she sent an ultimatum to Piedmont to call back her troops and to stop all the preparations of war. Cavour rejected it and so Austria sent her troops into Piedment on April 19, 1859. At this moment, Cavour cried :

"*The die is cast and we have made history.*"

After the declaration of war, Napoleon III sent his army to support Cavour. Austrian army was defeated at the battles of Magenta and Solferino and Piedmont seized Lombardy. At this stage, Napoleon deserted Piedmont, met the Austrian Emperor secretly and concluded the Treaty of Vilafranca with him. It was decided that Lombardy would remain under the control of Piedmont. Venetia would remain with Austria. The rulers in the Central Duchies would be restored. Many causes forced Napoleon III to conclude this treaty—(1) He could not tolerate the powerful state of Piedmont on the borders of France because it might prove dangerous later on. (2) The French Catholics were very critical of his Italian policy. (3) He feared that Prussia might interfere on behalf of Austria.

After this agreement, France removed his troops from the battlefield. Piedmont was not in a position to carry on war with Austria single-handed. He concluded the Treaty of Zurich with Austria and accepted the terms of the armistice of Vilafanca France got Savoy and Nice. Piedmont annexed Lombardy and completed the first stage of the unification of Italy.

Napoleon III's action infuriated Cavour and he said—

"*Nothing remains for me but to put a bullet through my head.*"

Cavour was very indignant and he advised the king to continue the war. Victor Emmanuel, wiser than Cavour, refused to oblige him. Cavour resigned in protest but the king prevailed upon him and he was restored to his original position.

2. **The Second Stage**—A war broke out between Austria and Sardinia in 1859. The people of Modena, Parma and Tuscany took advantage of this situation and revolted against their arbitrary rulers and forced them to leave their kingdoms. Pope's authority was also overthrown in Romagna. In this way, the Treaty of Zurich was broken by the people of these territories. France and Austria favoured the restoration of the deposed kings. The rebels, however, set-up interim governments and declared to have union with Piedmont. England also supported their cause. **Lord Palmerston** said—

"*The people of the Duchies have as much right to change their sovereigns as the English people or the French.*"

Emmanuel thought it expedient to gain the support of Napoleon III for the annexation of the Duchies. Cavour had a secret talk with him and struck bargain with Napoleon III. Cavour offered him Savoy and Nice if he agreed to the annexation of the Duchies to Piedmont after a plebiscite. Accordingly, plebiscite was held in 1860 and the Duchies decided to have a union with Piedmont and they were annexed to Piedmont in accordance with this decision. It was an important step towards the unification of Itlay. It struck at the very root of the Vienna Settlement of 1815. To quote **Hazen**—

"*What that Congress (Vienna) had decided to be mere 'geographical expression' was now a nation in formation.*"

Thus, Northern and Central Italian territories were united together and a federal government was set-up there under the leadership of Victo Emmanuel. Only Sicily, Venetia and Rome remained to be annexed to complete the unification of Italy. Savoy and Nice were ceded to France. At this Garibaldi became furious and said—"*You have made me a foreigner in the land of my birth.*" The annexation of the Central Duchies was in fact but a stepping stone towards the ultimate union of all Italy under a single crown.

3. **The Third Stage**—An Italian patriot, Garibaldi, played a notable part in the unification of Italy during the third stage. After the unification of northern and central Italy, Cavour resorted to revolutionary activities for the annexation of southern states of Italy. To quote him—

"*They have stopped me from making Italy by diplomacy from the north, I will make it with revolution from the south.*"

There was a great discontent among the people of Sicily and Naples against the reactionary rule of their despotic rulers. So, they raised a standard of revolt against their autocratic rulers in 1860. The ruler of Sicily, Francis II, fled away from his country. Garibaldi took advantage of this situation and attacked Palermo, the capital of Sicily with a group of 1000 soldiers. His followers are known as 'The Thousand' or the "Red Shirts' in history. Garibaldi inflicted a severe defeat on the enemy at the battle of Milazzo and captured Sicily. Then he attacked Naples in August, 1860. Its ruler took shelter in Gaeta. In this way, Garibaldi succeeded in seizing Naples also. To quote **Hazen**—

"In less than five months. he had conquered a kingdom of 1,000,000 *people, an achievement unique in modern history"*

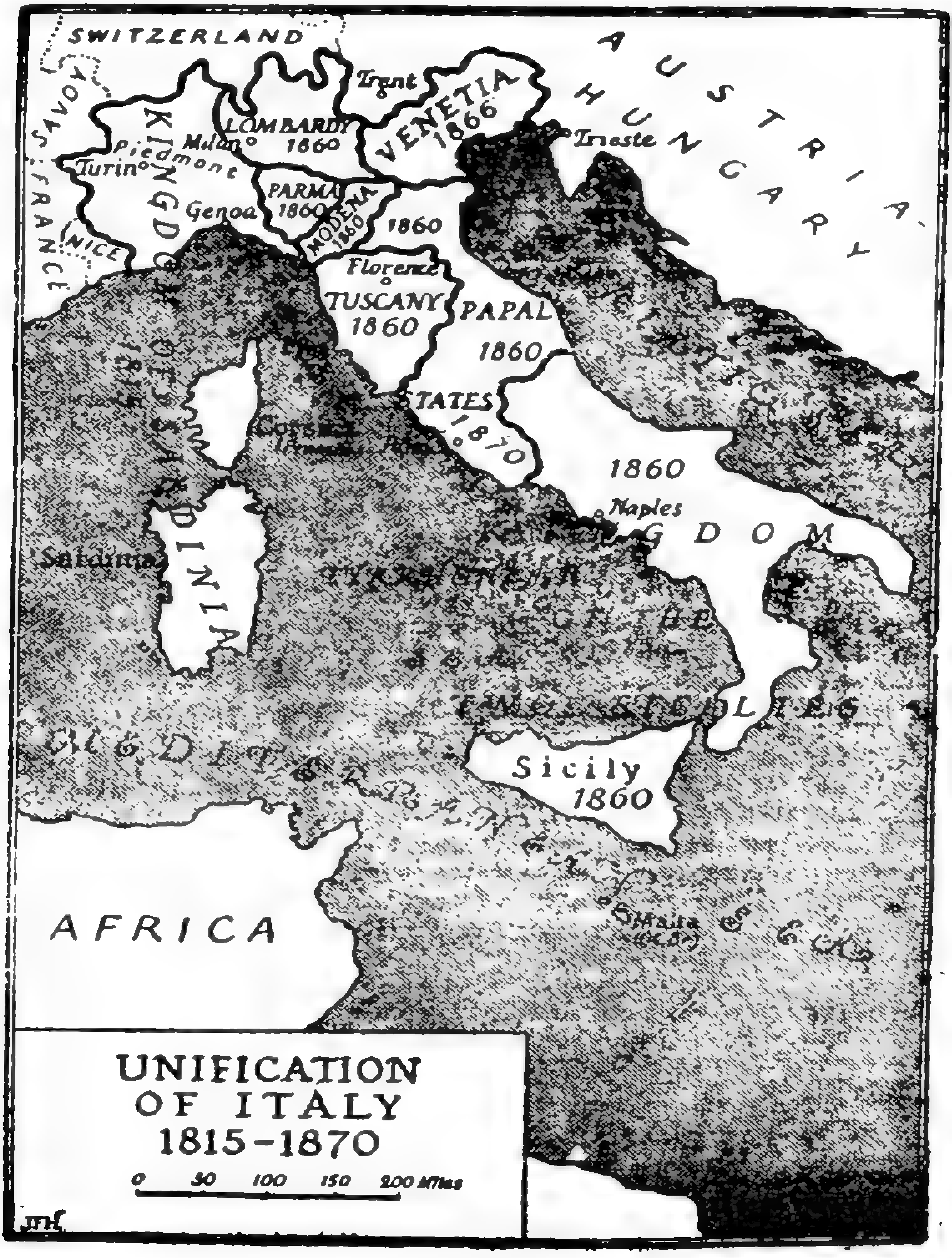
After these victories and successes, Garibaldi's position became very strong and he began to formulate plans to attack Pope also. Cavour began to suspect his intentions and he fear d that Garibaldi might establish a Republic in the South after the conquest of Rome. There was also a possibility of the intervention of foreign powers in the internal affairs of Italy which might prove disastrous to the unification of Italy. So Cavour tried to ensure that all the conquests were made in the name of Victor Emmanuel to avoid international war. Cavour was fortunate that the foreign powers were not in a position to interefere in the internal affairs of Italy because they were entangled with their own domestic troubles. England had sympathy for the independence and unification of Italy. Austria also could not interfere in Italy because she had to face many problems in Hungary and Germany. Napoleon III, was also desirous of the success of nationalism in Italy. Cavour won over Napoleon III and attacked Pope to check the rising power of Garibaldi. He defeated the army of Pope at Castle Fidardo. In this way, he deprived Garibaldi an opportunity to invade the Papal States.

Though Garibaldi was a staunch supporter of the Republic, he proved himself to be a true patriot and handed over Sicily and Naples to Victor Emmanuel. A plebiscite was held in these states and the people gave verdict in favour of union with Piedmont. A new parliament was summoned at Turin on 18th Feburary, 1861. The representatives of all the states except those of Rome and Venetia took part in it. The Kingdom of Sardinia was proclaimed as the Kingdom of Italy and Victor Emmanuel was declared as the King of Italy on 10 March, 1861. Only Rome and Venetia now remained out of the union of Italy. Victor Emmanuel praised the selfless character and patriotism of Garibaldi. He wanted to heap upon him various titles and sent him rich presents but he refused to accept them. He retired to his hometown only with a bag of potato seeds.

Cavour wanted to accomplish the work of unifying Italy by conquering Rome and Venetia because he used to say, *"Without Rome, there was no Italy."* But he could not complete this task during his life-time because he died on 6th June, 1865. He was the chief architect of the unity of Italy and his services in this direction cannot be underestimated. It has been rightly remarked—

"His was the master brain which mobilized the inspiration of Mazzini into a diplomatic force, which beat the sword of Garibaldi into a

national weapon and turned what might have been the political quixotri of ill guided enthusiasts of state."


SWITZERLAND
SAVOY
FRANCE
NICE
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Piedmont
Turin
Milan
Genoa
LOMBARDY
1860
Trent
VENETIA
1866
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Trieste
PARMA
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4. The Fourth Stage—

Capture of Venetia—The annexation of Venetia and Rome was absolutely essential to complete the task of the unification of Italy. Victor Emmanuel got a chance to do so in 1866 The relations between Prussia and Austria were so strained that a war between them seemed inevitable and imminent. The Chancellor of Prussia, Bismarck, was in search of an ally. So he made a treaty with Italy. It was decided that in case a war broke out between Prussia and Austria, Italy would invade Venetia to weaken Austria and if Prussia won the war, Venetia would be given to Italy.

In 1866, Prussia declaredwar against Austria Italy stood by Prussia and Garibaldi attacked Venetia. But Italy was badly defeated at Custozza but Bismarck inflicted a severe defeat on Austria at the Battle of Sadowa in June, 1866 and forced her to sign the Treaty of Prague. According to this treaty, Venetia was given to Italy.

5. The Fifth Stage—

Conquest of Rome—Without the conquest of Rome, the task of the unification of Italy was incomplete. This work seemed to be somewhat difficult because the French armies were still in Rome to help the Pope. Victor Emmanuel, however, got an opportunity to conquer Rome in 1870, when a war broke out between Prussia and France. Being forced by circumstances, Napoleon III had to call back his soldiers. Victor Emmanuel captured it in no time. Rome was annexed to Italy after a plebiscite. In this way, the task of the unification of Italy was completed in 1870 and Rome was made its capital.

From the above description, it is quite clear that Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour and Victor Emmanuel did significant and praise-worthy work for accomplishing the task of the unification of Italy. Mazzini symbolized the soul of Italy, Cavour its mind, Garibaldi its sharp sword and Victor Emmanuel its body. Mazzini's moral force, Garibaldi's word Cavour's diplomacy and Victor Emmanuel' wisdom were responsible for the independence of Italy and the creation of a unified national state of Italy in 1870. It has been rightly said—

"Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour and Victor Emmanuel are the four colossal figures in the victorious birth of a great nation, from out of mere geographical expression."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Different Stages in the Unification of Italy—During the Medieval Age, Italy was divided into small states and most of them were under the domination of Austria. Napoleon's conquest gave them unity and inspired nationalism. The Vienna Settlement divided Italy into small states.

1. **First Stage**—(1) Carbonari revolt in 1820. (2) Effect of July Revolution of 1830 in Italy. (3) Effects of Revolution of 1848 on Italy. (4) Efforts of Cavour (5) Crimean war (6) Conquests of Lombardy by Piedmont.

2. **Second Stage**—(1) War between Sardinia and Austria in 1859. 2. Revolts in Modena, Parma, Tuscany and Romagna. (3) Annexation of Central Duchies after plebiscite in 1860.

Third Stage—(1) Sicily and Naples were annexed to Piedmont due to the efforts of Garibaldi. (2) Sardinian kingdom was proclaimed as the Kingdom of Italy in 1861 with Victor Emmanuel as the king.

4. **The Fouth Stage**—(1) War between Austria and Prussia in 1866. (2) Emmanuel sided with Prussia. (3) Emmanuel succeeded in the long run and Emmanuel captured Venetia.

5. **The Fifth Stage**—(1) Franco-Prussia War of 1870. (2) French armies were called back from Rome. 3. Emmanuel seized Rome and completed the task of the unification of Italy.

Freedom Fighters of Italy

Q. 2. Give a brief account of the life history of Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel. What was their contribution to the liberation and unification of Italy ?

Or

Which statesman, in your opinion, made the greatest contribution to Italian Unification ? Define your choice.

Or

"Cavour was an opportunist and Mazzini an idealist." Discuss the above remarks in relation to their contribution to Italian Unity.

Ans.—Italy produced many patriots in the 19th century who made supreme sacrifices and completed the task of the independence and unification of Italy. The most prominent among them were Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi and Emmanuel. Though they belonged to different schools of thought, yet their aim was the same. They played a significant role in the unification of Italy. Mazzini symbolized the soul of Italy, Cavour its minds, Garibaldi its sword and Victor Emmanuel its body.

1. Joseph Mazzini, 1805-1872 A D.

Early Life—Joseph Mazzini was the soul and the moral force behind the national movement in Italy He was born in Genoa in 1805. His father was a famous and respectable doctor. He himself was very wise and a learned scholar. He had deep interest in the French Revolution. In his early childhood, Mazzini learned a good deal about Revolution and its famous incidents from his father. He was deeply influenced by the revolutionary ideas and was inspired by the spirit of nationalism and patriotism Italy was passing through a critical time. She was under the foreign yoke. The miserable condition and slavery of his motherland had deep impression on him. He began to think of the ways and means for the independence of his country. To quote him—

> *"In the midst of noisy, tumultuous life of the student around me, sombre and absorbed and appeared like one suddenly grown old, I childishly determined to dress always in black, fancying myself in mourning for my country."*

(2) *Member of Carbonari*—There was a great change in his ideas as he grew old. He had a literary bent of mind and Shakespeare. Dante, Byron, Goethe etc. were his favourites. To quote him—

"A thousand visions of historical drama and romance floated my mental eye."

But the miserable condition of Italy forced him to bid farewell in his literary ideas and he joined a revolutionary organization known as 'Carbonari.' Being influenced by the French Revolution of 1830, patriots of Piedmont started a national movement for the freedom of their country. Mazzini also took a leading part in it and was imprisoned. The Governor of Genoa wrote a letter to his father about his deep thoughts—

"Gifted with talent but was too fond of walking by himself at night absorbed in thought. What on earth has he in this age to think about ? We do not like young people thinking, without our knowing the subject of their thought."

He remained in prison for six months. Then he was exiled and he went to France.

(3) *Foundation of Young Italy*—After a lot of thinking, Mazzini came to the conclusion that it was difficult to free Italy from the foreign bondage with the help of *'Carbonari'* alone because it had not constructive programme. To infuse the spirit of patriotism, nationalism and sacrifice, he founded an organisation known as *'Young Italy'* in 1831. Its branches were set-up all over Italy. This organisation believed in working silently and secretly so that it might not be crushed. Its main aim was to build the character of the people, educate them and inspire them with the spirit of duty, dedication to the country and self-confidence. Only persons below 40 could become its members. Mazzini believed that there was a secret power hidden in the heart of youngmen and it could give lead to revolution. To quote him—

"Place youth at the head of insurgent multitude, you know not the secret of power in these youthful hearts nor the magic influence exercised on the masses by the voice of youth. You will find among the young a host of apostles of the new religion."

"*Young Italy*" had three main objects :—

(1) To awaken the people for the freedom and unification of Italy.

(2) To infuse the spirit of duty and sacrifice among the people.

(3) To establish a Republic.

Its motto was "*God, People, Italy*".

Its members had to take the following oath :—

"To dedicate myself wholly and for ever to the task of constituting a free, independent and republican Italy."

Mazzini was an idealist. He believed that foreign help was not necessary for the independence and unification of Italy. They must have full faith in their own power. He had a firm conviction that faith and not power was required to achieve their aims and objectives. For him, the liberation and unification of Italy was a religion. To quote him—

"The only thing wanting to twenty millions of Italians, desirous of emancipating themselves, is not power but faith"

He used to say that all national movements were started by the unknown people who got success in the long run on the basis of their firm conviction and faith and not by force.

Mazzini was a Republican. He wanted to establish a Republic in Italy from Sicily to Alps. He said it was useless to have any other aim except the unity of Italy. To quote him—

"Never rise in any other name than that of Italy and of all Italy."

Mazzini created a great mental revolution in Italy through his books and writings. He revolutionized the minds of the youngmen of Italy and prepared them to make any sacrifice whatsoever for the sake of their motherland

(4) *Revolution of* 1848 *and Mazzini*—During the period of his exile, Mazzini visited France, England and Switzerland etc. The Revolution of 1848 had tremendous effect on Austria and Italy. Metternich had to leave his country and take refuge in England due to the rise of national movement in Austria. This incident inspired the patriots of Italy also and they raised a standard of revolt in Milan, the capital of Lombardy. Mazzini returned to Italy and began to help the revolutionaries. The revolutionaries chased away the Austrian army A revolution also took place in the kingdom of Pope who had to take shelter in Naples for the safety of his life. Pope's authority was abolished and a Republic was established in Rome under the headship of Mazzini. The task of its protection was entrusted to Garibaldi. A Republic was also set-up in Lombardy.

However, soon the Austrian army invaded Lombardy and put an end to the Republic there. The revolutionaries failed in the end and the old reactionary rule was restored everywhere in Italy. Napoleon III rendered military help to Pope who succeeded in establishing his authority in Rome once again. Forced by circumstances, Garibaldi and Mazzini fled away to America. After this, the power of Mazzini's Party came to an end and he began to help Cavour and Garibaldi in the task of the unification of Italy.

(5) *After* 1849 *A.D.*—After 1849, Mazzini preached the revolutionary ideals in South Italy. In 1860, he again started a struggle for the independence of Italy. The revolutionaries revolted in 1860, at Plumber, Riso and Rooshinopilo in Sicily under the leadership of Mazzini. But, this ended in failure. Garibaldi succeeded in capturing Sicily and Naples. Later on, the task of freedom and unification of Italy was completed by Victor Emmanuel Mazzini did not feel happy because he desired to establish a Republic in Italy instead of a monarchy. He, however, died in 1872.

(6) *Estimate of Mazzini*—Some writers are of the view that Mazzini was an idealist, philosopher and a violent revolutionary There is no doubt that he could not realize the dream of establishing a republic in Italy but his efforts and sacrifices for achieving the independence and unification of Italy cannot be ignored. According to Hazen

"He was a dauntless leader, a man of purity of life, a man of imagination. of poetry, of audacity gifted, moreover, with marvellous command of persuasive language and with burning enthusiasm in his heart. He was the first man who thought of the independence of Italy and unifying it under a strong central government and sacrificed his life to achieve this aim His greatness lies in the fact that he charged the youngmen of Italy with the sentiments of nationalism, patriotism, moral character and spirit of dedication and sacrifice for their country……… ………Mazzini was the spiritual force of the Italian resurrection."

Mazzini was the apostle of freedom and a true founder of nationalism. He awakened the whole of Italy by blazing the fire of freedom and nationalism.

According to **Southgate**, it cannot be denied that Mazzini inspired the Italians with the spirit of patriotism and created in them a strong desire to gain independence. He was neither a politician and a diplomat like Cavour nor a general like Garibaldi. As a matter of fact, he was an idealist and a poet and the moving spirit behind the national movement in Italy.

2. Cavour, 1810 to 1861 A.D.

Early Life—Cavour was born in a rich family of Turin, an important city in Piedmont. After receiving higher education, he became an engineer in the military. He had liberal ideas from the very beginning of his career, and that is why his officials were not satisfied with him Therefore, he resigned in 1831 and began to work on his farm. He took a keen interest in History, Politics and Economics. He felt sad at the miserable political and economic condition of his country. He got a chance to visit England, France, Germany and Switzerland etc from 1831 to 1843. He was greatly influenced by the parliamentary type of government of England. He wanted to win name and fame by taking part in politics but it was difficult to achieve this aim because of the absence of any representative assembly in the country. To quote him—

"Oh ! if I were an Englishman, by this time I should be something, and my name would not be wholly unknown."

He set-up a society for the promotion of agriculture. He came into contact with various patriots of Italy and had discussions with them on the problems of his country. He began to publish a newspaper named '*Resorgimento*' in 1847 to bring about political unity and social reforms in Italy Soon he became a famous politician.

As a Prime Minister—Cavour took part in the elections, held in 1848 and became a member of the Parliament of Piedmont. After his election he said—

"It was the mission of Sardinian State to gather to herself all the living forces of Italy and lead our mother-country to those high distinctions to which she is called."

He joined the cabinet in 1850 as a Minister for Trade and Agriculture. Victor Emmanuel was very much impressed by his ability and efficiency and appointed him as his Prime Minister in 1852.

His Home Policy—Cavour wanted to complete the task of independence and the unification of Italy under the leadership of the King of Piedmont. He wanted to make Piedmont a progressive, powerful nd a model state so that other states of Italy might accept her leaderhip. He introduced the following reforms to achieve his aim :—

(1) He adopted the *policy of free trade* and concluded commerial treaties with other countries to promote trade and commerce.

(2) He *improved the means of communications* by constructing oads, railways and canals.

(3) Many *factories* were set-up to develop industry.

(4) He encouraged *agriculture* by giving it a modern touch and set-up co-operative societies to help the farmers.

(5) He opened *schools* for the education of the people.

(6) He organized a vast, powerful and *disciplined army* consisting f 90,000 soldiers. A fleet was also fully equipped.

(7) He *separated the Church from the State* and brought it under he strict state control. He abolished the special privileges of the clergymen.

(8) He organised the '*National Society*' to win the support of ther Italian States of Piedmont. Its motto was : "*Independence and Unity without Austrians and Pope.*" Many liberals and republicans of taly joined this society.

Foreign Policy—Cavour was not an idealist like Mazzini. He was a statesman, a diplomat and an opportunist. He was endowed with great imaginative power and courage. He made quick decisions He was aware of the fact that the unification of Italy was not possible until Austrians were ousted from Italy. He was in favour of seeking foreign help to gain his aim. He tried to get help from England and France. England did not possess a large army and at the same time she did not like to interfere into the internal affairs of other countries. On the other hand, the French Emperor Napoleon III was very ambitious but he favoured nationalism also So, Cavour tried to establish friendly relations with him To quote him—

"Whether we like it or not, our destinics depend on France."

(1) *Crimean War* 1854—1856 *A. D.*—Cavour got a chance to secure Allies for Italy and to establish friendly relations with other European countries when Crimean War broke out between Turkey and Russia in 1854. England and France helped the Sultan of Turkey and Cavour joined them afterwards and sent the Sardinian army to help the Allies. Russia was defeated and a conference of Europenn powers was held in Paris. Cavour took part in it as a representative of Italy He made it clear in the Conference that peace could not be maintained

in Europe without the independence and unification of Italy. It increased the influence of Cavour and Sardinia in the international sphere. It was a master-stroke and a great achievement of Cavour. To quote. **Grant and Temperley**—

"*It was the life-task of the subtle mind of Cavour to re-arrange that so well as to admit a free and united Italy.*" Cavour himself used to say—

"*Out of the Crimean mud, a new Italy will be born.*"

(2) *Agreement of Plombiers* 1858 *A. D.*—French Emperor, Napoleon III had sympathy with the cause of Italy because he had been a member of Carbonari. He supported liberal movements and wanted to undo the work of the Vienna Congress of 1815. Cavour had a secret meeting with Napoleon III at Plombiers on 21st July, 1859. He entered into an agreement with him and hatched a conspiracy to oust Austria from Italy. According to the Agreement of Plombiers, it was decided that if a war broke out between Austria and Sardinia, France would despatch army to help Sardinia and if Sardinia won Victory she would seize Venetia, Lombardy and some portions of the kingdom of Pope and France would annex Savoy and Nice. About his success **Cavour** remarked—

"*We have Austria in a cleft-stick and she cannot get out of it without firing the cannon.*"

(3) *War between Austria and Sardinia*—After making full preparations of war, Cavour amassed his troops on the border. Austria issued an ultimatum to remove his troops and to stop the war preparations. Cavour cared a fig for it and said—

"*The die is cast and we have made history.*"

He encouraged his countrymen in the following words—

"*Use the good fortune that presents itself to you. Your dream of independence will be realised if you show yourself worthy of it. Unite in one great effort for the liberation of the country.*"

A war broke out between Austria and Sardinia. France supported Sardinia. Austria was defeated at Magentia and Solferino. Sardinia captured Lombardy and Milan. These victories enhanced the power and glory of Piedmont. France could not tolerate a powerful state of Piedmont at her border lest she should prove a danger to her. Without consulting Piedmont, Napoleon III concluded the Treaty of Villafranca with Austria. It was decided that a federation would be set-up in Italy under the leadership of Pope ; Lombardy, Piedmont and Venetia would be placed under the domination of Austria and the Central Duchies would be restored to their old rulers. At this Cavour became indignant and said—

"*Nothing remains for me put to pant a bullet through my head.*"

Cavour advised Victor Emmanuel to take a violent and aggressive action against Austria but he refused to oblige him. At this, Cavour tendered his resignation but later on Emmanuel prevailed upon him and he returned to his office. **Piedmont** agreed to the terms of the Treaty of Villafranca after concluding the Treaty of *Zurich*. But the Central Duchies did not agree to the restoration of old rulers. So Tuscany, Parma, Modena and Romanga (under the Pope) were annexed to Piedmont after a plebiscite

(4) *Conquest of Sicily and Naples*—The nationalists in Sicily revolted against the arbitrary rule of Francis II. Garibaldi helped them with his followers and succeeded in capturing Sicily. Later on, he attacked and seized Naples also. He handed over these states to Victor Emmanuel who had been proclaimed as the King of Italy. Now Venetia and Rome only remained out. Victor Emmanuel, however, wanted to annex them to complete the unification of Italy. He used to say—

"Without Rome there was no Italy."

Cavour died in 1861. After his death, Victor Emmanuel seized Venetia in 1866. Austro-Prussian war broke out in 1870. Emmanuel took advantage of it and annexed **Rome** in 1870 and thus completed the task of the independence and unification of Italy.

An Estimate of Cavour—Cavour occupies an important place in the history of the unification of Italy. He was a great administrator and an able reformer. He made commercial treaties with other countries, promoted trade, agriculture and industry and improved the economic condition of his country. He also provided better means of communication and organized a large and disciplined army. In this way, he left no stone unturned to make Piedmont progressive and powerful enough to enlist the support of other Italian states because he wanted to play her rightful role in the cause of freedom and the unification of Italy. He made Piedmont a model state and European countries began to take keen interest in her affairs, To quote **Hazen**—

"He sought to make and did make Piedmont a model state, liberal and progressive, hoping, thus, to win for her Italians of other states and the interest and approval of the countries and rulers of western Europe."

Cavour was a man of great qualities. He was brave and courageous and had an iron will. Endowed with a great imaginative power, Cavour was a practical man whose judgements were always sound. **Hazen** has praised him in these words—

"In him were combined a rare harmony, sound judgement, practical ; sense ; power of clear, subtle, penetrating thought, unfailing attention to prosaic detail, with imagination, audacity, courage and iron nerve."

Cavour was a champion of a democratic form of government prevalent in England. He was an apostle of freedom. He wanted to smash the Austrian sovereignity in Italy and turn it into an independent, unified and strong country. Cavour was a great politician and statesman He was not an idealist like Mazzini but an opportunist. He knew that it was difficult to complete the task of the independence and unification of Italy without foreign help. He joined the Allies in e Crimean War and enlisted the support and sympathy of England nd France for the cause of Italy. He seized Lombardy with the help the French Emperor Napoleon III. To quote **Hazen** :—

. *"Though the minister of a petty state, he was the most dynamic ersonality in Europe."*

Metternich praised his diplomatic skill in the following words :—

"There is only one diplomat in Europe, but unfortunately, he is gainst us ; it is Cavour."

A famous politician **Guigot** also praised his statesmanship and aid—

"There are two men upon whom the eyes of Europe are fixed, the Emperor Napoleon and Cavour. The game is being played. I back Cavour"

Cavour was a great patriot and a diplomat. He changed Italy nto a unified state by the dint of the diplomatic skill and foresight. He played a notable part for the freedom and unification of Italy. He was the builder of a unified Italy in the real sense. He did not believe in making speeches. He used to say—

"I cannot make speeches but I can make Italy."

Again it is said—

"He was the master brain which mobilized the inspiration of Mazzini into a diplomatic force, which beat the sword of Garibaldi into a national weopon and turned what might have been the political quixotries of ill-guided enthusiasts into instruments of state"

To quote **Prof. Phillips** :—

"Italy as a nation is the legacy, the life work of Cavour."

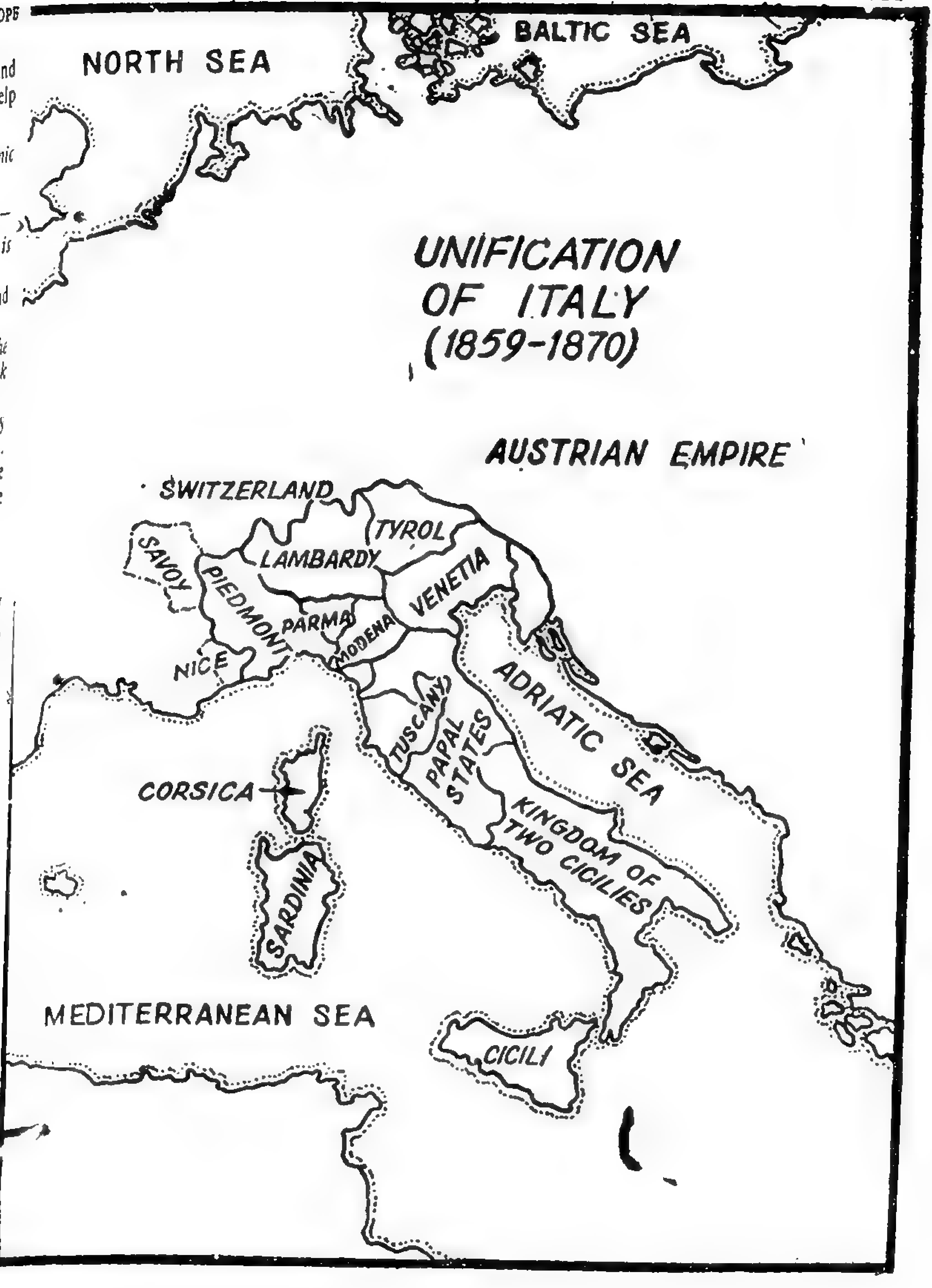
At the time of his death, **Cavour** himself said—

"Italy is made, all is safe."

3. Garibaldi 1807—82 A.D.

(1) *Early Life*—Garibaldi was born in Nice in 1807. His parents wanted that he should become a priest but he had no inclination for this profession. He was inclined towards sea-life and soon became a good sailor and started trade in the Mediterranean Sea. He was very brave and courageous and a true supporter of Mazzini. He became the member of '*Young Italy*', a party founded by Mazzini. The sailors of Piedmont revolted in 1834 under the leadership of Mazzini. Garibaldi supported Mazzini. The rebels failed in the end. As a result, the government of Piedmont condemned him to death. But he succeeded in escaping from jail and fled away to America. There he organized a band of soldiers known as 'Red Shirts' because they wore red shitts. He also took a leading part in the Civil War in America.

(2) *Garibaldi and Revolution of* 1848 *A D.*—Revolution broke out in 1848 in France, Italy and Austria etc Hearing the news of Revolution in Italy, Garibaldi returned to Italy with his followers. He faced the Austrian army bravely but failed. As a result, he had to leave his country and to take shelter in Switzerland. In the meanwhile


UNIFICATION
OF ITALY
(1859-1870)
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
SWITZERLAND
SAVOY
PIEDMONT
LAMBARDY
TYROL
VENETIA
PARMA
MODENA
NICE
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
ADRIATIC SEA
KINGDOM OF TWO CICILIES
CORSICA
SARDINIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CICILI

the patriots in the Kingdom of Pope raised a standard of revolt against him. They abolished the authority of the Pope in Rome and established Republic there under the leadship of Mazzini who estrusted Garibaldi, with the duty of protecting this newiy-born Republic because he feared Napolean III who was bent upon helping the Pope. Napoleon III despatched his army in support of the Pope. Garibaldi put up a dogged resistance but he could not succeed and so the Pope was restored to his old kingdom. Consequently Garibaldi had to seek refuge once again in South America and had to live in exile. His exploits roused Italians and filled their hearts with great enthusiasm. To quote **Hazen** –

> *"His story shot through and through with heroism and chivalry and romance, moved the Italian peolpe to depths of enthusiasm and admiration"*

(3) *War against Austria*—During his stay in America Garibaldi earned a lot of money and returned to Italy in 1854. He bought a small island of Caprera near Piedmont and began to live like a farmer. Cavour had a meeting with him and sought his help to complete the unification of Italy under the leadership of Victor Emmanuel. Though he was a staunch champion of a Republic, yet he supported the constitutional monarchy of Emmanuel in the interests of his motherland and promised to support him fully against Austria. A war broke out between Austria and Piedmont in 1859. At this critical juncture, Garibaldi collected a large number of his followers to fight against Austria. His followers followed him blindly and worshipped him like an idol.

Garibaldi faced the Austrian army with his volunteers and defeated it. But Victor Emmanuel stopped the war after the conclusion of the Teaty of Zurich and agreed to cede Savoy and Nice to France. Cavour and Garibaldi were disappointed. Garibaldi spoke indignantly, *"You have made me a foreinger in my own mother-land."*

(4) *Conquest of Sicily and Naples*—In 1860, the patriots and revolutionaries of Sicily rebelled against the arbitrary and autocratic rule of their king, Francis II. They sought the support of Garibaldi. He responded immediately and soon reached on the shores of Massala Harbour with a group of his 1000 Red Shirts. The revolutionaries gathered under his banner and attacked Palermo, the capital of Sicily. He defeated the royal army and captured Palermo. After this, he won victory in the Battle of Milazzo and succeeded in capturing the whole of Sicily.

Encouraged by this victory, Garibaldi made a plan to invade Naples. The French Emperor Napoleon III wanted to help the ruler of Naples and put a check to the growing power of Garibaldi. To achieve this object, Napoleon sought the support of England. But he failed in his design because England was not in favour of interfering in the internal affairs of Italy. Garibaldi invaded Naples. Its ruler fled away to Gaeta on 6th September, 1860 without giving a fight to Garibaldi. The conquest of Sicily and Naples was the greatest achievement of Garibaldi. To quote **Hazen**—

"In less than five months he had conquered a kingdom of 11.000,000 *people, an achievement unique in modern history."*

(5) *Plan to conquer Venetia and Rome*—Now Garibaldi planned to invade Venetia and Rome. This created differences between Cavour and Garibaldi. If Garibaldi attacked Venetia, Austria would have turned hostile to Cavour because Venetia was under the domination of Austria. His attack on Rome would have earned enmity of Napoleon III because he was more inclined towards Pope. Cavour did not favour the plans of Garibaldi because in his opinion Napoleon III's help was necessary for the unification of Italy. At the same time, he feared that Garibaldi might establish a Republic in the South after the conquest of Venetia and Rome and might refuse to join Piedmont. So Cavour planned to check Garibaldi's adventure. He asked Garibaldi to declare that all the conquests were made in the name of Victor Emmanuel. In fact Cavour feared that Italy might not be involved in any international war. To quote **Cavour**—

"Italy must be saved from foreigner's evil principle and mad men."

Cavour showed his diplomatic skill at this critical stage. He told Napoleon III that to check Garibaldi's advance and to protect the Pope, it was absolutely essential to attack Umbria and Marches under the Pope. Napoleon III agreed to it. So Cavour attacked both these places and captured them before Garibaldi's advance to them. Victor Emmanuel defeated Pope at Castle-fidrado and seized the whole of his territory except Rome.

On the other side, Garibaldi also reached near Rome. At this stage a meeting took place between Garibaldi and Emmanuel. Garibaldi's patriotic feelings and spirit of sacrifice over-ruled his personal interests. He sacrified his republican principles for the unity of his country. Garibaldi saluted Victor Emmanuel as the King of Italy and gave him Sicily and Naples which he had captured with his valour and courage. On 7th March, 1861, the formation of Italy was announced and Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed as its king.

Victor Emmanuel was deeply impressed by Garibaldi's spirit of patriotism and sacrifice and sent him many valuable gifts. Garibaldi, however, refused to accept them. He only took one bag of potato seeds to sow on his farmland. After this, he retired from politics and settled in the Island of Caprera and took to farming. He died there in June, 1882.

(6) *Estimate of Garibaldi*—From the above description, it is clear that Garibaldi was a great and selfless patriot. He was a brave, courageous and dauntless person. He used force for the unification of Italy. By conquering Sicily and Naples he played a significant role in the unity of Italy. He was one of the prominent patriots and nation-builders of Italy.

4. Victor Emmanuel

Victor Emmanuel was the son of Charles Albert who belonged to the royal family of Savoy. Charles Albert ruled over Piedmont when there was a revolt against his rule in 1848 as a result of the revolution of 1848. He fled away from his country and abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel.

Victor Emmanuel was fortunate to get the services of a capable and competent statesman like Cavour. Cavour was in favour of completing the task of independence and unification of Italy under the leadership of Piedmont. So he tried his level best to make Piedmont a strong, powerful and progessive state so that she might play its rightful role for the cause of Italian unification. He had given full rights to Cavour and full faith in his ability but he did not ditto all his plans and policies. He was a man of sound judgement and practical wisdom. He was an able, efficient and experienced man. In 1859, he concluded the Treaty of Zurich. At this, Cavour became indignant and tendered his resignation. At this moment, Emmanuel gave a proof of his practical sense and accepted his resignation. There is no doubt that he loved Cavour but his love for Italy was more than his love for Cavour. He was of the view that we should hold what we get and try to get more in the future. Moreover, one should not undo, what one has done, by mere foolishness and anger. At this stage, Emmanuel rendered useful service for the unity of Italy. To quote **Hazen**—

"Here was one of the supreme moments when the independent common sense of Victor Emmanuel were of great and enduring service to his country."

Later on, he prevailed upon Cavour and once again appointed him as his Prime Minister.

Cavour's patriotism and diplomacy stood him in good stead in completing the unification of Italy. Before his death, he established the Kingdom of Italy and Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed as its King. Only Venetia and Rome remained out. After the death of Cavour, Victor Emmanuel annexed Venetia and Rome in the kingdom of Italy and created a unified kingdom of Italy in 1870.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Mazzini, 1805-1872** (1) His early life. (2) Member of Carbonari. (3) Foundation of Young Italy in 1831. (4) Part played during the Revolution of 1848. (5) His services towards the unification of Italy after 1849. (6) Estimate of Mazzini—spiritual force of Italian resurrection.

2. **Cavour, 1810-1861**—His birth in 1810 in Turin and his early life. (2) As a Prime Minister—Member of Parliament in 1852. (3) His Home Policy—**By his** reforms he made Piedmont a progressive and powerful state. (4) His Foreign Policy-Favoured foreign help to achieve his aims. Crimean war of 1854; Agreement of Plembiers 1858 : War between Austria and Sardinia 1859. Couquest of Sicily and Naples 1860. (5) His estimate and services for the unification of Italy.

3. **Garibaldi, 1807-82**—(1) Born in Nice in 1807, his early life and foundati of Red Shirts Party. (2) Garibaldi and Revolution of 1848 A D. (3) War again Austria (4) Conquest of Sicily and Naples (5) His plan to conquer Venet and Rome thwarted by Cavour, he gave Sicily and Naples to Emmenu and helped him to establish the kingdom of Italy (6) Estimate of Garibaldi,

4. **Victor Emmanuel**—(1) Son of Charles Albert, the Ruler of Piedmont, (Became king of Piedmont in 1848. (3) Made Cavour his Prime Minister. (4) man of sound judgement and practical wisdom (5) Over-ruled Cavour after t Treaty of Zurich and accepted his resignation but later on appointed him as h Prime Minister again. (7) He established kingdom of Italy with the help of Cavo (8) Conquered Venetia and Rome and completed the unification of Italy in 1870.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. Give a brief history of the liberation and unification of Italy.

2. What were the main stages by which Italy achieved he political unity ?

3. Describe briefly the life, career and work of Mazzini, Cavou and Garibaldi in the unification of Italy.

4. "Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel are th four colossal figures in the victorious birth of a great natio from out of a mere geographical expression." Amplify.

5. Which statesman, in your opinion made the greatest contribution to Italian unity ? Defend your choice.

6. Form an estimate of Mazzini as the leading apostle of th Liberal and Romantic Nationalism prevalent during his time

(D. U. 1956

7. Discuss Cavour's policy for the unification of Italy.
(D. U. 1953, 58, 65

8. Estimate the contribution by foreign powers to the liberatio and unification of Italy. (D U. 1959

9. Give a critical estimate of Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi an King Victor Emmanuel as makers of Italy. (D. U. 1962

10. Discuss the contribution of Napoleon III to the unification o Italy. (D. U. 1963, 68

11. How was Italy united by Cavour and Garibaldi. (P. U. 1964

12. Discuss the contribution of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi t the unification of Italy.

(D. U. 1964. P. U. 1969. A. U. 1965

13. Examine the role of Mazzini and Garibaldi in the unificatio of Italy.

14. Briefly describe the various stages in the unification of Italy. How was it finally effected ? (P. U. 1966)

15. Examine the part played by Bismarck and Napoleon III in the making of Italy. (D. U. 1967)

16. "Cavour was an opportunist and Mazzini an idealist." In the light of this view discuss their role in the unification of Italy.

17. On the accompanying outline map of Europe, indicate the stages in the unification of Italy, adding suitable explanatory notes. (P.U. 1968, 70, 71)

18. Assess the contribution of Cavour and Mazzini to the unification of Italy. (Delhi B A. 1971)

19. Examine the role of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi in the unification of Italy. (Delhi B.A. 1970)

20. Form an estimate of the services of Mazzini to the unification of Italy. Is it correct to say that he was a hindrance rather than a help to the cause of unification ? (Delhi M. A. 1970)

21. What obstacles, internal and external, faced Cavour when he started his work for the unification of Italy ? How did he meet them ? (Pb. M. A. 1971)

22. What obstacles stood in the way of the unification of Italy and how were they removed ? (Pb. B.A. 1972)

23. Examine the role of Mazzini and Garibaldi in the unification of Italy. (Delhi B.A. 1972)

18

UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

Germany was in a very bad shape at the time of French Revolution. She was divided into numerous small states, each under a despot. People from the upper strata of society had special privileges in these states and the common man was deprived of his legitimate social as well as political rights. These tiny states of Germany were under the domination of Austria and were controlled by the Holy Roman Emperor. Metternich. the Prime Minister of Austria, followed a reactionary type of policy and ruthlessly crushed any movement for freedom. Germany did have a body of representatives known as'Diet' but it was good for nothing. The Diet represented the rulers of these tiny states of Germany as the representatives to it were nominated by them. These representatives could not but think of the interests of their respective rulers and not those of the masses. Under such circumstances, the patriots of Germany tried many a time to unify their motherland. Although their earlier attempts did not bear any fruit, yet in the long run they had their desires fulfilled and they were able to build a strong, unified Germany.

Early Efforts made from 1825 to 1848 to unite Germany

Q. 1. Describe briefly the attempts made by the people of Germany buring the year 1825-48 to unify and democratize the country. Account for the friliure of their attempts.

Ans—1.—Effects of Napoleon's Conquest of Germany on its Unification—Napoleon I badly defeated Austria in the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805 end forced her to sign the Treaty of Pressburg. This treaty ended the supremacy of the Holy Roman Emperor over Germans. Thereafter, Napoleon brought many smaller states together to form 13 states which were in turn bound in a confederation to make the famous Confederation of the Rhine. Through these efforts, Napoleon encouraged the forces of nationalism and unity in Germany. In **1812** A. D. Napoleon invaded her with an army, consisting of more than half a million soldiers. The expedition was a total failure and Napoleon's military machine suffered a severe set-back. His defeat filled the Germans with fresh enthusiasm. the German patriots infused nationalism in the people and there began a war of liberation.

2. Vienna Settlement and Germany——The Battle of Waterloo saw the defeat of Napoleon in **1815 A.D.** After his downfall. bigger nations of Europe held a conference in **1815 A.D.** to re-shape Europe. This conference annulled the Confederation of the Rhine. Germany was reconstituted into 39 states. These were brought together in a federation. This federation was headed by the reactionary Emperor of Austria. Despots were again brought at the helms of these states and people from the upper classes were restored their previleges. A

Federal Diet was constituted in Germany but its powers were only nominal.

The decisions of Vienna Congress belied the hopes of the patriots. They were dissatisfied and were filled with a sense of nationalism. Under such circumstances, the students and teachers of Jena University formed a secret committee named as '*Bruschen Schaft*' to preach and propagate nationalism and democracy among the German masses. To commemorate the Reformation and the Battle of Leipzig, the students of this University arranged a great function on October 18, 1817 at Wartburg. At this occasion, people took a Russian newsman for an Austrian spy and killed him. This provided a great opportunity to the Austrian Prime Minister Metternich to suppress the German nationalism. He followed a policy of repression and crushed liberalism completely.

3. Repression of Liberals by Metternich—Frederick William III, the Emperor of Prussia was expected to lead the forces of patriotic liberalism in Germany. But, unfortunately, even he failed to see through the game of the Austrian Prime Minister and became instrumental to many atrocities committed by Metternich on the Liberals who were ruthlessly crushed. Metternich called a meeting of six German states at Carlsbad in 1819 A D. Many laws were enacted in this meeting to put a curb on the Press and to harass the Universities. These laws are known as the 'Carlsbad Decrees.' German Diet ratified these decrees. In the words of **Grant and Temperley**—

"*Metternich, thus, became possessed of powerful police instrument which he used without mercy.*"

Under these regulations, he appointed a Curator in every university to keep an eye upon the students and the teachers. The secret councils were declared illegal. Suspected radical teachers were purged out of the universities. Students were debarred to form unions. All such books were removed from the syllabii which could spread liberalism and nationalism. Censorship was enforced on the press and papers. All the rulers of the states were ordered to suppress the liberal movements. Police were armed with special powers to crush the revolutionary ideas. Thus the reactionary policies of Metternich succeeded and he was able to suppress the sentiments of nationalism and liberalism in Germany. To quote **Grant and Temperley**—

"*He (Metternich) had nothing to offer Germany but repression, intimidation and a police regime.*

4. Economic Unification of Germany Different German states had different regulations for trade. These states were not allowed to have mutual trade relations Tax posts were established at the borders of each state and inter-state trade was subject to terminal tax. This arrangement proved deterimental to the trade of various states because these taxes raised the selling price of goods to such an extent that it could not compete with that of foreign goods. Prussia gave a lead to put an end to this custom in 1819 A D. She formed an economic union with 12 neghbouring states which is known as '***zollverein*** or

Custom Union'. According to this pact, a free trade began among 12 contracting states and the terminal tax was abolished. This resulted in a considerable increase in the trade among these states. Gradually, other states also joined this union and by 1834 A.D. all but Austria were members of this union.

Metternich became panicy of this economic unity. He tried his best to break this union but failed. This economic unity of Germany paved way for national unity later on. Encouraged by the unity the patriots began to work for a national unity and they were suceessful at last Seeds of national unity were concealed in this economic unity. **Grant and Temderley** have observed in this regard—

> *"The members were fettered and attached to Prussia by the silkeu meshes of an economic net, which had enveloped them before they were aware of it. The net only grew stronger and ties only became closer as the years went on. With every state added, it became more and more difficult for old state to retire or independent states to resist. In* 1848. *Prussia had already economic supremacy in Germany aud this was the fore-runner, and in part the cause of her future political and military supremacy."*

5. **Effects of the Revolution of 1830**—The French Revolution of 1830 influenced many European States. Germany was no exception to it. The people of Hanover, Hesse, Saxony, Budevok etc. in the North and those of Bavaria and Wurtemberg in the South rose in revolt against their respective rulers. The rulers were forced to restore the constitution of 18 5 and establish constitutional rule in their states. Only Austria and Prussia did not restore such governments to their people.

Metternich could not tolerate these liberel movements. He tried to suppress them. To achieve this end, he not only imposed the Carlsbed Decrees of 1832 and 1834 but also got more stringent decrees passed by the German Diet. Thus he abridged the powers of the legislatures of various states. Strict restrictions were imposed on the press and speech. Universities were put under strict vigilance and the students were debarred from forming associations. Many patriots and nationalists were severely punished. Thousands of patriots were arrested and many people were deported. Metternich forced the rulers of various states to put an end to the constitutional rule. Thus the reactionary policies of Metternich succeeded.

6. **Effects of the Revolution of 1848**—As a result of the French Revolution of 1848, there was a revolution in Austria. Students, teachers and the people of Vienna marched in a big procession towards the residence of Metternich. They were raising slogans like 'Down with Metternich' on the way. Metternich escaped to England when he found conditions against him.

Encouraged by the successful revolution in Austria, there were revolts in many states of Germany. The rulers of Baden, Hesse, Saxony, Bavaria, Wurttemberg etc. granted liberal rule to their respective states. There were some riots in the Prussian capital—

Berlin, and its ruler, Frederick William IV, also had to adopt liberal constitution in his state. He also promised to lead the movements of national unity and freedom. People of all these states got many rights. Freedom of speech, press and pen was given to the people. People were allowed to arrange meetings and to march in processions. Decision was also taken to constitute a National Assembly and to form a new constitution.

Parliament of Frankfurt or '*Vom Parliament*' was elected on the basis of the adult franchise. Its first meeting was called at Frankfurt. Its purpose was to form a constitution for a unified Germany. It decided to have a legislature of about six hundred elected members from various states and to set up a Council of Ministers. Emperor Frederick William IV of Prussia was invited to be its head but he refused to become the Emperor of unified Germany. It was due to many reasons :—

(1) Frederick was an orthodox and did not support the Frankfurt Parliament.

(2) He believed in the Divine Rights of the Kings and was not ready to accept the constitution enacted by the Frankfurt Parliament.

(3) He thought it to be against his dignity to be crowned by the revolutionaries.

(4) The real cause was that he was afraid of the Austrian might and was not ready to invite Austrian enmity by accepting this offer.

Thus, the Prussian ruler suspended the liberal constitution in his state. Rulers of other states also followed suit. Liberals and revolutionaries rose in revolt but their movements was crushed with an iron hand. Failure of the liberal movements resulted in despotic rule in the German states once again.

7. Causes of the Failure of the Movement for the Unification of Germany—There were many causes responsible for the failure of the German unification movement :—

(1) *The reactionary policy of Metternich*, the Prime Minister of Austria was the main cause behind the failure of this movement. He did not let the German liberal ideas flourish. Although he had to run for his life to England, his orthodox policies did not change. The Emperor of Austria followed his policies and crushed the Austrian Revolution. He was also a source of encouragement for Frederick William IV of Prussia and many German states who followed him and established absolute monarchies by suspending liberal constitutions in their respective states.

(2) *The Frankfurt Parliament* took too much time to enact a constitution and gave enough time to the Emperor of Austria to crush the movement.

(3) The *Prussian ruler Frederick William IV* was obliged to accept the lead of the movement of the unification of Germany in the beginning. But when he was offered the crown of the United Germany, he refused

it out of fear of the Austrian power. Such a mistake on his part and his weakness belied the hopes of the German patriots.

4. The *Revolutionaries lacked unity* and they did not act unitedly and in a planned manner.

5. The Revolutioneries *did not have unity of purpose* also. There was disparity in aims. Some of the Revolutionaries were in favour of a Republic while others wanted imperialism and a powerful German Empire. Difference of purpose caused lack of co-operation.

6. Apart from being disunited, the Revolutionaries could not *enlist the co-operation of the masses* by arousing nationalism in them.

7. The Revolutionaries *could not find able leadership.* Their leaders were not experienced. So they could not offer right leadership to them.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Influence of Napoleon**—Napoleon paved the path for unity by conquering small German States and forming the Confedration of the Rhine. The failure of his attack on Moscow encouraged the German patriots.

2. **The Vienna Settlement and Germany**—As a result of the Vienna Settlement, a United German Federation was set-up ; Old despotism was restored ; Dissatisfaction of patriots; Setting up of secret committees to propagate nationalism; A great conference at Wartburg in 1817 A D.; Slaughter of a Russian newsman; Suppression of the movement by Metternich.

3. **Crushing of the Liberals by Metternich**—Frederick William III, the ruler of Prussia was taken in by the sweet words of Metternich ; He crushed the liberal and nationalist sentiments of the people through Carlsbad Decrees and their loss of freedom.

4. **Economic Unification of Germany**—Absence of free trade among various states; Setting-up of an economic union of 12 neighbouring states by Prussia in 1819 A.D. and their free trade; Joining this union by all German States except Austria by 1834 A.D. ; Failure of Metternich to break it ; Economic unity paved the way for national unity.

5. **Effects of the Revolution of 1830**—The revolution of 1830 invoked revolt in many states ; Constitutional rule in all but Austria and Prussia; Metternich crushed this movement by following reactionary policies ; Liberal constitutions suspended by all the rulers.

6. **Effect of the Revolution of 1848**—As a result of this revolution, Metternich ran away from Vienna to England ; Rebellion in various German States and setting up of liberal rule; Resolve to draft new constitution; Refusal of the Prussian ruler to accept the crown of a united Germany ; Putting down the revolution and the end of the Liberal Constitution.

7. **Causes of the Failure**—(1) Reactionary policy of Metternich ; (2) Delay in the making of a Constitution at Frankfurt ; (3) Refusal of Frederick to accept the crown; (4) Lack of unity ; (5) Divergence of aims ; (6) Absence of mass co-operation ; Lack of able leadership.

BISMARCK AND THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

Q. 2. Briefly trace the course of events leading to the Unification of Germany. (Very Important)

Or

Trace the stages by which Bismarck achieved the Unification of Germany under Prussia from 1864 to 1870.

Or

Trace the steps by which the Unification of Germany was achieved bringing out clearly the part played by Bismarck. (A.U. 1951, 55, 57,60)

Or

Explain and show briefly how Bismarck brought about the Unification of Germany. (D.U. 1963)

Or

"Not by speeches and majority votes are the great questions of the day decided, but by blood and iron." Discuss this view of Bismarck. (P.U. 1965)

Or

How did Bismarck unify Germany ? Explain clearly his methods and the character of the government he set up.

Or

"The German Empire is the result of the policy of 'Blood and Iron' carried out by Prussia in three wars which were crowded into the brief period of six years, 1864-1870." Explain and discuss.

Ans.—1. **Frederick William IV and Germany**—The efforts of the German patriots to unify Germany in 1848 A.D. failed. Many states did not accept the deliberations of the Frankfurt Parliament. Consequently, the old Confederation and the old rule were re-established. The Austrian reactionary policy succeeded and she regained her supremacy on Germany. But the German patriots derived many lessons out of their failures. They formed a strong belief that German unification was impossible unless Austrian rule was put to an end in Germany. Austria could be dealt only with power. It was also clear that unification through constitutional means was difficult because such efforts could not satisfy all the states. Every state was concerned with her own interests.

Frederick William IV of Prussia gave his people a Constitution and a Parliament. But he was not in favour of the English type of Parliamentary Democracy because he did not want to part with his own rights. The Parliament had no control on the Council of Ministers. He tried for a united Germany. He established a Federation at Erfurt with the co-operation of the rulers of Hanover, Saxony, Wurtemberg and Bavaria. Austria could not put up with such efforts by Prussia. This resulted in strained relations between the two. Therefore, Saxony Bavaria, and Wurtemberg left this Federation because they did not want any confrontation with Austria whose might they were afraid of. Under such conditions, Prussia had to enter into a treaty with Austria at Olmutz in 1850 A.D. and had to accept the Federation of 39 states and revert back to the 1815 status. Thus, the Austrian supremacy in Germany succeeded for the time-being.

2. **William I and Germany**—Frederick William IV of Prussia died in 1861 A D and was succeeded by his brother William I. He was 64 at that time but was an experienced soldier. He had fought many wars He had a strong will-power and a firm belief that Germany could be unified only under the Prussian leadership and that the Prussian fate depended upon her army. He favoured a strong military for Prussia to achieve the unification of Germany. Once he said, "*Whoever wishes to rule Germany must conquer it and that cannot be done by phrases.*" He believed that "*The appeal of Prussia should be to the God of Battle alone.*"

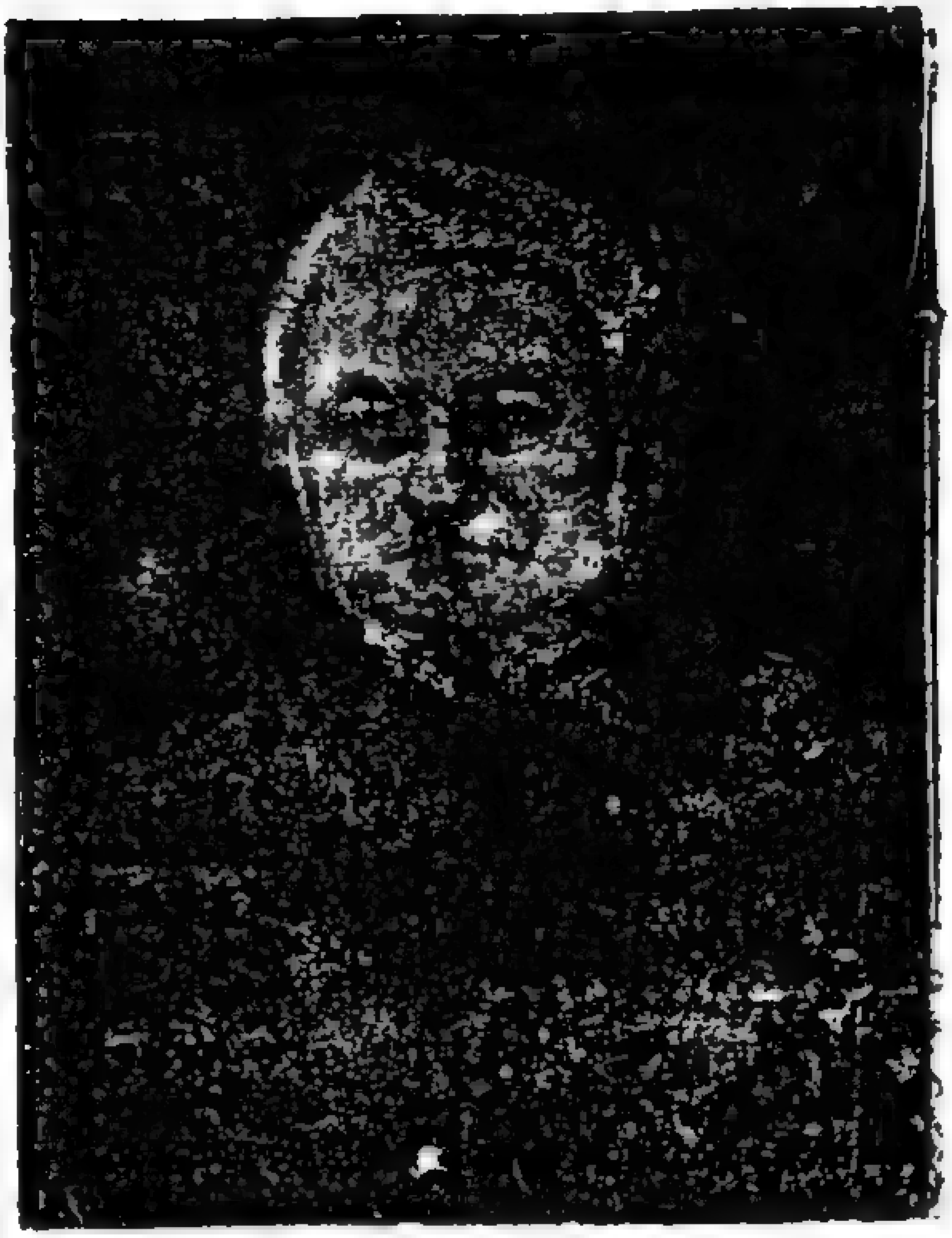
William I did many a thing to organise the military might of Prussia. He found his Minister of War in an experienced and able general Von Roon. Von Moltke was his Chief of the Army Staff. He made it compulsory for all to serve in the army for three years. William I wanted to double the army and to buy war-equipment. He wanted money to fulfil this desire but the legislature did not sanction it. Thus, there began a long struggle between the two. The King was not ready to reduce his demand and the Assembly did not want to relinquish its right on the national purse.

A majority of the members of the Assembly were Liberals and were not in tune with the military plans of the monarch. But the ruler dissolved the Assembly in 1862 A.D and there were fresh elections. The Liberals got a majority in that too. Now there were three courses open to him. (1) He could either suspend the Constitution, dissolve the House and become a dictator (2) or to shelve the army's re-organisation scheme, (3) or to abandon the throne. After much thought, he decided upon the third course and even got prepared to tender his resignation. But fortunately he got the services of an experienced person, named Bismarck. William I appointed him as his Prime Minister in 1862. He assured the king that he would put his plans to action even in the face of an opposition from the Assembly. He said, "*I will rather perish with the King than forsake your Majesty in the contest with Parliamentary Government.*" William I was very much impressed by Bismarck and he tore off the resignation and decided to work on his plan.

3. **Bismarck's Policy**—Bismarck favoured unlimited monarchy. He did not believe in the constitutional rule. He followed the policy of "Blood and Iron." He used to say, "*The German problem cannot be solved by Parliamentary decrees but only by blood and iron.*"

He had two aims :—(1) Prussia should assume leadership of Germany for her unification and Austria should be turned out of Germany. (2) Prussia should not merge her entity into Germany. Instead, she should conquer Germany and propagate Prussian civilization, customs and art.

Bismarck favoured the setting-up of a strong army to achieve these goals. He believed that unity could be established only through a war. He used to say that the Germans do not want the liberalism of Prussia. Instead, they want to see a powerful Germany so that the work of unification was completed. He explained his policy in a speech in 1863 A.D. He said—"*Not by speeches and resolutions of the majorities are the great questions of the day to be decided, but by blood and iron.*"



Birmarck

A tussle followed between the King and his Prime Minister on the one hand and the Parliament on the other for four years. The King summoned the Parliament many a time to get money for an increasing the military might. The Lower House opposed it every time while the Upper House favoured it Taking the consent of the Upper House as legal, Bismarck collected funds through taxes and expanded the army and made it stronger. Criticism from the Lower House did not deter him from his resolve. He would often say that future of Prussia and Germany depended not on the Parliament but on the army.

In this way, Bismarck, following his policy of blood and iron, succeeded in unifying Germany and he established the rule of Prussia on the whole of Germany.

4. Wars fought by Prussia—Bismarck was a clever politician and a great warrior. He began the task of German unification through military strength. He reorganised the Prussian armed forces. As a result, he had to fight three wars and had to face many difficulties. Some of them are as under :—

(1) The Prussian Liberals began to cry for constitutional reforms. But, Bismarck rejected their demands and crushed them.

(2) The rulers of bigger German States were against unification because they did not want to lose their identity.

(3) The Southern German States were under the French rule.

(4) Austria dominated in the Northern region and was proving to be a great hurdle.

(5) Denmark had a greedy eye on two of the North-Western border states. Bismarck showed his political mettle and achieved his ends by his astute diplomacy.

(a) War against Denmark, 1864—Bismarck wanted to fight a war against Denmark for two reasons :—

(*i*) He wanted to put the Prussian military might to a test. (ii) He wanted to find an opportunity to wage a war against Austria. He knew that after a successful war against Denmark, he would find a chance to fight against Austria in the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.

Both of these Duchies were in the Danish Peninsula, an extension of the great plain of North Germany. Both of them were governed by the ruler of Denmark. But they were not a part of his kingdom. Holstein was a member of the German Federation but Schleswig was not. All the inhabitants of Holstein were Germans while those of Schleswig were a mixture of German and Danish people. The Danish people were in favour of the merger of these Duchies into Denmark but the Germans wanted to make them a part of the German Federation. Prussia had also similar intentions for these Duchies. The Duke of Augustenberg was also planning to grab them. Thus, the position had become very complicated.

The problem was tried to be solved through the Treaty of London in 1852 A.D. Frederick VII of Denmark was recognised as the Duke of these Duchies but he was debarred from making them a part of his kingdom. Holstein remained a member of the German Federation as before. The Duke of Augustenberg was given a large amount in return for forsaking his claim on these Duchies. Austria and Prussia also accepted this treaty.

In 1863 A.D , Frederick VII of Denmark enacted a new constitution and drew out a plan to annex Schleswig and to grant freedom to Holstein. But he died in November, 1863 and his son, Christian IX succeeded him on the throne of Denmark. He annexed Schleswig to his kingdom. The German Diet dittoed the action of the new Duke of Augustenberg and took over the rule of Holstein.| But Bismarck was against this decision of the Diet. (1) He wanted to make these Duchies a part of Prussia. (2) He did not favour a Prince who was friendly to Austria. He could not tolerate the control of Denmark on Schleswig. He took Austria with him and warned Denmark to suspend the new constitution within 48 hours.| The King of Denmark could not do that as the Danish Parliament was not in session and only it had the right to suspend the constitution. Bismarck with the help of Austria declared a war against Denmark. Denmark was defeated and as per the Treaty of Vienna in 1864 A.D., Prussia and Austria got a joint control over these Duchies. Austria wanted to give these Duchies to the Duke of Augustenberg but she could not do so in the face of opposition from Bismarck. A treaty was signed by Prussia and Austria in 1865 A D. at the Convention of Gastein. Accordingly, Schleswig went to Prussia and Holstein to Austria. Bismarck also got control over the Duchy of Lauenberg by paying for it to Austria.

The manner, in which this intricate problem was solved, shows how shrewd a politician Bismarck was. He was not yet confident to face

Austria. He got a chance to make preparation through this treaty. He ended the Danish influence on the German Federation and the Duke of Augustenberg lost his right for ever. This treaty gave Bismark a chance to declare war against Austria at any time.)

(b) **The Austro-Prussian War, 1866**—Bismarck wanted to affect Germany's unification by ousting Austria from Germany. He knew it well that it was not possible unless Austria was turned out of Germany and as such the use of force was inevitable.

Causes of the War—A war broke out between Austria and Prussia in 1866. It was for the following reasons :—

(1) *Austria was eager to join Zollverein*—Zollverein or 'Customs' Union, formed in Germany proved very useful for Prussia. The member states of this union had now begun to take Prussia as their leader. Austria could not tolerate it. Austria wanted to join this Union but Bismarck opposed it. Bismarck had also signed a trade treaty with France in 1862 which Austria did not relish. Hence, enmity between the two countries grew.

(2) *Problem of Hesse*—The ruler of Hesse gave a new constitution to his people in 1860 A.D. but the Liberals were not satisfied and they wanted a more liberal rule. Austria sided with the people in this struggle while Prussia sided with the ruler of Hesse. Austria wanted to malign Prussia by siding with the people.

(3) *Diplomacy of Bismarck*—Bismarck showed his diplomacy at this juncture. He knew that German Unification was not possible unless Austria was pushed out of the German Union. But the German Union had been formed according to the decision of big powers of Europe at the Vienna Congress. So he apprehended an intervention by those big powers in the event of any challenge to the Austrian supremacy. But Bismarck, through his diplomacy succeeded in depriving Austria of any help from other powers.

England was also in favour of German Nationalism. Bismarck, by following a policy of free-trade, was able to enlist her co-operation. England was also against the reactionary policies of Austria in Germany. Bismarck also sided with the Czar of Russia on the question of Poland and got from him a promise to be neutral. The Czar was already angry with Austria because she had not helped him in the Crimean War. Napoleon III, the ruler of France, wanted a war between Prussia and Austria so that they might become weak and he might get a chance to increase his influence in Germany and to expand the borders of his kingdom to the Rhine. Bismarck was much more clever than he was. He had a meeting with Napoleon at Biarritz in 1865 A.D. and got a word of neutrality form him. Bismarck also entered into a treaty with Italy and she promised to help him in the war in exchange for Bismarck's giving Venetia to her.

(4) *Immediate Cause*—Schleswig and Holstein proved the immediate cause of this war. The Treaty of Gastein gave Schleswig to Prussia

and Holstein to Austria. Bismarck alleged that Austria was not ruling Holstein quite well and that she was by-passing the Treaty of Gastein by favouring the Duke of Augustenberg. Hence, he moved his army to take control of Holstein. Austria declared war against Prussia on June 14, 1866 and as such a war began between the two countries.

Events of the War—The war began in June, 1866 and lasted only for seven weeks. Thus, it is also known as the 'Seven Week's War' in history. No European power helped Austria in this war. The states of Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover and Wurtemberg, however, took her side. Prussia began this war with full preparations and Von Moltke, the able general of Prussia, directed the operations.

Within three days of the beginning of the war, Prussia captured Hanover, Dresden, Cassel and Saxony. Thus, after bringing the Northern Germany under his control, Moltke turned towards Bohemia. Italy also declared a war on the other hand and attacked Bavaria. The Austrian forces gave a crushing defeat to the Italian forces at Custozza and Lissa. Although Italy could not have any military gains, yet she engaged a sizable portion of the Austrian army in Italy and thus paved the way for the Prussian success.

Moltke moved his forces from three sides. Both the armies met in a fierce battle at Sadowa on July 3, 1866. The Prussian Emperor William I, Moltke and Bismarck watched this battle from the top of a hill. In the beginning, it seemed as if Austria was going to win. But in the afternoon, the Prince of Prussia with his army reached to help the Prussian forces and the tables of the war were turned. Austria was defeated and she lost more than 40 thousand soldiers in this war. After winning this war, Moltke said to William, "*Your Majesty has won not only the battle but the campaign.*"

In France, the weak policy of Napoleon was subjected to harsh criticism because it was due to his policies that a powerful state of Prussia sprang up. The public in that country was of the opinion that, "*It is France that was beaten at Sadowa*". Thiers said, "*What has happened is for France the greatest disaster that she has suffered for four hundred years.*"

Results of the War—After a defeat at Sadowa, Austria was forced to sign the Treaty of Prague. Some of the officers in Prussia wanted to invade Vienna but Bismarck did not favour it. He was afraid that France could come to the help of Austria in that event and the Prussian victory could have become meaningless. This thing apart, he wanted to enlist the Austrian help in the case of a war against France. He himself had said, "*We must finish off rapidly, before France has time to bring diplomatic action to bear on Austria.*"

Treaty of Prague—The Treaty of Prague was signed by both the countries on August 23, 1866. Bismarck again proved his diplomatic skill by keeping the provisions of the treaty not very harsh. Harsh conditions could have prolonged the war as France was likely to intervene in that case. **Historians** like **Grant** and **Temperley** have opined in this respect—

"He (Bismarck) never showed himself a greater master of diplomacy than during the four years between 1866 to 1870 and it is not merely diplomatic skill that he exhibited but also real statesmanship."

The important terms of this treaty were as under :—

(1) Confederation of Germany was done away with and consequently Austrian influence in Germany came to an end.

(2) Austria had to pay a huge War-indemnity.

(3) The state of Venetia was given to Italy.

(4) The Frankfurt Diet was also dissolved.

(5) States, north of the river Main, were grouped into a union and were kept under Prussia.

(6) Holstein was brought under the control of Prussia.

(7) States, south of Germany, were left free to act as they wanted.

Importance—This victory proved to be very useful for Prussia who annexed the states of Schleswig, Hanover, Hesse, Cassel, Erfurt, Holstein, etc. She also got 27 thousand sq. miles of land from Austria and her population was increased by about 4·5 millions. Her international prestige was enhanced and she became one of the most powerful countries of Eurpoe. Her military power was acknowledged by the whole of Europe. Twenty-two states north of the Main were made into a Federation under the Emperor of Prussia as its President. The Prime Minister and other Ministers were responsible to him. There was provision for a Bi-cameral Parliament. The Upper House was called '*Bundesrat*'. It had 43 members, seventeen of them from Prussia. The Lower House was known as 'Reichstag'. It consisted of 297 members elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. However, the real power still vested in the Emperor and his Council of Ministers. The task of the unification of the German states north of the Main was thus completed by this war.

Austria and Hungary entered into a treaty by which an independent state of Hungary was formed under the presidentship of Austria. Austria lost her influence in Germany and also her international prestige. She had to forsake many areas. Famous historian **Hazen** has said about this war—

"It proved to be one of the shortest wars in history, one of the most decisive and one whose consequences were most momentous."

(c) **Franco-Prussian War, 1870-71**—A war with France was necessary for the unification of Germany. This war was fought in 1870-71.

Causes of this War—The causes of this war are as given below :—

(*1*) *Napoleon's Failure in the Mexico Campaign*—Napoleon met with complete failure in his Mexico Campaign of 1864-66. This campaign proved very disastrous for him. It affected the military resources of France very adversely and told heavily on the national exchequer. Napoleon's international prestige and honour got a jolt. He began to be considered as weak and coward in the Eurpean countries. Thus Napoleon wanted to enhance his own prestige and that of France by fighting a war againgt Prussia.

(2) *Enmity between France and Prussia*—Napoleon remained neutral in the Austro-Prussian War in 1866. He thought that this war would render both Prussia and Austria weak and France will become influential as well as powerful. But his hopes were belied. Prussia defeated Austria badly in the Battle of Sadowa. Prussia came out to be more powerful in this war and posed a great threat to France. The French became very critical of the policy of Napoleon as they considered the Austrian defeat at Sadowa as their own. They felt, "*It is France who was defeated at Sadowa.*"

The French began to take Prussia as their enemy No I and became very eager to avenge this defeat. On the other hand, the Prussians also hated France. The insult at the hands of Napoleon I was still fresh in their hearts. A war was inevitable under these circumstances.

(3) *Bismarck's Efforts for the Unification of Genmany*—Bismarck defeated Austria in 1866 and formed a Union of the Northen States of Germany. He wanted to complete this unification by annexing Bavaria, Baden, Hesse, Wurtemberg, etc. the Southern States of Germany. France was a great hurdle in his way. There was no other way out but a war. Bismarck himself used to say in this respect—"*War with France lay in the logic of history.*"

(4) *Napoleon demanded some territory on the Bank of Rhine*—When a war broke out between Austria and Prussia in 1866, Bismarck promised to give some areas on the bank of the Rhine and in return Napoleon remained neutral in that war. Napoleon demanded these areas when the war ended but Bismarck rejected that demand, Bismarck instigated the ruler of Bavaria against France saying that Napoleon wanted to grab his state. Other South German States also began to suspect Napoleon's designs. [illegible]

(5) *Diplomacy of Bismarck*—While Napoleon was ambitious, Bismarck was a great diplomat. Napoleon wanted to conquer Belgium but Bismarck opposed it. He disclosed this secret to England also. He, very clearly, created bitterness between England and France. Napoleon wanted to buy Luxemberg from the ruler of Holland but he could not do so. Bismarck also entered into a treaty with the Czar of Russia and Italy was obliged to be neutral in the event of a war. Thus Bismarck's diplomacy shelved the ambitions of Napoleon. This resulted in an increased enmity between the two.

(6) *Immediate Cause*—The people of Spain revolted against their Queen Isabella. The queen fled to France. The people of Spain wanted to make Leopold, the brother of the ruler of Prussia, their king. Bismarck also favoured it but Napoleon opposed it. Leopold withdrew

his name. The French Council of Ministers asked the Prussian ruler to promise that no one belonging to Hohenzollern family would be made the ruler of Spain. The French Ambassador put this demand before the ruler of Prussia but he rejected this demand. Bismarck got printed the details of this context in such a way that both the people of Prussia and France were annoyed. He himself said, *"It will have the effect of red-rag on the Gallic bull."*

It had its effect and the people of both the countries grew angry. The French thought that their envoy was insulted while the Prussians took it as a disgrace to their ruler. The position got aggravated and a war broke out.

Napoleon was not in favour of waging a war because his preparations were not complete but he had to declare a war at the insistance of his people and the Council of Ministers. The South German States helped Prussia in this war.

Events of the War—Prussia declared a war on July 15, 1870 and invadad France with the help of the South German States. France had to suffer many defeats and the enemy captured many of her cities. The Prussian forces trounced Alsace and Lorraine also. Then it beseiged the Fort of Metz. The commander of these French forces was Bagaine. The other part of the French army, fighting under Napoleon was badly defeated at Sedan and he was forced to surrender and was arrested. He himself sent a word, *"The army has been defeated and is captive; I myself am a prisoner."*

The queen fled to England. Thus, on September 4, 1870, France was again declared a Republic. A government of National Defence was formed under the leadersip of Gambetta. In the meanwhile the Prussian army surrounded Paris. Metz fell on October 27, 1870. All the German forces now joined their units surrounding Paris. The condition of the French in Paris deteriorated for want of food supplies and after a resistance for four months, the people in Paris surrendered on February 28, 1871.

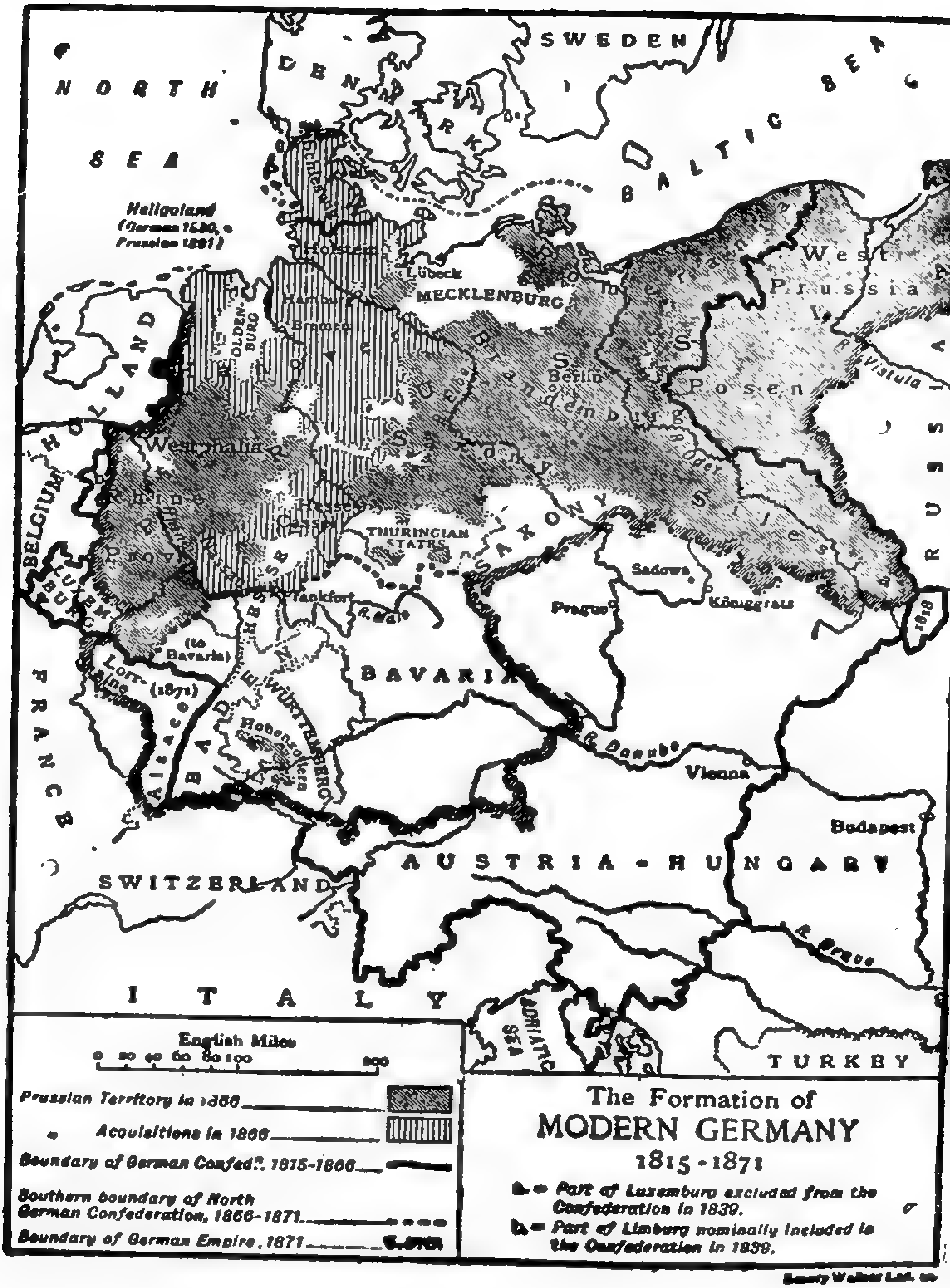
Treaty of Frankfurt—After the war was over, the terms of the Treaty of Frankfurt were put before France which was signed on May 10, 1871. Bismarck made the terms deliberately very hard. They were as under :—

(1) France had to surrender Alsace and Lorraine to Prussia.

(2) France agreed to pay a war-indemnity of five million Francs within three years.

(3) A part of German army was agreed to be kept in France at the French cost until the indemnity was paid. The army was to be reduced in proportion to the payment made.

Unification of Germany—Bismarck had formed a Union of the North German States after the Austro-Prussian War. The South German States also sided with Prussia in the Franco-Prussian War. During the war, a compromise was made between the two and these southern states



The Formation of
MODERN GERMANY
1815-1871

SWEDEN
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
BALTIC SEA
Heligoland (German 1890, Prussian 1891)
Holstein
Lübeck
Hamburg
Bremen
MECKLENBURG
OLDENBURG
HOLLAND
West Prussia
Pomerania
Brandenburg
Berlin
Posen
R. Vistula
R. Oder
R. Elbe
Westphalia
Rhine Province
Hanover
Saxony
Hesse-Cassel
Silesia
BELGIUM
LUXEMBURG
SAXONY
THURINGIAN STATES
Frankfort
R. Main
Sadowa
Prague
Königgratz
1818
(to Bavaria)
Lorraine (1871)
Alsace
BAVARIA
BADEN
WÜRTTEMBERG
Hohenzollern
FRANCE
R. Danube
Vienna
Budapest
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
RUSSIA
R. Drave
ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
TURKEY
English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100 200
Prussian Territory in 1866
Acquisitions in 1866
Boundary of German Confedⁿ. 1815-1866
Southern boundary of North German Confederation, 1866-1871
Boundary of German Empire, 1871
a = Part of Luxemburg excluded from the Confederation in 1839.
b = Part of Limburg nominally included in the Confederation in 1839.
Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

so agreed to join the union. Before the war was over, the task of German Unification was completed on January 18, 1871 and a German Empire came into being. A meeting was arranged in the Palace of Versailles on anuary 18, 1871. It was attended by the rulers of many German States. Bismarck declared the formation of the German Empire in this meeting and William I of Prussia was pronounced as its Emperor under the new name of Kaiser William I. A Federal Government was established for his Empire and Berlin was made its Capital. It has been rightly said n this context, "*The clever and ruthless diplomacy of Bismarck achieved within the small period of a decade German Unification which had eluded the German patriots in 1848. Austria was successfully ousted The French were humbled. Prussia had successfully Prussianised Germany as a result of the policy of blood and iron.*"

Results of the War—The results of this war are given under :—

(1) *End of the Second Empire in France*—Napoleon III was defeated in a battle on September 1, 1870 and was taken prisoner. The news of his defeat reached France on September 3, and she was declared a Republic the following day. Thus, the Second French Empire came to an end.

(2) *Republilc in France*—After the downfall of Napoleon, a meeting of the National Assembly was called on September, 4. A large crowd of people surrounded the Assembly building shouting slogans '*Down with the Empire, Long live Republic.*' So the democratic-minded leaders declared France a Republic. The followers of Monarchy opposed it and a civil war followed which lasted for six weeks. After a fierce bloodshed, the war ended on August 31, 1871. The Third Republic in France came into being with Thiers as its President

(3) *Unification of Germany*—The South German States agreed to join the North German Confederation. Thus, on January 18, 1871, a German Empire was established. The ruler of Prussia, William, was made the Emperor who now came to be called as Kaiser William I. Berlin was made its capital Germany was made a Federation.

(4) *Unification of Italy*—At the breaking out of a war with Prussia, Napoleon had to withdraw his army from Rome, thereby rendering the Pope weak. Making use of this opportunity, Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia captured Rome and Venice. Garibaldi had already estalished his control over Sicily and Naples. The capture of Rome completed the task of the unification of Italy. Rome was made the capital of Italy.

(5) *Russian Influence in the Black Sea*—Awailing of the chance provided by the Austro-Prussian conflict, Russia established her control in the Black Sea and increased her forces at Sebastopol.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Unification of Germany

1. Germany and Frederick William IV—Frederick William IV established Union of Hanover, Wurtemberg, Bavaria and Erfurt, etc. This union was broken s a result of the treaty with Austria, at Olmutz, in 1850.

2. **Germany and William I**—William I became the ruler of Prussia afte the death of his brother Frederick. He drew a plan to increase the military migh of Prussia. Liberals in the Parliament were against it. William got prepared t resign but Bismarck helped him at this juncture.

3. **Bismarck's Policy**—Bismarck favoured a unified Germany under Prussia This was possible only by increasing the armed power of Prussia and by forcin Austria out of Germany. He followed the policy of Blood and Iron to achiev this end and fought three wars.

4. **Wars fought by Prussia :—**

(1) *War with Denmark.*

Reasons—Denmark's intentions to annex Holstein and Schleswig, Treaty o London 1852, Denmark's ruler Frederick accepted as Duke of the two Duchies. The ruler of Denmark extended his control over Schleswig through the new constitution in 1863.

Events—Declaration of war against Denmark by Bismarck with the help of Austria ; Joint control of Austria and Prussia on both the Duchies ; The Treaty of Gastein, 1865 gave Schleswig to Prussia and Holstein to Austria.

Results—Prussia got a chance to wage a war against Austria.

(2) *Austro-Prussian War, 1866.*

Reasons—(1) Austria wanted to join the economic union. (2) Problem of Hesse. (3) Diplomacy of Bismarck. (4) Immediate reasons.

Events—Bismarck annexed Hanover, Dresden, Cassel, Saxony, etc. His plan to invade Bohemia ; Italy sided with Prussia ; Italy was defeated at Custozza and Lissa but she kept Austria engaged there ; Austria was defeated at Sadowa and end of war ; Treaty of Prague.

Results—Lenient terms of the Treaty of Prague ; Prussia became stronger and got respect in Europe ; setting up of North German Confederation ; Austria got a set back in honour and power ; her influence ended in Germany ; Setting up of an independent Hungarian state under Austria.

(3) *Franco-Prussian War, 1870-71.*

Reasons—(1) Napoleon's failure in his Mexico Expedition. (2) Enmity between Prussia and France. (3) Bismarck's endeavour to unify Germany. (4) Demand of the area on the Rhine by Napoleon. (5) Diplomacy of Bismarck. (6) Immediate reasons.

Events—French defeat in the beginning ; Prussian control on Alsace and Lorraine ; Napoleon's defeat at Sedan on September 1, 1870 He was taken prisoner. Declaration of a Republic in France ; Prussia beseiged Paris ; Fall of Paris ; End of war through the Treaty of Frankfurt.

Results—(1) End of the Second Empire in France. (2) Setting-up of a Republic in France. (3) Unification of Germany. (4) Conclusion of the Unification of Italy. (5) Russian influence in the Black Sea.

Comparison between the Unifications of Germany and Italy.

☞ Q. 3. Compare and contrast the unifications of Germany and Italy and show how Bismarck's methods differed from those of Cavour.

(Important)

Ans.—The process of the unifications of Italy and Germany was completed in the 19th century. These unifications had many similarities and dissimilarities ; which were as under—

(a) **Similarities—**

(1) Both the countries were divided in several small states ruled

y totalitarian rulers. Enmity between the states together with their omestic feuds had considerably weakened them. There was an utter ack of unity among them.

(2) Napoleon I conquered both these countries and encouraged he spirit of nationalism. He gave them similar forms of government, urbed the prevailing disunity and thus opened the way for unification.

(3) After the fall of Napoleon, by the decision of the Vienna Congress, the two countries were again segmented into smaller states nd the rule of the old dynasties was restored.

(4) Both the countries were physically dominated by Austria nd had to suffer under the reactionary policies of Metternich. They, herefore, had to make strenuous efforts for their national unity.

(5) French Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 considerably influenced hese two countries and consequently, the patriotic elements there made determined, though unsuccessful, attempts for national independence.

(6) Both the countries were under the yoke of Austria whom hey considered their enemy number one and an impediment in the way of national integration. Both had to fight battles against Austria to complete the work of unification.

(7) In both, one state stronger than the others, assumed the eadership of unification. Thus, in Italy the job was done by the state of Piedmont, while in Germany the same was achieved through Prussia.

(8) In both, the process of unification was achieved mainly due o the ability of their respective Prime Ministers—Cavour in Italy and Bismarck in Germany.

(b) **Dissimilarities**—In spite of the above similarities, there were many dissimilarities in the task of unification in both these countries :—

(1) Italy being divided into a number of small states which were hostile to one another, the task of unification over there was more difficult. A major part of the country was controlled by the Pope who enjoyed a significant influence on the Catholic populace of Europe. He was inclined to maintain his position in Italy and, therefore, was vehemently opposed to her unification. As against this, Napoleon made the task of unification of Germany much easier by establishing *Zollverein* or the Rhine Confederation.

(2) Italy's unification was guided by the state of Piedmont—a weak state in herself while Germany was led by a powerful state—i.e., Prussia. Evidently, the task of unification of Italy was more difficult than that of Germany.

(3) Leaving Piedmont, Italy was mostly under Austria's domination, while in Germany, Austria was just the Chairman of the German Federation. Under these circumstances, Italy had to wage a greater struggle against Austria.

(4) Cavour had to work first to make Piedmont a strong state and then to make her an instrument in achieving the unification of Italy. Against this, the spirit of unification already existed in Germany.

Economic-unity was established through Zollverein which played a very prominent part in the national unification of Germany. **Robertson** has rightly observed in this regard—

"The Zollverein united the German states in bonds of mutual economic interest, it united them under the leadership of Prussia, and it accustomed them to the exclusion of Austria from the German body."

(5) Cavour considered, himself a citizen of Italy first and then of Sardinia. While working for the Unification of Italy, he did not care much for the separate existence of Sardinia. He actually merged her with Italy to complete the process. On the contrary, Bismarck considered himself a Prussian first and then anything else. He gave preference to Prussia over Germany and attained the unification of Germany by merging other states into Prussia. That is why it is said—

"Sardinia moved to Rome and Germany to Berlin."

(6) Bismarck had more faith in the use of force than Cavour and he used it extensively.

(7) In Germany, Bismarck faced more diplomatic difficulties than Cavour had to face in Italy. Cavour got popular support from the general public. Mazzini inspired the spirit of patriotism and nationalism while Garibaldi won Naples and Sicily by the force of sword. The Central States of Italy decided to merge with her through opinion polls. Bismarck did not receive any such help. He had to crush opposition and rebellion from whatever quaters it came and imposed his will upon the unwilling people

(8) Bismarck achieved his end by following a 'Blood and Iron' policy. He did not give any weight to the Legislative Assembly of Prussia. He received no help from William I, the King of Prussia. On the other hand, Cavour received full support from Victor Emmanuel.

(c) Difference Berween the Ideals and Methods of Bismarck and Cavour—

Both, Bismarck as well as Cavour, were able Prime Ministers. They did a commendable job of the unification of their respective countries. Both of them were great nation-builders but their views and methods differed widely. Cavour was liberal in outlook and believed in parliamentary democracy. He made Victor Emmanuel, ruler of Sardinia, the leader of the liberal movement in Italy. He never over-ruled the wishes of either the Parliament or the people. He secured co-operation of the people and of the Parliament first before he took any important measure. Bismarck, on the other hand, was a staunch opponent of democracy and liberalism. He was against the British constitution and used to say—

"The references to England are our misfortunes."

He hated democratic form of government. He was an enemy of revolution and a supporter of reaction. He cared little for the wishes of the people or that of the Parliament. He always tried to impose his will on the people by force. He favoured dictatorial and totalitarian rule. He worshipped the king and his power He used to say that the credit for a great Prussia goes to the king and not to the people. In his words—

"It had been the Prussian king, not the Prussian people, who had made Prussia great."

Cavour and Bismarck differed widely in their approach to the problems. Cavour knew it well that the unification of Italy could not be achieved just through the use of limited strength of Sardinia alone. He, therefore, sought the co-operation of the people and patriots of Italy. He even sought help from countries like England and France. Contrary to it, Bismarck tried to reach his goal by following the policy of 'Blood and Iron'. He crushed opposition by the application of brute force. He greatly enhanced the military might of Prussia and, through it, moulded the events in his own way. He accomplished the task of the Unification of Germany by bloodshed and defeated Austria and France in the battlefields without any external help. He had a firm belief that problems could be solved not by words but by the policy of 'Blood and Iron'. According to him—

"Not by speeches and majority votes are the great questions of the day decided, but by the policy of blood and iron."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Similarities and Dissimilarities between the Unifications of Italy and Germany

(a) **Similarities**—(1) Both the countries were divided into small states which lacked unity. (2) Napoleon encouraged Unification and Nationalism in these two countries, (3) The Vienna Congress again divided these countries into smaller states. (4) Both suffered under the reactionary policies of Austria. Efforts made in 1830 A D. and 1848 A.D. failed. (6) Both had to battle against Austria. (7) The unification in each country was accomplished under the guidance of one strong state in the respective countries. (8) Aided by able ministers like Cavour and Bismarck.

(b) **Dissimilarities**—(1) The task of unification of Italy was more difficult as different states lacked unity. (2) Piedmont was a weak state while Prussia was a powerful one (3) Most of Italy was under the rule of Austria while in Germany, Austria was only the head of the German Federation. (4) Importance of Zollverein in Germany, (5) Merger of Sardinia with Italy while unification in Germany under Prussia. (6) Bismarck believed more in force. (7) Cavour got more cooperation from the people and patriots than Bismarck. (8) Cavour enjoyed the support of the ruler of Piedmont while Bismarck got little help from the king of Prussia.

(c) **Difference between the Ideals and Methods of Bismarck and Cavour**—

(1) Cavour was a liberal and an ardent believer in Parliamentary democracy. Bismarck on the other hand was a stauch opponent of democracy and liberalism. He favoured dictatorial and totalitarian rule and worshipped the king. (2) Cavour sought to secure the co-operation and help of people and patriots of Italy as also other countries for the unification of Italy. Bismarck followed the policy of Blood and Iron and achieved his ends through brute force, bloodshed and battles.

Bismarck's Life and Achievements

Q. 4. Give a brief account of Bismarck's life, his aims and policy. Form an estimate of his achievements. (Imp.)

(Or)

"Bismarck was one of Germany's greatest sons, the greatest since Frederick the Great." Discuss.

Ans. Bismarck's Life—Bismarck is considered to be one of the greatest statesmen, not only of Germany, but of the world. This great statesman was born in 1815 A.D. in Schonhousen, a place 40 miles west of Berlin. He belonged to an aristocratic family and had all the qualities of head and heart appropriate to a person with a blue blood in his veins. He got education from Berlin and Gottingen Universities. Horse-riding and use of arms were his special interests. After completing his education he joined service in a civil department He could not pull on well with his officers due to his rebellious nature and had to resign his post. After that, he settled down at his family estate of Knephof. In 1847 A.D., he married the daughter of an aristocrat neighbour. His wife considerably influenced his thinking and he became an orthodox and an enemy of liberalism.

In 1847, he started his political career when he was elected to the United Prussian Diet. He became the leader of the ruling group due to his ability and brilliance. He was opposed to democracy and supported monarchy. As a result of 1848 Revolution, King Frederick William IV of Prussia gave his people a liberal constitution. Bismarck was greatly upset at this as it was his firm belief that only the king could decide and build the fate of Germany. He was elected to the German Diet in 1851 A.D. from Prussia. After becoming a member of the Frankfurt Parliament, he established contacts with many politicians and made a deep study of politics He reached the conclusion that the unification of Germany could only be affected under the guidance of Prussia When King Frederick William IV refused to adorn the crown bestowed upon him by the Frankfurt Parliament, Bismarck was rather happy as he was against liberalism.

In 1859 A.D. he was sent to St Petersburg as Prussian Ambassador to Russia. Here, he got a good chance to study international diplomacy. Next, he was made Ambassador to France where he closely studied and tried to understand the character of Napoleon III.

In 1861 A.D., King Frederick William died and his brother William I succeeded him. He wanted to increase the military might of Prussia as he was of the definite view that the unification of Germany could only be brought about under the leadership of a strong and powerful Prussia. He used to say—

> *"Whoever wishes to rule Germany, must conquer it and that cannot be done by phrases"*

William appointed Von Roon as the War-minister and Von Moltke as the Chief of Staff. He made a plan to increase the military force but the Parliament opposed him and refused to sanction funds for the purpose. At this, William decided to tender his resignation, however, at this crucial stage he appointed Bismarck as the Prime Minister. He encouraged the King in his designs and promised him his full cooperation. He said—

"I will rather perish with the king than forsake your majesty in the contest with Parliamentary Government."

Bismarck's courage, determination and faithfulness made the King change his mind on the question of his resignation. With the help of the King and the Upper House, Bismarck organised a large and powerful army. He overruled the Lower House completely and rode rough shod over the Constitution.

Bismarck served Prussia well for over four decades. He played an important role during the reigns of Frederick William IV, William I and William II. He completely overshadowed the political scene of Germany from 1862 A. D. to 1890 A. D. He completed the process of the unification of Germany under the leadership of Prussia. He transformed Prussia into a strong nation militarily. In 1890 A. D., he developed differences with William II and tendered his resignation. This great statesman left for his heavenly abode on July 31, 1898.

2. **Bismarck's Aims**—Bismarck's first and foremost aim was to drive out Austria from Germany and to facilitate her unification. He had the firm conviction that Germany must be unified under the leadership of a dominant and powerful Prussia. He did not favour the merger of Prussia with Germany. He used to say—

"Prussians we are and Prussians we will remain".

He was an opponent of liberalism and favoured monarchs. He wanted to strengthen the roots of dictatorship in Prussia. He was never in favour of the Parliamentary form of Government like that of England. He often said—

"References to England are our misfortunes."

He hated the parliamentary democracy. He was a reactionary and an anti-revolutionary. He said—

"I look for Prussian honour in Prussia's abstinence before all things from every shameful union with democracy."

He was an admirer of the power of the King and favoured monarchy. He was of the view—

"It had been the Prussian kings, not the Prussian people who had made Prussia great."

He affected the unification of Germany through the totalitarian rule of Prussia under the leadership of the Prussian kings.

3. **Bismarck's Policy**—Bismarck was a brave man with strong determination. He knew well that the task of unification was not possible through peaceful means. He, therefore, adopted the 'Blood and Iron' policy. He had a firm conviction that—

"Nations are seldom born except in the battle."

To achieve his objective, he gave primary importance to the military reforms in Prussia. Not withstanding determined opposition from the Parliament, he established a well-organised and well-armed military force. After his becoming the Prime Minister, he said in his policy statement—

"Not by speeches and majority votes are the great questions of the day decided—that was the great blunder af 1848 and 1849, but by blood and iron".

He had to fight Denmark, Austria and France in the battle-fields due to this policy. But he scored final and decisive victories and succeeded in affecting the unification of Germany.

4. **Bismarck's Achievements**—Bismarck's name is counted among the great statesmen of Europe. It is said about him—

"Bismarck was one of the most fascinating personalities in the history of modern Europe."

Bismarck was one of the greatest sons of Germany. He was a devoted patriot and admirer of monarchy. He was a strong antagonist of liberalism and democracy. He favoured monarchy and was orthodox by conviction. He left no stone unturned to firmly strengthen the rule of the Prusian kings and established a one-man rule in Germany. He was a man of his word who would not rest until he had achieved what he said. He had not learnt to waver or to bend It was he and he alone upon whose strength William I decided to confront the Parliament that was so hostile and obstructionist. He had clearly stated to William I—

"Well, as far as I am concerned, I cannot think of a finer death than one on the field of battle or the scaffold. I would fall like Lord Strafford Your Majesty, not as Louis XVI but as Charles I. That is quite a respectable historical figure."

For full twenty years he remained the controller of the destiny of the empire and completely dominated the political scene of Europe. He employed all sorts of fair and unfair means to achieve his political ends.

Bismarck was desirous of the unification of Germany, and this he wanted to do under the strong and dominating leadership of Prussia At the same time, he did not want to do away with the entity, honour and conventions of Prussia. He wanted to considerably increase the military power of Prussia. He reformed, re-organised and well-equipped the army in the teeth of strong opposition from the Parliament. He was of the firm view that unification can only be attained by force He, therefore, adopted the policy of 'Blood and Iron'. He himself illustrated his policy by saying—

"Put the strongest military power, in other words, as much blood and iron as you can, into the hands of the king of Prussia, then he will be able to carry out the policy you wish. It cannot be done with speeches, celebrations and songs. It can only be done by blood and iron."

Bismarck followed this policy and attained spectacular success. This is what **Hearnshaw** had to say about it—

"What philosophical disscussion and Parliamentary votes had not been able to achieve, that Bismarck's policy of blood and iron had accomplished."

Bismarck's greatest success was the unification of Germany. This provides a self-evident proof of his sharp diplomacy and brilliant execution of well thought policies. He made Germany a strong and united country by adopting his famous policy of blood and iron. He gave proof of his successful diplomacy by binding Russia, Italy, France and England to the policy of neutrality. In 1866 A.D., he declared war against Austria. After the defeat of Austria, he united the northern states of Germany into a Confedration of Northern Germany. In 1870-71, he defeated France and merged the southern states as well with the Federation and constructed a powerful and integrated empire of Germany under the King of Prussia. It was the greatest success of Bismarck. That is why, it is said—

"The unification of Germany was a triumph of Bismarck's diplomatic skill and genius."

Prof Fyffe says about this great success of Bismarck—

"Bismarck led a reluctant nation to a goal which he had himself fixed for it. There is no doubt that, but for him, German unity might have remained only a dream for a long time to come."

There is no doubt that Bismarck dominated the political scene of Europe for 20 years ; but some critics hold him responsible for the 1st World War. He forged an alliance between Austria and Italy by a treaty. Forced by the requirements of the situation, Russia and England formed a Tripartite Alliance against the two. This groupism became the cause of the World War I.

All the same the Bismarck was a great statesman, a shrewd diplomat and a clever politician. He was an ardent patriot who served the monarchy with devotion. He unified Germany, improved her internal condition and made her a powerful nation of Europe. It is here that Bismarck's greatness lies.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Bismarck's Life and Achievements—

1. *Bismarck's Life*—Born in 1815 A.D. in an aristocratic family of Schonhousen ; Entered civil service after completing the education ; Resigned soon ; Elected to the Prussian Parliament and thus he initiated his political life; Opposed the liberal constitution that king Frederick William IV gave to the people in 1848 A D. Became a member of the German Diet in 1851 ; Sent to St. Petersburg as Prussian Ambassador to Russia in 1859 ; Assignment as Ambassador to France ; Studied international diplomacy ; Became the Prime Minister of William I in 1863 A.D ; Controlled the fate of Germany for full 20 years; Tendered his resignation in 1890 ; Died on 31st July, 1898 A.D.

2. *Bismarck's Aims*—(1) Unification of Germany under the dominating leadership of Prussia ; (2) An ardent opponent of liberalism and democracy ; Supporter of monarchy and reaction ; Wanted to strengthen monarchy in Germany.

3. *Bismarck's Policy*—Adopted the policy of blood and iron to attain his aims.

4. *Bismarck's Achievements*—(1) A great statesman of Europe. (2) A true patriot and a devoted admirer of the monarchy. (3) Increased the military power of Prussia and followed a policy of blood and iron in order to affect the unification of Germany. (4) He was a great son of Germany who scored a spectacular success in the unification of Germany. (5) Some critics think he sowed the seeds of

World War I. (6) He made Germany a united and powerful country. (7) He was an ardent patriot, a shrewd diplomat and a genius in his own right. (8) For 20 years, he controlled the destiny of Germany and Europe.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. Describe briefly the attempts made by the people of Germany during the years 1821-48 to unify and democratize the country. Account for the failure of these attempts.
2. Trace the steps by which the unification of Germany was achieved, bringing out clearly the part played by Bismarck.
3. "The German Empire is the result of the policy of blood and iron as carried out by Prussia in three wars which were crowded into the brief period of six years 1864-70." Explain and discuss.
4. "It has always been the policy of Germany to isolate her enemy before striking her down." Illustrate this by the events of 1866 and 1870. (Pb. M.A. 1972)
5. Discuss carefully the importance of Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars in the unification of Germany.
6. What is the historical importance of the year 1866 and 1870 in the history of Germany ?
7. Bismarck has been described as "The architect of Germany." Discuss carefully his policy and methods for the achievement of his object.
8. In what manner did Bismarck bring about on the establishment of the German Empire. (D. U. 1963, A. U. 1962)
9. "Not by speeches and majority votes are the great questions of the day are decided, but by blood and iron." (Bismarck). Discuss the statement in the light of Bismarck's policy and methods for the unification of Germany. (P.U. 1964)
10. Explain the diplomatic and military measures employed by Bismarck to bring about the unification of Germany (P. U. 1963)
11. Compare and contrast the methods adopted by Cavour and Bismarck for the unification of their respective countries and analyse critically the results in each case. (D. U. 1955, 61, 63 A. U. 1969)
12. Trace the history of German confederation 1848-1870 leading to the unification of Germany.
13. What was the Schleswig-Holstein question ? How did it lead to war between Austria and Prussia ? (Delhi M.A. 1970)
14. Discuss critically the ways and means adopted by Bismarck to bring about the unification of Germany. (Pb. M.A. 1 971)
15. How do you account for the establishment of a United Germany by 1871 ? (Delhi M.A. 1972)

19

RUSSIA FROM 1801 TO 1881 A. D.

(1) Czar Alexander I	:	:	:	**1801-1825 A.D.**
(2) Nicholas I	:	:	:	**1825-1855 A.D.**
(3) Alexander II	:	:	:	**1855-1881 A.D.**

Russia is the biggest state of Europe. It has a composite culture with people of different castes, creeds and languages living there. But in the 18th century, Russia was a very backward state. Peter was the first ruler who endeavoured to take her on to the path of progress. Further progress was recorded under the rule of Catherine. In spite of all this, Russia was considered as a backward country till as late as the first quarter of the 19th century. Notwithstanding all this, it is acknowledged that Russia played a prominent role in the politics of Europe and the world at large. Great rulers ruled over Russia between 1801-1881 A. D. who not only influenced the political events of Europe but also improved the domestic position of their country.

Czar Alexander I and Nicholas I

Q. 1. Give an account of the reign of Czar Alexander I (1801-1825 A. D.) and Nicholas I (1825-1855 A.D.) *Or*

Discuss the domestic and Foreign Policy of Czar Alexander I.

Or

"During the first quarter of the 19th century under the rule of brilliant but unstable Alexander I, Russia had suffered from alternative dozes of enlightenment and reaction." Discuss. *Or*

What do you know about the home and foreign policy of Nicholas I.

Ans. Russia had acquired considerable importance in the international field by the beginning of the 19th century. Even then she was a backward country with her social and political institutions quite medieval in outlook. Even Peter and Catherine, too, failed to improve the things.

(a) **Social Conditions**—Russia was in a miserable social condition. The society consisted of mainly two classes, the nobles and the serfs.

The condition of the nobles was very good. They enjoyed special privileges. They were appointed to the civil and military positions and were exempted from all the taxes. They enjoyed monopoly in many fields. They led a luxurious and easy life. The serfs on the other hand, led a miserable life. They numbered over 50 millions and were bound to the landlords. They worked almost like slaves. Prof. Hazen writes—

"Their (landlords') power over their serfs was extensive and despotic."

This section of the society was badly crushed under taxes and tyranny. The landlords could flog them, sell them, send them to Siberia and even kill them without any hindrance. However, people of this class enjoyed a good status in other countries of Europe. This is what Hazen has to say about the social conditions of Russia in those days—

"It was a nation of serfs and of peasants, little better off than the slaves."

(b) Political Conditions—

Russia was under Czar's dictatorship. He believed in the Divine Right of Kings and ruled the country with a Council of Ministers responsible to him alone. All civil and military force was directly under him and he used it in any manner according to his own free will. There was none to check him. He had the right to levy any tax and his will was the only law. The Ministers were appointed and dismissed by him. People had no say in the administration and there was no representative body to protect their rights.

The government of the country was highly inefficient and corrupt, the judiciary was not independent and there was also no freedom of press and speech. The officials never bothered about performing their duty. They were selfish and unjust. They perpetuated untold miseries upon the people.

Czar Alexander I (1801-1825)

Czar Alexander I was enthroned to the Russian empire in 1801 A. D. He was educated by a Swiss tutor, La Harp by name. His liberal views considerably influencd the Czar. He was an idealist and a religious minded person.

He played a remarkable part in defeating Napoleon and made Russian influence preponderant in the politics of Europe. Alexander refused to follow the Continental System of Napoleon whereupon the latter launched an attack on Moscow in 1812 A D. This military expedition of Napoleon proved an utter failure. This boosted up the Russian prestige and improved her image among the European nations. She began to be counted among the powerful nations of Europe.

1. **His Liberalism**—Alexander was a liberal in outlook and favoured

reforms. He was a religious person who believed that he had a divine mission to establish peace on earth. To establish peace and goodwill in Europe he formed the Holy Alliance. He took an active part in the Vienna Congress held in 1815 A. D. He proved his liberal outlook by advocating mild conditions for the French.

He compelled Louis XVIII to give a new constitution to the French people. He showed his liberal tendencies by granting a new constitution to Poland by which he established a Parliament there. He made Polish the official language of press and worship. More people enjoyed the right of franchise there than in France or England. He showed due respect for the constitution of Finland, emancipated the serfs of the northern states of Russia and supported the abolition of slavery. About all this **Prof Hazen** says—

"Alexander stood forth as the most enlightened sovereign on any of the great thrones of Europe."

2. **Imperialism of Alexander**—Alexander's liberalism did not prevent him from being an imperialist. He conquered Poland, Finland and Bessarabia and thus showed his imperialistic tendencies.

3. **Reactionary Policy of Alexander**—In spite of his liberalism, Alexander was a man of weak resolution and possessed a wavering mind. He was a simpleton who could be carried along easily. Under Metternich's influence, he turned into a conservative and a reactionary though at the Congress of Vienna, he had adopted a liberal posture. He started behaving like a wilful dictator. He himself began to destroy the freedom that he had bestowed upon the Polish people. He supported the policy of interference as propounded by Metternich and helped him to crush the nationalist movements in Naples, Pedmont and Spain. He did not support a rising on behalf of the Greeks against Turkey even though the Rurssian people sympathised with them How much was he influenced by Metternich is evident from what he had told Metternich in 1820 in the Congress of Troppau—

"So we are at one, Prince, and it is to you that we owe it. You have already judged the states of affairs. I deplore the waste of time which we must try to repair. I am here without any fixed idea, without any plan, but I bring you a firm and unalterable resolution. It is for your Emperor to use it as he wills. Tell me what you wish me to do and I will do it."

Thus, as a matter of fact, he was a curious mixture of opposites, a compound of mysticism, liberalism and imperialism. No doubt he was an idealist and a man of principles but he did not have the capacity to give his ideas a concrete shape.

Nicholas I (1825—1855)

Before his death, Alexander I declared his younger son, Nicholas I as his heir apparently at the cost of his elder son Constantine who was a liberal. People favoured Constantine and organised an armed insurrection against this arrangement. Their slogan was—*"Constantine and*

Constitution." Many of the mutinous soldiers thought that the Constitution was Constantine's wife. The revolt was put down and Nicholas I succeeded to the throne. Leaders of the mutiny were shown no mercy and many of them were put to death.

Nicholas I curbed the freedom of the press and clamped censorship on all newspapers. He banned the import of literature and newspapers into Russia, Liberal views were completely removed out of the text books. Students were not allowed to go abroad for studies. Foreign travel was banned. Intelligence force was brought in to keep an eye on the newspapers, school syllabii and the liberals. He prevented the expansion of liberalism in Russia through his policy of ruthless repression. As a result of this policy, no reforms were possible. It is rightly said that—"*Russia was frozen.*"

Prof. Hazen writes about his system of government—

"*His system of governement was one of remorseless, undeviating repression, through the agencies of brutal police and an elaborate censorship.*"

He followed an intolerant religious policy. He was against any conversion from one religion to another. People desirous of conversion were severely punished, A strict eye was kept on the Catholic Jews and they were not given the freedom of worship.

2 **Foreign Policy**—Nicholas I followed an aggressive foreign poilcy. He was an imperialist and an enemy of national movements. **Prof. Hazen** says—

"*Nicholas's foreign policy made him hated throughout Europe as the most brutal autocrat on the Continent.*"

(1) *Revolt in Poland*—Nicholas's policy created an undercurrent of resentment in Poland. Influenced by the Revolution of 1830 A. D., the Polish people rose in revolt and declared their independence on June 28, 1831 A. D. The Czar put down the revolt by brute military force. The constitution granted by Alexander to Poland was withdrawn and she was merged into Russia. The independence of Poland was throttled. The supporters of reforms were terrorised and trampled under the heavy feet of tyranny. Many families were forced to seek refuge in other states of Europe.

(2) *His Attitude towards the Revolution of 1848*—To supress liberalism and revolutionary movements in Europe, he signed a Tripartite Treaty with Austria and Prussia. This alliance increased the Russian influence in Europe.

As a result of the 1848 Revolution, many countries of Europe passed through revolutions and aspired for freedom. Nicholas I tried his best to crush these movements and addressed his courtiers in these words "*Saddle your horses, gentlemen, the French have declared Republic*"

Hungary hoisted the flag of rebellion against Austria taking a cu from the 1848 Revolution. The Czar helped Austria against the freedom-lovers by providing Austria with both men and material.

He threatened to intervene in the internal affairs of Germany in order to crush the national movement there. In 1849, the Frankfurt Convention decided to crown Frederick William IV, the King of Prussia, as the ruler of Germany. But Frederick feared that the Czar might not like this and hence declined the office. Due to this policy of the Czar, national movement in Germany received a severe set-back.

(3) *Nicholas I and the Eastern Question*—Nicholas wanted to cash on the weakness of Turkey and wished her partition. At the time when he succeeded to the throne of Russia, Greece was struggling for freedom from the Turkish rule. The Czar forged an alliance with France and England and these three countries together helped Greece against Turkey. The Russian navy completely defeated the Turkish fleet in the Battle of Navarino. After Canning's death, France and England retraced their steps but the Czar continued helping Greece. At last, armistice was proposed and after the Treaty of Adrianople and declaration of the independence of Greece, the war was stopped This greatly increased the Russian influence in Greece. In 1830 A.D , the governor of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, declared a war against the Sultan of Turkey. England and France adopted a neutral posture while Russia helped the Sultan and forced Mehemet Ali to a disgraceful defeat. By the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, Turkey allowed Russia to convert the Black Sea practically into a Russian lake. In 1839 A.D. Mehemet Ali again waged a war against the Sultan. This time Russia joined England and France and took the side of the Sultan and defeated Mehemet Ali. By the 1840 Treaty of London, special privileges which Russia enjoyed in the Black Sea were finished. In 1844 A D., the Czar proposed the division of Turkey but England rejected the idea. Highly disappointed, Czar decided to destory Turkey single-handed. But England came to Turkey's help and they both defeated Russia in the Crimean War. During this war, the Czar died in 1855. Even the people of Russia were tired of the reactionary and conservative policies of the Czar and they thought some reforms were necessary. **Prof. Hazen** writes—

> *"The government was proved to be as incompetent and as impotent as it was reactionary. It was clear that the state was honey-combed with abuses which must be reformed if it was to prosper."*

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. Russia's condition in the beginning of the 19th century.

(1) *Social Conditions*—Society was divided into two classes-the nobles and the serfs: (2) The nobles led a luxurious life and enjoyed special privileges; (3) The peasant's plight was miserable. They suffered under corrupt bureaucracy and excessive taxes.

(2) *Political Conditions*—(1) The Czar was an autocrat who believed in the Divine Right of Kings; (2) People were in no way associated with the administration, they neither had any representative body ; (3) The judiciary was not independent; (4) The king was a tyrant.

2. Czar Alexander I, 1801—1825 A.D.

(1) *His Liberalism*—(1) First of all a liberal, supporter of religious reforms and a religious-minded person; (2) Formation of the Holy Alliance.

(2) *His Imperalism*—Apart from his being a liberal, he was a imperialist; He captured Finland, Poland and Bessarabia.

(3) *His Reactionary Policy*—(1) A person of weak resolution and a wavering mind. He became a reactionary under Metternich's influence. He was a mixture of opposites.

3. **Nicholas I, 1825—55 A.D.**

(1) *Home Policy*—(1) He was a conservative and self willed autocrat ; (2) He put the freedom of the people under many curbs. (3) His religious policy was also not liberal.

(2) *Foreign Policy*—(1) He was a reactionary and an avowed enemy of nationlist movements; (2) He crushed the national movement of Poland in 1830-31 A.D.; (3) Formed a Tripartite Alliance with Austria and Prussia in 1833 A.D.; (4) Helped Austria to put down the revolutionary revolt in Hungary; (5) Nicnolas and the Eastern Question ; (6) The Crimean war and his death in 1855 A.D.

Alexander II, 1855-1881 A.D.

☞Q. 2. Give a brief account of the reforms introduced by Czar Alexander II. (V. Imp.)

Or

"The reign of the Czar II was both a period of reform and reaction." Explain and discuss.

Or

Discuss the claim of Alexander II to be regarded as the "Czar Liberator".

Ans.—Alexander II succeeded to the throne of Russia after the death of his father Nicholas I in 1855 A.D. Internal condition of Russia during those days was simply miserable. Discontent was wide spread in the country. Russian prestige had gone down after the defeat in the Crimean War and the disgraceful Treaty of Paris. People wanted radical changes to improve this state of affairs. It was only the result of the fascist and repressive policies of the earlier rulers.

Alexander II was by no means a liberal but he had sense and foresight. He knew it pretty well that radical changes were necessary to calm down the public anger and disillusionment. He, therefore, did not adopt a hard line and followed a policy of reforms.

1. **Reforms of Alexander II**—During the first 10 or 11 years of his reign, Alexander II affected the following reforms :—

(1) *End of Serfdom*—Russia was essentially an agricultural country and as such agriculture was the main occupation of the people. All the land was owned either by the king or by the landlords. Serfs tilled the land. The landlords would divide their land into two portions. One portion they kept for themselves and the other they gave out to the serfs. The serfs, in return, had to till the landlords' land also and were forced to work on it for 3 days in a week. The plight of the serfs was miserable. The landlords exercised full control and authority over the serfs. According to **Prof. Hazen**—

"The landlord had parctically unlimited authority over his serfs."

The landlords could sell them, punish them and even exile them. There was no body to raise a finger even if a landlord killed a serf.

They could not leave the land without the will of the landlord. They were sold alongwith the land. At times, the landlords would send them to the cities to earn money. In such a position, they had to give a major portion of their earnings to the landlord. The landlords had complete authority even on the family of the serf. They were often tyrannical and merciless towards the family of the serfs. **Prof. Hazen** says—

"Such a system offended the conscience of age."

Alexander II realised that the only way to remove discontentment among the people was to emancipate the serfs. He said—

"Better to abolish serfdom from above than to wait until it will be abolished by a movement from below."

On March 3, 1861 A.D., he issued the Edict of Emancipation by which he abolished the evil of serfdom all over Russia. Half of the land of the landlords was given to the serfs for farming. The government bought this land and sold it out to the Village Communities collectively on easy annual instalments. The Village Community known as '*Mir*' was made responsible for the collection of land revenue and debt instalments. They could levy taxes on the peasants. It was a commendable act on the part of Alexander II both on humanitarian and economic grounds. All this resulted in increased agricultural output. Some of the peasants migrated to the cities and found jobs in industries which boosted the industrial growth.

However, some critics say that the peasants were disappointed as they did not benefit much from this policy. The amount of land allotted to them was not adequate to live upon. Moreover, they resented the payment of debt-instalments of the land, in addition to other taxes. Also, another irritating factor was the authority of the Village Communities.

Notwithstanding all this, there can be no denying the fact that some improvement did occur in the plight of the serfs. They were at least saved from the tyranny of the landlords, though it did not mean an end to all their problems. **Prof. Hazen** writes—

"The emancipation of the serfs is seen, therefore, not to have been an unalloyed boon. Yet, Russia gained morally in the esteem of other nations by abolishing an indefensible wrong. Legally everyman was free. Moreover, the peasants, though fared ill, yet fared better than had the peasants of Prussia and Austria at the time of their liberation."

(2) *Administrative Reforms*—Alexander affected many reforms in the administration as well Setting up of elected Local Councils was an important step. These Councils known as '*Zemstvos*' were set up in each district and in every province. People of all shades and classes found representation in these. The *Zemstvos* were entrusted with the task of the maintenance of the roads and bridges, supervision of sanitation, education and health services. These bodies were given the legislative and executive rights within their respective limits. Municipal Committees were formed in the cities for this purpose. Members of

the Provincial Coucils were elected by the members of the district bodies. They were, however, under the authority of the Provincial Governor. The rights of the Councils were limited, yet they were a step forward in the direction of political education to the people. It has been rightly observed—"*The Zemstvos were to serve as the political training ground of the people*."

3. *Judicial Reforms*—Russia's judicial system was also faulty. There was no equality in the administration of justice. Justice was neither quick nor cheap. Trials were held in secret. The accused remained ignorant of the charges levelled against him. The judiciary being not independent of the executive, the judges were not impartial in their judgements.

Alexander brought many reforms in the judicial system as well. Separate civil and criminal courts were set-up on the European model. Judges came to be elected by the people. Judges were appointed in the districts and provinces. Senate was made the Supreme Court for appeals. Criminal cases began to be decided by the Jury as a rule. Judiciary was also made independent of the executive. A new code of justice was formulated. The trials were now made public. Only the political offenders were sentenced without a trial. As a result of these reforms, justice became cheap, quick and impartial.

(4) *Other Reforms*—In addition to the above mentioned reforms, Alexander instituted reforms in many other fields. He withdrew the various curbs imposed upon the people and allowed those, exiled to Siberia by his predecessors, to come back.

Censorship on the press and the newspapers was relaxed. Universities were also freed from controls imposed previously by Nicholas I. Foreign travel by the people was permitted.

Education was accorded a top-priority. Special care was taken to make the education such as could help raise the living standard of the people. Care was also taken to see that education was imparted on scientific lines.

As a result of the reforms carried out by Alexander, Russia made significant progress in the political, social and economic fields. As discussed above he tried to improve the condition of the peasants by abolishing serfdom.

By instituting reforms in the judicial system, he ensured that all classes of people were to be equal before law. Steps were taken for the decentralization of administration by establishing local bodies in cities as well as in villages. All this is sufficient, to give him the title of "Czar the Liberator".

2. **Revolt in Poland.** Encouraged by the Nationalist Movements of Italy and Germany, the Poles stood in revolt in 1863 to free themselves from the Russian yoke. They hoped that Napoleon III of France and other countries of Europe would run to their help. But their hopes were belied and the Czar suppressed the revolt completely. Bismarck of Prussia lent open support to the Czar. The government

took every step to de-nationalise the Poles. A policy of Russification was followed and the Poles were deprived of their positions. Teaching of Polish was suspended in schools and universities. The Church of Poland was robbed of all its privileges. It has been remarked—

"*On the ruins of the Polish revolution rose the work of Bismarck and the system of Russification in the Empire of the Czars.*"

The events of Poland made the Czar a reactionary and between 1865 and 1881 A. D. he followed a policy of ruthless repression. Curbs were imposed on the freedom of speech and press. Many were put behind the bars and still more were sent to Siberia. The intelligence force was increased to keep an eye on the activities of the people. In short, one can say that during the last years of his regime, the Czar was no better than a tyrant autocrat who curbed the freedom of the people.

3. **Nihilism**—A direct consequence of the policies of the Czar was the birth and growth of Nihilism which literally means 'destruction'. Nihilism envisaged the destruction of society based on orthodox ideas, reaction, Fascism and religion The Nihilists wanted to set up a new system based on reason and science. They had been inspired by the philosophers of the 18th century. To them—"*Life is a workshop......and to, the rubbish heap with art, poetry and music.*"

To effect the change, Nihilism believed in the violent methods to be employed. It is aptly remarked—

"*Fundamentally, Nihilism was a repudiation of the principles underlying the political and social structure of Russia...... It was not concerned with matters political. Yet the term Nihilist was better applied to those who favoured terroristic methods against the Government.*"

The Nihilists formed secret societies by propagating their ideas among the teachers, the students and the youth of the country. They tried to overthrow the Government by employing violent means. They assassinated a number of officials. On March 13, 1881 A. D., a Nihilist threw a bomb on Alexander II and also killed him.

4. **Foreign Policy of Alexander II**—(1) The Crimean War started during the reign of Nicholas but ended in 1856 A. D. during the reign of Alexander. Russia was defeated in the war and the Czar was forced to sign the humiliating Treaty of Paris. This affected adversely the international prestige and honour of Russia.

(2) In 1865 A. D., Alexander prompted the Greeks of Crete against Turkey. As a result, they rose in rebellion against Turkey demanding the merger of Crete with Greece.

(3) In 1870, the Czar encouraged the Bulgarian Christians to set up the National Church of Bulgaria.

(4) In 1870 A. D., the Czar repudiated those clauses of the Paris Treaty which had restricted her freedom in the Black Sea. He laid a seige upon Sebastopol and blockaded the Black Sea.

(5) The Sultan of Turkey perpetuated untold miseries upon his Christian subjects in Balkans. This caused an outbreak of insurrection among

the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Sultan tried to put down the insurrections with a heavy hand but Russia took the side of the Christians and a war broke out between Russia and Turkey, in 1877-78. The Sultan had to agree to the Treaty of San Stefano after his defeat.

Other countries of Europe did not accord recognition to this treaty and England even went to the extent of threatening a war over this question. Under Bismarck's chairmanship, a meeting of the European Powers was held and Russian privileges in the Black Sea were ended through the Treaty of Berlin.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Alexander II, 1855-1881 A.D.—In 1855 when Alexander II succeeded to the throne, the internal condition of Russia was pitiable.

Smoke of the smouldering discontent was apparent everywhere ; the humiliating Treaty of Paris served a severe blow to the Russian prestige in the international field ; the Czar was an autocrat but he was forced by circumstances to adopt a policy of reforms.

Reforms of Alexander—(1) Abolition of Serfdom ; (2) Administrative Reforms ; (3) Judicial Reforms. (4) Other Reforms ; He is known as the Czar Liberator for his reforms.

Revolt in Poland—(1) Taking encouragment from the national movements of Italy and Germany, the people of Poland revolted in 1863 A.D. (2) The Czar put down the revolt with the help of Bismarck ; (3) After that he adopted a reactionary and repressive policy both in Russia as well as Poland.

Nihilism—The Nihilists started their movement as a reaction against the repressive policy of the Czar ; (2) They wanted to set up a new society at the ruins of the old one ; (3) To achieve their ends, they formed secret societies and adopted violent means ; (4) In 1881 A. D., a Nihilist killed Alexander II by hurling a bomb at him

Foreign Policy of Alexander II—(1) Humiliating Treaty of Paris in 1856 A.D. (2) Prompting the Greeks of Crete to revolt against Turkey in 1860 A.D (3) Encouraging the Christians of Bulgaria against Turkey in 1870. (4) Repudiating the Treaty of Paris in 1870. (5) War with Turkey on the question of the Balkans, in 1877-78 ; Acquiring special privileges in the Black Sea through the Treaty of San Stefano, End of the privileges by Treaty of Berlin.

University and other Important Questions

1. Discuss the domestic and foreign policy of Czar Alexander I.
2. "During the first quarter of the 19th century under the rule of brilliant but unstable Alexander I, Russia had suffered from alternative dozes of enlightenment and reaction." Elucidate.
3. Describe the domestic and foreign policy of Czar Alexander II. Why was he regarded as the "Czar Liberator" ?
4. "The region of Czar Alexandor II was both a period of reform and reaction." Discuss.
5. "The accession of Alexander II of Russia inaugurated a new epoch." Discuss. (A. U. 1960)
6. Briefly review the reforms of Czar Alexander II. Was he really liberal ? (D.U. 1968)
7. Examine the historical importance of Alexander II's attempt for the abolition of serfdom in Russia. (P.U. 1974)

20

THE EASTERN QUESTION—1815 TO 1871 A.D.

Turkey has dominated Europe since good old days. In 1453 A D., the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople and established a powerful empire in the South-East Europe which is known as the Ottoman Empire or the Turkish Empire. After that, during the 16th and 17th centuries, they expanded the empire along the north coast of Africa. Most of the Balkan states also came under their control. Egypt, Algiers, Asia Minor, Syria, Islands of the Aegean Sea, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Arminea and other states formed a part of this great empire. However, by the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, Turkey had been reduced to the state of a weak country, and it came to be known as the 'Sickman of Europe'. The decadence of Turkey created a problem known as the Eastern Question which is considered to be an important event in the History of Europe.

Q. 1. What do you understand by the Eastern Question in the History of Europe ? Name the problems connected with it.

Or

What do you understand by the Eastern Question ? Trace the various stages of its history upto 1815. (P U. 1953)

Ans. Meaning of the Eeastern Question—The phrase 'Eastern Question' owes its origin to the Vienna Congress of 1815 when the statesmen from different countries of Europe thought for the first time about the problems created by the Turkish Empire in the east of Europe. Turkey had established a vast empire between the 15th and 17th centuries. But its power declined steadily and by the end of the 18th century, it came to be regarded as the 'Sickman of Europe'. The weakness of Turkey encouraged the subject nationalities to make a bid for independence. New and complicated problems confronted the various countries of Europe viz, Russia, England, Austria and France as a result of these revolts. All these problems joined together were given the name of the Eastern Question.

Miller says—"*The Eastern Question may be defined as the problem of fitting up tne vacuum created by the gradual disappearance of the Turkish Empire from Europe.*"

the words of **Lord Morley**—"*It was that shifting, intractable rwoven tangle of conflicting interests, rival people and agonistic*

Russian statesman gave it the following definition—

his damned Eastern Question is like a gout. Sometimes it takes the leg, sometimes it nips your hand. One is lucky if it does not ie stomach."

r. **Southgate**, the famous historian, has defined it in these —

This group of problems, dealing with lands and people from the be to the Nile, is commonly referred to as the Eastern Question."

2. Problems connected with the Eastern Question—

(1) *Weakness of the Turkish Empire*—By the beginning of the 19th ary, the Turkish Empire had declined to the state of utter weakness had started to be regarded as the 'Sickman of Europe'. The n led a luxurious life and mostly remained in the company of his ns. Sultan's weakness also made the empire weak. The inistration was incompetent and corrupt. Turkey could not keep with the changing times. She remained orthodox and grew ker and weaker being away from the progressive world. The tan would often promise reforms but would do nothing concrete. is made the people restive and angry. It has been rightly said "*Turkish rule in Europe was a long story of despotism, incompetence d corruption.*"

(2) *Problem of Religion*—The Muslims and the Christians formed e subjects of the vast Empire of Turkey. The former belonged to e ruling class and the latter to the ruled ones. Relations between hese two communities were never cordial. The Muslims would erpetuate all sorts of cruelties on the Christians in the name of eligion. Russia considered herself to be the protector of these Christians and helped them. Russian interference made the problem all the more complicated.

(3) *Rise of Nationalism*—People of different creeds formed the the population of the Turkish Empire. Most of them were Muslims. Other nationalities were the Romans, the Greeks and the Albanians. They spoke different languages and possessed different cultures. The ruling class did not behave well with the people of other communities. A feeling of enmity grew between them. The French Revolution and Napoleon, by his wars, inspired the feelings of nationalism among these races and they clamoured for their independence. These revolts made the problem even more complex.

(4) *Political Rivalry*—The European Powers adopted different attitudes towards this question. This made the problem still more complicated and intriguing.

Russia nursed an ambition to annex different parts of the Turkish Empire and interfered actively in the garb of protecting the interests of the Christians. Her aim was to control the Black Sea and the Straits so that she could secure a passage to the Mediterranean. All this was intended to increase her influence in Europe. Russia, by the Treaty of Kujuk Kainardji, in 1774, obtained many political concessions and privileges She was formally acknowledged as the protector of the interests and rights of the Christians. Under this pretext, Moldavia, Wallachia and Crimea were annexed by Russia. The Treaty of Bucharest in 1812 A D. gave her the control of Bessarabia. The increasing Russian influence in the Balkans made it an international question. Other European Powers feared that this might disturb the balance of power in the region. Hence they tried to curb the increasing Russian influence. That is why it is said—

"The annihilation of Russia at the expense of Turkey was a constant factor in the Eastern Question from the days of Peter, the Great to the War."

The Austrian interest in the Balkan Peninsula was even greater than that of Russia as she feared Pan Slavic movement in the Balkans affecting the loyalty of her own Slav subjects in her southern dominions. Also, it was essential for her in the interest of trade and economy that she should have a secure outlet to the sea. Her national interests demanded that Russia must be prevented from establishing her supremacy at the mouth of the Danube, as a major portion of her trade was routed through the Danube Valley.

France was interested in the Eastern Question due to commercial and religious reasons. As per a treaty with Turkey in 1740, she had secured special trading privileges. Also, she was a protector of the Roman Catholic Christians in Turkey. France wanted to retain these privileges and hence, was in favour of the fall of Turkey.

England had her own self-interests. She was disturbed over the prospects of increasing Russian influence in the Black Sea which could be detrimental to her trade and imperialistic interests in India.

Thus, England supported Turkey in her attempt to curb Russia. It has been aptly remarked that *"The lengthening shadow of the Russian bear in the Near East was very disgusting to the British Lion."*

Self interests of the European Powers had, therefore, made the Eastern Question rather very complicated question that defied solution. This is what **Hayes** says about it—

"The basic importance of Turkey before the Continental statesmen between 1851 to 1870 was whether Turkey was to be wiped out of Europe or not and if it was to be wiped out, what was to take her place."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. *Meaning of the Eastern Question*—(1) Turkish Empire was vast and powerful in the olden times. (2) In the beginning of the 19th century, Turkish power declined and she became the Sickman of Europe. (3) Different nationalities under the Turkish Empire started revolting for independence and became a headache for the European Powers. (4) Problems created by the dis-integration of Turkey are phrased as the Eastern Question.

2. *Problems connected with the Eastern Question* —(1) Decline of the Turkish power ; (2) Problems of Religion ; (3) Rise of Nationalism ; (4) Political Rivalry : (5) National interests of Russia, Austria, France and England made the question all the more complicated.

War of Greek Independence

☞ **Q. 2. Describe the struggle of the Greeks for Independence.**

Or **(Important)**

Give a brief account of the War of Greek Independence, clearly bringing out the attitude of the Great Powers of Europe towards it.

(D. U. 1964)

Ans.—The Eastern Question gave birth to many wars. Revolt of Serbia, War of Greek Independence, war between Mehemet Ali of Egypt and the Sultan of Turkey and the Crimean War are the most important of all these.

1. **Causes of the Greek War of Independence**—The following were the causes of the Greek War of Independence :—

(1) The Ruling class i e., the Muslims in Turkey, did not have *good relations with other races of the Empire.* A feeling of enmity took roots between the Turks and the Greeks. The Greeks had to pay various taxes. In case of non-payment of taxes, there was a provision for the confiscation of their properties. They could even be sentenced to death. But, as **Hazen** has remarked—"*The Greeks had been submerged by the Turkish flood but not destroyed.*"

(2) *The ruling class in Turkey was Muslim and the Greeks were Christians.* The Muslims and the Sultan looked down upon them with contempt. The Sultan considered them to be athiests. His treatment with them, therefore, was inhuman and uncivilized. He followed a policy of intolerance and religious fanaticism against them.

The administration was also run as per Muslim laws. Killing the non-Muslims was considered to be a pious deed in the service of Islam. All these factors compelled the Greeks to take up arms against the Turkish rule.

(3) *The administration under the Sultan was corrupt,* incompetent and reactionary. Under such a misrule, the Greeks thought it impossible to make any material progress. They, therefore, turned against it.

(4) *The French Revolution and the exploits of Napoleon filled the Greeks with spirit* and courage and showed them the new light. Encouraged by this, they started their War of Independence.

(5) Although the Greeks had gone down, yet they had not forgotten *their ancient glory.* By the end of the 18th century, the philosophers and poets of Greece instilled in them a sense of pride and courage.

Once more, therefore, they tried to establish an independent empire of their own.

(6) In 1814 A. D., the Greeks formed a *secret organisation* by the name of '*Hitaria Philike*'. The aim of this organisation was to fill a

spirit of nationalism in the Greeks to prepare them for a struggle for independence and to establish a Greek empire.

(7) *Russia sympathised with the Greeks* and secretly encouraged them. The Greeks believed that in the event of a war with Turkey, Russia would come to their help.

(8) The *people of Serbia,* under the leadership of Kara George, staged a revolt against Turkey in 1813 A. D. but an opponent killed him. However, the Serbians continued the struggle under Milosch Obrenovitch. The Sultan was forced to grant a new constitution to Serbia. Encouraged by the success of the Serbians, the Greeks also waged a war of independence.

(9) *Mehemet Ali of Egypt,* for the attainment of his ambitions, also stood up against Turkey. This rendered Sultan's condition very precarious. The Greeks, taking advantage of the situation, embarked upon the path of war in 1821.

2. **Events of the War**—The Greeks, in order to cast off the slavery of the Sultan, revolted under the leadership of Prince Alexander Hypsilanti of Moldavia. The prince was defeated and jailed for the rest of his life. This was followed by the National Rising in Morea. Many Christians were murdered in Constantinople which enraged Russia. But she was prevented from helping the Greeks by Metternich and the British Foreign Minister Canning. Canning had observed—"*She (Russia) might gobble Greece at one mouthful and Turkey at the next.*" The Morean War was fought with terrible happenings. Thousands of people on either side were massacred. The slogan of the Greeks was—"*Turkey shall live no longer, neither in the Morea nor on the whole earth.*"

At many places, the Christians were subjected to mass killings. Horrible bloody murders and atrocities were committed.

The Sultan of Turkey came to terms with Mehemet Ali of Egypt and sought his help. The latter sent his son Ibrahim with infantry and naval fleet. He advanced rapidly and swept everything with him. He wrought destruction on all sides and captured Crete, Morea and Athens, the capital of Greece.

Europe was shaken by the ferocity of Ibrahim and the blood he spilled. On the other hand, conditions in Russia had materially changed. After the death of Alexander I, Nicholas I succeeded to the throne. He did not want to dance to the tunes of Metternich. He decided his policy independently. He abandoned the path of neutrality and got ready to help the Greeks. Canning did not want that Russia should be allowed to intervene alone in the war. A Tripartite Treaty was signed between Russia, France and England in 1827 A. D. A note was sent to the Sultan urging him to stop the war and grant independence to Greece. The Sultan overlooked the note whence the three signatories to the treaty jointly attacked Turkey. On Oct 20, 1827 A. D. a battle was fought at Navarino in which the Allied forces destroyed the Turkish fleet. After the death of Canning, England withdrew from the war. France also stopped taking part in the war. But Russia kept on with its policy and ultimately she forced the Sultan to the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 A. D.

3. **Provisions of the Treaty**—The following were the provisions of the Treaty of Adrianople :—

(1) *Turkey granted Independence to Greece.* In 1812 A. D. the Greeks chose Otto, the prince of Bavaria as their ruler. He was recognised by Turkey and other countries of Europe.

(2) *Autonomy was granted to Moldavia and Wallachia*, under the guidance of Russia.

(3) *Serbia*, also secured autonomy.

(4) Rumania was also granted independence, but she agreed to pay a fixed amount of money to Turkey annually.

(5) *Turkey handed over some territory in Asia to Russia.* Also, Russia secured many rights and privileges in the Balkans and even in Turkey.

4. **Importance of the Greek War**—The Treaty of Adrianople has a special significance in the History of Europe—

(1) *Greece* was granted independence according to this treaty. Her trade got a boost and a new civilisation and culture was born. Making progress in different fields of life, she again secured the glory that she formerly possessed.

(2) The independence of Greece was *the first step towards the dismemberment* of Turkey. Encouraged by the success of the Greeks, other states under the rule of Turkey started struggle for their independence. This caused a storm in the political life of Europe and the balance of power in that region was disturbed.

(3) The failure of Turkey also inspired the feudal lords to *revolt against the Sultan.*

(4) The victory of the Greeks was the *victory of nationalism and liberalism* against the forces of reaction and fascism.

(5) As a result of this Treaty, *Russia gained,* not only in the commercial field but also in the political field.

The importance of the Treaty has rightly been described as—

"*It was here that the first successful blow was administered to autocratic government of Europe by Congress, here that the Ottoman Empire received its most sensible wound, here that the modern spirit of nationalism afterwards destined to govern Italy and Poland, Bohemia and Ireland and and to bring the Austrian Empire to the ground, won its first romantic and resounding triumph.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Causes of the Greek War of Independence—**

(1) The Greeks were burdened with various taxes; (2) Policy of religious fanaticism and intolerance of the Sultan; (3) The administration of the Sultan

being incompetent, corrupt and reactionary; (4) Greek spirit of nationalism inspired by the French Revolution; (5) Inspiration from the ancient glory of Greece; (6) Formation of the secret organisation by the name of Hitaria Philike; (7) Sympathies of Russia; (8) Effect of the Serbian War; (9) Revolt by the Governor of Egypt.

2. **Events of the War**—

(2) Unsuccessful revolt in 1821 under the leadership of the Prince of Moldavia; (2) Rising in Morea and horrible blood-curdling; (3) England and Austria follow a policy of non-intervention. Persuaded Russia as well. (4) The Sultan seeks help from Egypt; (S) Success of Ibrahim and cruelty on the Christians. (6) Tripartite Treaty of London among Russia, England and France. Note to Sultan urging grant of independence to Greece (7) Turning down of the demand by the Sultan: (8) The three powers attack Turkey. Defeat of the Sultan in the battle of Navarino; (9) England and France withdraw from the war. (10) Russian continuance with the war and forcing the Sultan to the Treaty of Adrianople.

3 **Provisions of the Treaty**—(1) Greek Independence: (2) Moldavia and Wallachia get autonomy; (3) Independence of Serbia; (4) Rumanian Independence: (5) Gain territory and privileges in the Balkans to Russia.

4 **Importance of the War**—(1) Independence of Greece; (2) Dismemberment of the Turkish Empire; (3) Revolt of the feudal lords of Turkey; (4) Victory of nationalism against reactionary and fascist forces; (5) Increase in the prestige and trade of Russia.

Conflict between Turkey and Egypt

Q. 3. Give a brief description of the conflict between the Sultan of Turkey and Mehemet Ali.

Ans.—Mehemet Ali was an Albanian who had joined the Turkish army at the time of the invasion of Napoleon in Egypt. By dint of his qualities of head and heart, he rose to the position of the Governor of Egypt under the Sultan of Turkey. He was an ambitious and a courageous soul. He wanted to become an independent ruler of Egypt and also wanted to bring Syria and Asia Minor under his control. He had rendered valuable service to the Sultan against the Greeks. In appreciation, the Sultan gifted away the island of Crete to him. But he was not satisfied. He brought about many economic and military reforms in Egypt and transformed it into a powerful and prosperous state.

Mehemet Ali was aware of the weakness of the Sultan. Hence, his son Ibrahim invaded Syria in 1832 A.D. He captured Acre and Damascas and advanced towards Constantinople. The Sultan was frightened by his successes and sought help from the European powers. England, at that time, was busy with its parliamentary reforms and was engulfed by the problems of Belgium. She, therefore, did not come forward. France was in favour of Egypt. Austria was involved in her internal revolts. At such a crucial stage, only Russia sent her naval fleet and military force to help Turkey. Accepting the help, the Sultan had remarked—

"A drowning man will grasp at a serpent."

France and England understood the implications of the Russian help. They could, in no case, see the increasing Russian influence in

Turkey. France tried to prevent Russia from this but in vain. On the other hand, England and Austria prevailed upon the Sultan to give away Syria to Mehemet Ali. Thus ended the conflict.

Russia had also to beat a retreat and she withdrew her warships. But, before doing so, she signed the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi with the Sultan in 1833. Main provisions of the treaty were :—

(1) Turkey agreed to give the Russian warships free passage through the Straits of Dardanelles.

(2) Russia would help Turkey in the event of a war.

Russia was very much benefitted by this treaty. She got a control over the foreign policy of Turkey and in a way she secured a protectorate over Turkey. The Black Sea virtually became a Russian lake and her influence in Turkey increased in the fields of defence and diplomacy.

Other countries of Europe were shaken by the increasing influence of Russia in Turkey. The people of England were particularly angry and agitated. Palmerston actually sent a protest note on this question. England and Russia started preparing for war and an atmosphere for the same was created in both the countries. Palmerston thought that it was not difficult at all to defeat Russia in a war. He had said—"*The fact is that Russia is a humbug, and that if England were finally to go to war with her, we should throw her back half a century in one campaign.*"

However, the war was averted. In 1839 A. D., hostilities broke out again between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali as the former had never reconciled to the loss of Syria. He continued his preparations secretly and declared a war against Mehemet Ali. The Sultan was again beaten very badly and, as a result, Turkey lost her naval fleet and her infantry was completely wiped out. It is aptly said—

"*In three weeks Turkey had lost her Sultan, her army and fleet.*"

Under these circumstances, the European Powers felt it necessary to intervene in the Turkish affairs. Palmerston wanted to check the decline of Turkish Power and to nullify the rights and privileges of Russia secured by her through the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. He did not want to see France and Russia coming nearer. The French sympathised with Egypt. France, therefore, signed a pact with Mehemet Ali in order to extend her influence to the Suez Canal.

At this point, a conference of England, Austria, Prussia, Russia was held in London in 1840 A. D. They urged Mehemet Ali to put a stop to the war but he declined to oblige them. The Allied forces, therefore, launched successful operations against him and forced Mehemet Ali to submit to the *Treaty of London.*

Main provisions of the Treaty were—

(1) The authority of the Turkish Emperor was to be accepted and respected.

(2) Mehemet Ali agreed to give up his claim to Syria and Crete.

(3) Mehemet Ali was confirmed as the hereditary ruler of Egypt.

(4) Turkey agreed to have an English Ambassador.

(5) The Dardanelles and the Straits were to be closed to the ships of all the countries in war times.

This treaty has its own importance and is symbolic of the diplomamatic skill of Palmerston. He checked both France and Russia in their ambitions. The Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was virtually torn up. The Pasha of Egypt was restrained and independent existence of Turkey was ensured. Attempts of France to dominate the Suez Canal areas were also foiled. Prestige of England again soared to the sky.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Conflict between Turkey and Egypt—

(1) Mehemet Ali was the Governor of Egypt under the Sultan of Turkey; (2) Mehemet Ali, in order to grab Syria and Asia Minor, declared a war against the Sultan; (3) The Sultan sought the help of European powers; (4) Russia alone helped Turkey; (5) At the end of the war, Mehemet Ali secured Syria; (6) The Sultan signed the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi with Russia whereby the latter earned many privileges in the Black Sea; (7) England and France dreaded the Russian domination of Turkey; (8) In 1839 A.D. the Sultan waged a war against Mehemet Ali with a view to regaining Syria; (9) Turkey suffered defeat; (10) France signed an agreement with Mehemet Ali; (11) England, Russia, Prussia and Austria decided to intervene in the matter; (12) Treaty of London in 1840 A.D. This preserved the integrity of Turkey and ended the privilges of Russia secured by her by the earlier treaty.

The Crimean War, 1854—1856 A.D.

☞ **Q. 4. Describe the causes, main events and results of the Crimean War.**

(V. Imp.)

(Pb. M. A. 1970, 72 Delhi M. A. 1970)

Or

What were the causes of the Crimean War? How far was the British Cabinet of the times responsible for it? (D. U. 1965)

Or

Analyse the causes of the Crimean War and show how far did the Treaty of Paris succeed in solving the Eastern Question? *Or*

The Crimean War is said to be the most useless and unnecessary war of the 19th century. Do you agree with this view? Give reasons.

Ans. Between 1841 and 1852 A.D., there was repose in the Turkish Empire. During this period the Sultan carried out many reforms in Turkey. As a result, she made progress in all the fields of life and a new era of renaissance was ushered in. The future looked bright, but mutual hatred, distrust and enmity among the European powers resulted in the bloody Crimean War in 1854 A. D.

1. Causes of the War—

(1) *Weakness of the Turkish Empire*—During the 16th and 17th centuries, Turkey had expanded her empire to great limits by bringing under her control many territories inhabited by the Christians. But by the end of the 18th century, this great Turkish Empire lost its lustre and strength. Taking advantage of her weakness, different Christian

races started struggle for independence. Greece and Serbia were successful in achieving independence. The Czar of Russia helped these states in furtherance of her policy of creating domination over the Black Sea. This caused enmity between Russia and Turkey.

(2) *Religious Differences*—The Sultan of Turkey was cruel and intolerant towards the Christians. They were tired of his corrupt incompetent, reactionary and cruel rule. Turkey thus antagonised Christian world of Europe. **Grant** and **Temperley** have said—"*Religion in the Balkans was always apt to assume a strong political character, as has often been the case in countries where open political action has been impossible*"

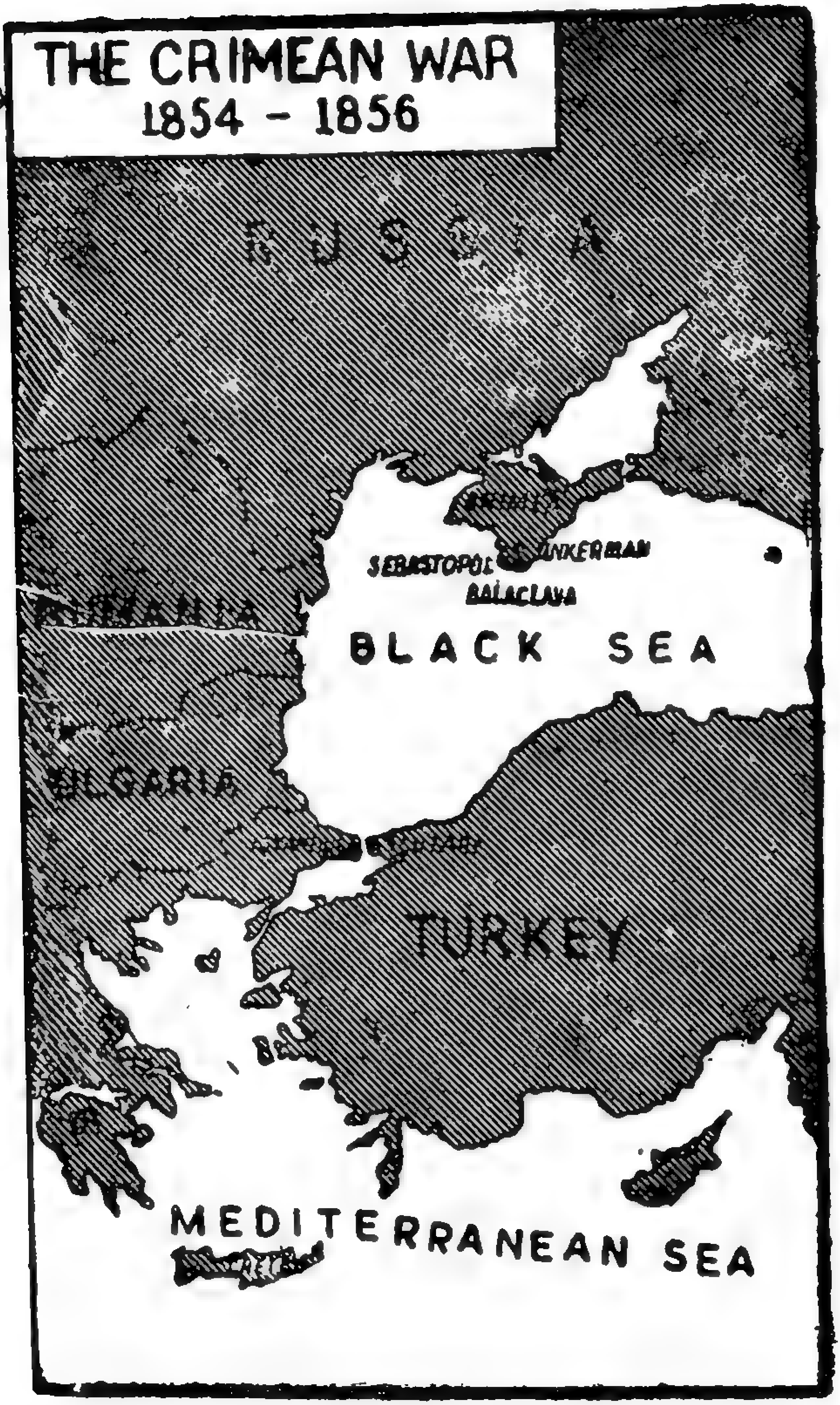
(3) *Mutual Rivalry between England and Russia*—Nicholas I, the Czar of Russia used to call Turkey as the 'Sickman of Europe'. He wanted to share and swallow the Empire with England. In 1853 A.D., he went to the extent of suggesting to the British Ambassador in Russia, that England should take Egypt and Crete and Russia would have Constantinople in the event of the fall of the Turkish Empire. He used to say—"*The interests of Russia and England are identical in Turkey. I want Constantinople and you will get Egypt and Crete. Turkey is in a critical stage. She is sure to collapse and if she falls, she falls to rise no more. I put it to you, therefore, whether it is not better to provide before hand for a contingency than to incur the chaos, confusion and certainty of a European war.*"

But England did not favour the idea. She did not want to let Russia grab Turkey and pose a threat to her Indian Empire. In no case could England bear Russian dominance in the Black Sea. This rivalry between the two became one of the chief causes of the Crimean War.

(4) *Napoleon III was too much Ambitious*—Napoleon III of France was too ambitious a person. He wanted to take advantage of the rivalry between Russia and England. He made an agreement with England. He wanted to follow the foot-steps of Napoleon I. He had an ambition to see France as a powerful vast empire and was also crazy for his personal glory and prestige. He, therefore, decided to intervene in the Eastern Question.

(5) *Rivalry between France and Russia* - Relations between Napoleon III of France and the Czar of Russia were, by no means, cordial. Napoleon believed that Russia was largely responsible for the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte. Also, the Czar was not prepared to accept Napoleon III as the king of France. He would address him as 'My dear Friend' instead of the usual practice of addressing a head of state as 'My Brother'. So both of them were not on good terms with each other.

(6) *Conflicting French and Russian Claims for the control of Holy Places in Palestine*—A quarrel arose between the Roman Catholic and Greek Christians over the control and management of the Church of Nativity situated at Bethlehem. Keys of the main gate of the entrance were with the Greek monks while those of another were in possession


THE CRIMEAN WAR
1854 - 1856
RUSSIA
SEBASTOPOL
INKERMAN
BALACLAVA
BLACK SEA
BULGARIA
TURKEY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

of the Catholic Christians. The Greek Christians were supported by Russia. The quarrel was trivial but it led to developments that took the shape of a bloody war. In this regard, **Prof. Fyffe** says—

> *"The claims of the rival brotherhood which related to doors, keys, stars and lamps could have been settled to the satisfaction of all the parties within a few hours by an experienced stage manager, but in the hands of diplomats bent on obtaining triumphs over one another, they assumed dimensions that over-shadowed the peace of Europe."*

(7) *Failure of the Russian Mission*—When Russia observed the increasing influence of France, she sent a mission to Turkey under the chairmanship of Prince Menschikoff in March, 1853. It placed before Turkey the following demand :—

(i) Russia should be given the right to be the protector of the Greek Christians in Turkey.

(ii) The management of the Holy Places of Palestine should be left to the Greek monks.

The Sultan of Turkey might have agreed to these but for a word of help given both by England and France. The Sultan returned the mission by saying that this would mean giving Russia the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey. The situation turned grave due to this.

It is evident from the above that rivalry between different nations, mutual distrust, narrow national interests and expansionist ambitions of different countries led to the Crimean War. **Grant and Temperley** write— *"National ambition, rivarly and fear are the motives which impelled the nations to what proved a severe struggle."*

(8) *Immediate Cause*—When Turkey refused to oblige Russia, she captured Moldavia and Wallachia, the two principalities of Turkey on the banks of the Danube. Turkey protested but Russia refused to vacate the captured areas. Thus, a war broke out between the two.

This war was fought with Russia on the one side and Turkey, England, France and Italy on the other. The only reason why Italy aided the allied powers was that she wanted the unification of Italy.

Events—

(1) *Battle of Sinope*—War broke out between Turkey and Russia in 1853. The first important battle was fought at the port of Sinope, where the Russians liquidated the Turkish fleet and engaged themselves in the mass killings of the Turks. This blood-shed forced England to come to the aid of Turkey.

(2) *Battle of Alma, 1854 A.D.*—In 1854 A.D. England and France, too, declared war upon Russia. The allied fleet entered the Mediterranean Sea. They gave a crushing defeat to Russia on the bank of river Alma in Crimea.

(3) *Seige of Sebastopol, 1854-55 A.D.*—Sebastopol was the centre of Russian power in the Black Sea. The allied forces beseiged Sebastopol

and the war centred round this seige. But they could not score an easy win. The seige continued while they fought battles against Russia at other places.

(4) *Battles of Balaclava and Inkerman, 1854 A. D.*—These battles were fought when the seige of Sebastopol was still continuing. The Battle of Balaclava is significant for the extraordinary charge of the 'Light Brigade' of England. 700 cavalry men attacked the Russian artillery and captured it at the cost of all but 195 men. After that, England defeated Russia in the battle of Inkerman.

(5) *Sufferings of the Allied Forces and Work of Florence Nightingale*—The allied forces suffered heavily on account of severe winter, shortage of supplies and an outbreak of cholera and they died because of these in good numbers. The Czar of Russia **Nicholas** had once remarked—

"I have two generals who will not fail me and these are Generals January and February."

Besides, the Allied Powers had no proper arrangements of doctors and medicines, by which wounded or ill soldiers could be treated and saved.

At this point, an English nurse named Florence Nightingale reached the Scutari Hospital accompanied by doctors and nurses and a good stock of medicines. She rendered examplary service to the soldiers and improved the working of the hospital.

(6) *Fall of Sebastopol and End of the War*—Now in England, Palmerston took charge of the cabinet in place of Aberdeen in 1855 A.D. He improved the military matters and gave all help and encouragement to the soldiers fighting in Crimea. Just at this juncture, Nicholas I of Russia died. This boosted the morale of the allied forces and Sebastopol fell after a year's resistance. Thus, the war came to an end as the new Czar thought it futile to continue the war.

3. **Treaty of Paris**—The Treaty of Paris closed the Crimean War in 1856 A.D. Main provisions of this treaty were :—

(1) Territorial integrity of Turkey was guaranteed and she was admitted to the Concert of Europe. It was decided that no country would interfere in her internal affairs.

(2) The Sultan of Turkey undertook to look to and work for the betterment of the Christians in his country.

(3) Turkey and Russia vacated each others' territories and restored them to their original countries. The Fort of Sebastopol was given back to Russia and in turn Russia promised not to fortify it again.

(4) Moldavia and Wallachia were made independent states under the suzerainty of the Sultan.

(5) All countries recognised an independent Serbia.

(6) The Black Sea was declared a neutral area from where trade ships of all countries could pass freely.

(7) The Danube was internationalised and thrown open for navigation to all countries.

(8) Russia was deprived of her special position of protector of the Christians in Turkey.

Was this War Inevitable ?—Criticising the Crimean War some historians have said that it was a useless and an unnecessary war. It was a crime if not a blunder. One critic has remarked—"*It was the most senseless war of the 19th century.*"

The Crimean War failed to achieve the objects for which it was fought. It took a heavy toll of life and property. An estimated six hundred thousand people lost their lives. France spent about Rs. 1,000,000,000 and lost seventy five thousand soldiers. National debt of England increased and forty two thousand of her men were killed. That is why it is said—

"*England put her money on the wrong horse.*"

An uneasy feeling prevailed in England that she had made too heavy a sacrifice for too little and that too for the sake of a country which had earned notoriety for misrule and cruelty.

The Crimean War was fought with an aim of ending the Russian influence in the Black Sea area and to prevent the dismemberment of Turkey into small states.

But these aims could not be achieved. The Eastern Question remained as such. Russia repudiated the Treaty of Paris with Bismarck's help in 1870 and increased her strength in the Black Sea. In 1878 A.D., she regained control over Bessarabia by the Treaty of San Stefano. Instead of putting an end to future wars, the Treaty of Paris sowed seeds of many wars, viz. war between France and Austria in 1859, between Austria and Prussia in 1866, between Russia and Turkey in 1870.

The Treaty of Paris proved highly unsatisfactory.

"*This treaty was as futile as the war which preceded it,*" said **Carter and Mears.**

Efforts to contain Russia proved a failure. On the contrary, she followed an expansionist policy in Asia, and created new problems. She started spreading her feet in Iran, Afghanistan, Tibet etc. This threatened the British interests in India.

The decantation of Turkey was stopped for some time but she could not be made a strong country. "*Turkey remained underformed and irreformable.*"

Her decline, therefore, was a certainty. The allied forces could not prevent the disintegration of Turkey and within 30 years, she was dismembered. The Sultan did not keep his promise of improving the lot of his Christian subjects. **Hazen** says—"*As a solution of the Eastern Question, the war was a flat failure. The promise of the Sultan that the lot* *of his Christian subjects should be improved was never kept. Their condition became worse.*"

There are also critics who say that the Allied Powers did go to the Crimean War without any aim before them. They fought to serve their narrow national interests. England wanted to curb and contain Russia while France wanted to increase her prestige in the world. They differed widely in their objectives. **Watson** has righty said—

"*If ever a war was made by an ill-informed but ardent public opinion against better judgement, it was the Crimean War.*"

Making a critical appreciation of the war, **Marriot** says—

"*If the Crimean War was not a blunder, it was a crime and that it ought to have been and might have been avoided.*"

Another critic, **Kingslake** comments—

"*England was an innocent tool in the hands of an unscrupulous adventurer, anxious to establish a throne unrighteously attained by a brilliant war causelessly provoked.*"

However, **Marriot** does not agree with **Kingslake** and asserts that England was not a tool in the hands of Napoleon. She participated in the war to place a check on the Russian ambitions and to prevent the Black Sea from becoming a lake of Russia. Also, she did not want to see Russia as the sole protector of the rights of the Christians of Turkey.

Effects—

Although the war did not lead to the achievement of the causes for which it was fought, yet it had its effects though indirect :—

(1) *The Crimean War led to the emergence of two new nations i.e., of Germany and Italy.* That is why it has been said—

"*Out of the mud of Crimea, a new Italy was made and less obviously, a new Germany.*"

Cavour, the Prime Minister of Italy helped the allied powers in the Crimean War and thus earned their sympathy. The problem of unification of Italy, as a result, was internationalised and ultimately Italy was unified.

Russia and Austria had friendly relations before this war. Austria remained neutral in the war and as a consequence, she lost the friendship of Russia. Bismarck availed of the opportunity and established friendship with Russia. In 1863 A. D , Bismarck helped Russia to crush the revolt in Poland. In the war fought in the year 1866 between Austria and Prussia, Russia kept neutrality and Austria could not stand against her opponent. Bismarck, therefore, was able to achieve the unification of Germany. **Seaman** has well said—

"*Bismarck and Cavour were the chief beneficiaries of the Crimean War, and without it there might have been neither a Kingdom of Italy nor a German Empire.*"

(2) *The Crimean War opened a new chapter in the history of Nursi* The Red Cross movement and the Army Ambulance Corps owe th origin to this war. Miss Florence Nightingale set an example for serv of the wounded and the ill.

(3) The *Czar of Russia*, Alexander II, had to introduce many r forms to win over the sympathies of the people to fortify his own po ition as a ruler.

(4) The Treaty of Paris resulted in the formation of two auton mous states of *Moldavia* and *Wallachia* under the suzerainty of Turke Both the states were anxious to merge with each other and constitut state known as Rumania. They, therefore, chose a common ruler 1850 A. D., and established Rumania in the teeth of opposition fro England, Austria and Turkey but with the support of Napoleon III France.

(5) *Serbia* was a Turkish dominion before the Crimean Wa She secured total independence in 1867 A.D. This was an indire result of this war.

(6) *Russian expansion* was checked in Europe only to directed towards central Asia where she advanced towards Ira Afghanistan and Tibet. England, as a consequence, was grea disturbed fearing danger to her Indian Empire.

(7) In the Treaty of Paris, it was recognised for the first ti that all the countries should have free access to the Black Sea for tra and navigation. Internationalism was encouraged and an importa international law was established. Grant and Temperley have remark in this connection—

"The Crimean war occupies a peculiar place in the history Europe in the 19th century......The victory in the struggle gained lit if anything from it. The integrity of Turkey was, in fact not mai tained. The advance of Russia was not permanently checked In t great war of 1914, France and Britain spent many thousands of li and many millions of money in the effort to undo some of conseque ces of this victory in the Crimean War, which had been won with much loss of blood and treasure. Yet the war is in many ways inte sting. It provides us especially with a singularly instructive illustration the way in which wars are fought about and procedure of some of t actors in the story is seen without the concealment and the allegation false motives behind which diplomatists have usually liked to work."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Crimean War of 1854-56 A.D.—

1. Causes—(1) Weakness of the Turkish Empire, (2) Religious Rival (3) Rivalry between England and Russia; (4) Ambitions of Napoleon (5) Rivalry between Russia and France; (6) Conflict between Russia France over the Holy Places of Palestine; (7) Failure of the Russian Mission Turkey; (8) Immediate cause.

(2) Events— 1) Battle of Sinope; (2) Battle of Alma, 1854 A (3) Siege of Sebastopol, (1854-55 A D.). (4) Battles of Balaclava and Inkerm

5) Difficulties of Allied Powers and magnificent deeds of Florence Nightingale 6) Fall of Sebastopol and end of war by the Treaty of Paris in 1856.

3. **Main Provisions of the Treaty of Paris—Was this war useless?**—Many istorians consider this war and the Treaty of Paris, senseless, useless and a total ailure. It failed to achieve the objects for which it was fought.

(1) Loss of men and money. (2) Russian influence could not be checked n the Black Sea; (3) Seeds of future wars were sown; (4) Turkey could not e transformed and her disintegration became certain; (5) Turkey could not mprove the plight of her Christian subjects; (6) The Crimean War failed to olve the Eastern Question: (7) Opinions of various critics.

4. **Effects**—(1) The War was futile but not without some indirect effects. 2) Coming into being of the Red Cross and Army Ambulance Corps; (5) Alexnder II of Russia compelled to bring about reforms to please the public 4) Establishment of the State of Rumania; (5) Total independence of Serbia; 6) England concerned over the increasing influence of Russia in Asia; (7) Sense f Internationalism and important International Law.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by the Eastern Question in the history of Europe? Name the problems connected with it.
2. Review the main developments in connection with the Greek War of Independence and point out the attitude of big powers towards it. (D.U. 1964)
3. Bring out the character and significance of the Greek War of Independence. (D.U. 1966)
4. What were the causes of the Crimean War? How far did the treaty of Paris succeed in solving the Eastern Question?
5. Do you agree with the view that the Crimean War was unnecessary?
6. "The only perfectly useless modern war", is an estimate of the Crimean War. Discuss with reference to its causes, events and results. (P U. 1968, 72)
7. Describe briefly the important phases in the Eastern Question in the 19th century. (D.U. 1966, 72)
8. Briefly review the attempts to solve the Eastern Question in period from 1820 to 1878. (P.U. 1967; Delhi B.A. 1971)
9. Review the attempts to solve the Eastern Question during the period 1820—56. (Pb. B.A. 1971)
10. 'For most of the Powers the Crimean War had been an indecisive engagement and the Congress of Paris brought no great change.' Discuss this Statement. (Pb. M.A. 1970)
11. "The Crimean War makes a significant turning point in the European history." Elucidate and Discuss. (Delhi M.A 1970)
12. What do you understand by the Eastern Question? Discuss its impact on European Politics during the period 1815—1856. (Pb. M. A. 1971, 74)
13. Discuss the causes and effects of the Crimean War (1855—56). (Pb. B.A. 1972; Delhi B.A. 1972)
14. What do you understand by the term 'the Eastern Question' in the history of Europe between 1848 and 1870 A.D.? (Delhi M.A. 1972)

21

FRANCE (1870 TO 1914 A.D.)

The French forces were defeated at Sedan in 1870 and Napoleon III was made a prisoner. When the news reached France, the formation of the Third Republic was proclaimed. A Provisional Government was set-up for the sake of National Defence The Prussian armies besieged Paris. The French expressed their determination to face the situation in these words –

"We will not yield an inch of French soil nor a stone of French fortress."

Thiers led the French forces against the enemy. He gave a courageous fight to the Prussian armies but did not achieve much success.

EUROPE
in 1871
SWEDEN & NORWAY
NORTH SEA
RUSSIA
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
BLACK SEA
SPAIN
ITALY
TURKEY

First fell the fortress of Metz and then came the fall of Paris Thiers made vain efforts to come to an agreement with Bismarck. Bismarck was bent upon destroying Paris. Thiers, under these circumstances, made a determined bid to fight to the last breath. He said—

"Ravish our provinces, burn our homes, cut the throats of our unoffending inhabitants- in a word, complete your work. We will fight to the last breath; we shall succumb at last, but we will not be dishonoured."

Affected by the firm resolve of Thiers, Bismarck signed the Treaty of Frankfurt with France on May 10, 1871. Differences between the different parties led to the formation of a Provisional Government under the leadership of Thiers and Gambetta.

The Third French Republic

Q. 1. "The Third Republic in France came and survived only because there was no alternative." Amplify *Or*

Under what circumstances was the Third Republic in France created ?

Ans. 1. **Treaty of Frankfurt**—After the seige of Paris was lifted, a National Assembly, consisting of 750 members was formed to negotiate peace with Bismarck, as a majority of the French people wanted an end to the war. As a result of this treaty, prosperous provinces of Alsace and Lorraine had to be acceded to Prussia. France also agreed to pay an indemnity of £ 200,000,000 and undertook to maintain a Prussian army in France until this amount was paid off. There were some leaders who opposed these terms. Republicans, Royalists and Socialists formed the main parties in France in those days. They had serious ideological differences. So, a National Government under Thiers was formed.

2. **The Insurrection of the Paris Commune**—(1) Peace, however, could not be established in France even after the Treaty of Frankfurt. A civil war broke out between the Interim Government headed by Thiers and the Paris Commune. The royalists had a majority in the National Assembly and they were anti-Republicans. The people of Paris, on the other hand, were strongly Republicans.

(2) The National Assembly decided by a majority vote to move the capital from Paris to Versailles. The people of Paris took it as an insult. They felt that inspite of the fact that they had borne the brunt of the war-suffering, they were not trusted by the leaders of the National Assembly.

(3) Shifting of the capital from Paris would have created economic difficulties for Paris resulting in stagnation in the growth of the city. At the time of the seige of Paris, the financial position of the people had worsened. The Government, by a decree, had stayed the payments of all rents and debts, etc. But as soon as the seige was lifted, the Government withdrew the decree and ordered the payment of all dues. This enraged the Parisians.

(4) Most of the artisans and labourers of Paris were members of the National Guard and drew a regular military allowance. The National Assembly stopped this allowance after the war and gave it to a selected few who had certificates of their being poor. Most of the labourers, as a result, lost their livelihood and became anti-government.

Aggrieved and dissatisfied by the policies of the Government, the Parisians rose in revolt and joined hands with the revolutionaries. They set up what is known as the Paris Commune with 90 members on board. Setting-up of such Communes for other cities as well was demanded of the government. They also demanded that the rights of the government should be abridged and transferred to the City Communes. Supporters of this movement in France came to be called as Communards. About the aims and objects of the Communards, **Prof. Hazen** writes—

"They were simply trying to abolish the kind of unity imposed on us upto this day by the Empire, the Monarchy, and Parlimentarism which has been but despotic, unintelligent, arbitrary and onerous centeralisation. They wished to abolish the old system of militarism, officialism, exploitation stock-jobing, monopolies and privileges to which the proletariat owes its servitude, and the fatherland, its misfortunes and its disasters."

A terrible confrontation between the government and the Communards followed. Thiers faced the situation with courage and on April 2, 1871, laid a seige to Paris to crush the revolt. This seige continued till May 21 after which the government forces indulged in mass killings for seven days in the streets of Paris. A fearful destruction of life and property was carried out. These seven days are known as 'Bloody Week' in history. About this bloody episode, it is said—

"Everything was burning, there were explosions everywhere. A night of terror shells fell in every direction. All the central quarters were a battle-field. It was a horrible chaos, bodies and souls in collision over a crumbling world."

The government crushed the Communards' revolt with force of the shot. They were given severe punishments. Many were shot dead. Many were tried and imprisoned or sent to penal servitude. Many were turned out of the country. So, peace was established after such a great bloodshed and fierce fight. It is said that Paris suffered much more in this civil war than she suffered from the foreign invasions. It is estimated that about 1,700 persons were killed in this war.

3. **Work of Thiers' Government (1871—78)**—Peace was established in France after the suppression of the Communards. Revolt and Thiers' government then set to the work of reconstruction.

(1) The whole indemnity was paid off in two years (by September 1873) by Thiers' efforts. Consequently, the German army had to leave France. Thiers come to be known as the '*Liberator of Territory*' for this great work.

(2) **Compulsory military service** was introduced for 5 years by passing a law in 1872 in order to increase the military force of France.

(3) The railways, bridges and new buildings etc. were const[illegible]ed according to the needs of the country.

(4) Many steps were taken for the progress of trade and the industrial development.

4. Fall of Thiers—Every political party started its efforts to establish its own government after the restoration of peace in France. There was a monarchist majority in the National Assembly. They were in favour of the establishment of a strong monarchy. Thiers, though a monarchist, was in favour of a constitutional monarchy. So the staunch monarchists did not have faith in him. Thiers leaned towards democracy and said—"*It is the form of government which divides us least.*" His words against monarchy were—"*There is only one throne and there are three claimants to sit on it.*"

Even then the Democratists did not have any faith on him. He was compelled to resign under these circumstances as the motion of no-confidence was moved against him in the Naional Assembly. Marshal MacMahon was made the President for an indefinite period in his place. He was a monarchist and a staunch follower of monarchy. He gave a word to resign after making a right and able person as the monarch.

5. Efforts to restore Monarchy—The selection of the king was the point which created differences among the monarchists after the fall of Thiers. They were divided into three groups, though there was a majority of the monarchists in the National Assembly. One group was in favour of making a Bourbon as their king, whereas the other was in favour the Orleanists. The third group wanted to enthrone the successor of Napoleon Bonaparte on the throne of France.

The differences among these groups increased day by day. At last, the Bourbons and Orleanists came to a compromise. It was agreed upon that the Count de Chambord should be made theking of France as he was childless and then the Orleanists should succeed him after his death. But the Count de Chambord was a follower of the principle of the Divine Right of Kings and the white flag of Bourbons. So this compromise could not last long.

Thus, the Orleanists, in compromise with the Democrats, increased the term of the temporary Repubic for seven years and decided to have MacMahon as the President upto 1880.

6. France towards a Permanent Republic—The National Assembly did not take any step for drawing up a constitution for which it had resolved earlier. The Republicans took an advantage of the differences among the monarchists who joined the Republicans in great numbers. In the end, all the parties agreed to establish a Republic in France. A new constitution was drawn up by the National Assembly in 1874. It consisted of two Chambers—the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The Senate was to be elected for 9 years by indirect elections. The Chamber was to be elected for a period of 4 years by universal suffrage. The President was to be elected for a period of 7 years by the Legislature. Thus, a Parliamentary form of government was established in France. The President was given the right to nominate some members of the Legislature. The Ministers were declared responsible to the Legislature. The National Assembly was dissolved on the promulgation of the Constitution on December 31, 1875.

The new elections were held in 1876 according to the new constitution. The monarchists or royalists gained majority in the Senate and the Republicans in the Legislative Assembly. In these circumstances, MacMahon tried to rule ignoring the legislature but failed in his attempt. So a second election to the legislature was held. The Republicans again gained a majority and it became difficult for MacMahon to carry on the work. So he resigned in 1879. There was a Republican majority in both the Houses then. As a result, they established a permanent Republic in France which worked from 1880 to 1940. Jules Grevy replaced MacMahon as the President of the Republic.

7 **Reasons for the Establishment of Republic in France**—There was no other alternative but to establish the Republic in France. Following were the main reasons for its establishment :—

(1) People of France were not one on the point of the disgraceful treaty made by Theirs with Bismarck to end the war. The Royalists were against it and wanted to continue the war. But the masses, who were in favour of the Republic, wanted to establish peace in the country by bringing an end to the war.

(2) There were three major parties in France at that time—the Royalists, the Republicans and the Socialists. All the three differed on the form of government in the country. Eachone of them was trying to establish its own type of government. The Royalists were holding a majority in the National Assembly but the Republicans were more powerful and the general public was inclined towards them.

(3) In addition to this, the Royalists also differed on the choice of the king. One group favoured the Orlean dynasty, the other group the Bourbons whereas the third one favoured the successors of Napoleon. In the beginning, the Bourbons and the Orleanists came to a compromise but it ended soon due to the obstinacy of Chambord. Under these circumstances, many Royalists joined the Republican Party which got stronger. Thus, when the three groups did not see eye to eye with one another and there were differences in the Royalist Party, there was no way out but for the establishment of the Republic in France.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Establishment of Third Republic in France—(1) Difference of opinion to continue war after the defeat at Sedan ; (2) Decision to stop the war and it ended by the Treaty of Frankfurt on May 10, 1871; (3) Establishment of the Republic because of differences among the Royalists, the Communists and the Republicans (4) Civil War between the government and the Communards and the victory of the government ; (5) Works of the Thiers government ; (6) Replacement of Thiers by MacMahon as President in 1873; He was the supporter of monarchy : (7) Royalist efforts for the establishment of monarchy, but could not succeed due to their own differences ; Increase in the term of MacMahon and the republic. (8) The drawing up of the new constitution in 1875 and the end of the National Assembly. (9) Difficulty due to the majority of the Royalists in the Senate and the Republicans in the legislature; (10) MacMahon resigned in 1879 due to the majority of the Republicans in both houses ; the establishment of the permanent republic in 1880 which continued up to 1940.

Causes for the Establishment of the Republic—(1) The Royalists were in favour of continuing the war but the masses wanted peace; the masses won in the end ; (2) Differcnce of opinion regarding the form of government in the country among the three parties—the Royalists, the Republicans and the Socialists ; (3) The mutual differences in the Royalist party for choosing a king and the establishment of the temporary Republic.

Problems before the Third Republic

Q. 2. State briefly the dangers, difficulties and problems which the Third Republic had to face.

Ans. / Difficulties of the Third Republic— The French Republic had to face the following problems and difficulties :—

(1) *Problem of the Establishment of the Republic*—A proclamation for the establishment of the Republic in France was made in 1871 and a temporary government was established. There was a difference of opinion among the parties as regards the formation of the government. The Royalists who were in majority were in favour of the monarchy. But the Republicans had the support of masses. Thus, a temporary Republic was established with Thiers as its President. In 1873, Thiers had to resign and MacMahon was elected President in his place. New constitution was drawn up in 1875. The Royalists were in majority in the Senate and the Republicans in the Legislature. The Republicans, however, won majority in both the Houses in 1879 and the Third Republic was established in France in 1880 and, consequently, the problem the formation of government was also solved.

(2) *Payment of Indemnity*—France had to pay a large sum as a war-indemnity to Prussia according to the Treaty of Frankurt. She

also agreed to keep a German army and bear its expenses. This indemnity was paid because of Thiers' great efforts and the German army was sent out of the country by the end of 1873.

(3) *Revolt of the Paris Commune*—Serious disagreements arose between the Paris Commune and the Legislative Assembly. The members of the Legislative Assembly mostly supported the monarchy whereas people of France were in favour of the Republic. The public feared that the Royalists might not establish monarchy in France. The Legislative Assembly decided to shift the capital from Paris to Versailles. Paris regarded this step as its disgrace. People of Paris had to suffer a lot as a result of the economic policy of the National Assembly. The traders, land-lords, labourers and the nationalists etc., who were against this policy, established a Commune and asked the government to establish such bodies in all the cities so that the powers of the Central Government may be diminished Consequently, a civil war broke out between the Government and the Paris Commune. The government won this war. There was a great bloodshed and the accused were punished heavily with the result that peace was established in France.

(4) *Wilson's Conspiracy*—Gambetta died in 1882. There did not now remain such a powerful personality in France who could lead the government in a right manner. Nothing was done to solve the problems of the people and it gave rise to disorder in the administration. Rapid changes started taking place in the ministry and the people started opposing the government, being displeased with its policy. Corruption started increasing in the administration. President Grevy's son-in-law, Wilson, started selling the titles of the Legion of Honour. The President took Wilson's side. This scandal greatly damaged the prestige of the Republic and Grevy was compelled to resign.

(5) *Boulanger's Episode*—Boulanger was an able army officer who became the War-Minister in 1886. He did many things to reform the army. He became popular day by day. The displeasure of the people was increasing against the policy of the government. The Royalists tried to establish the monarchy by taking advantage of this situation. Boulanger was a supporter of increasing the powers of the President and decreasing the powers of the Legislature as he was bent upon getting this post. The newspapers also started this propaganda that France could not progress without the leadership of Boulanger. He wanted to take the revenge of the Sedan defeat He began to inflame the public. Dissatisfied members of all the parties rallied round him to overthrow the parliamentary regime. He was elected the member of the Legislative Assembly many a time but he lacked the courage to take power in his own hands. Under these circumstances, the Republicans ended their mutual differences and united themselves to save the Republic. He was then ordered to be arrested but he fled to Belgium. He was tried in absentia and sentenced to life-imprisonment. Boulanger could not bear this insult and committed suicide.

(6) *Panama Dispute*—A company was formed for the construction

of the Panama Canal. This company became insolvent. It was found on investigation that some members of the legislature and also some ministers were found guilty of corruption for providing facilites to the company. The Directors of the Company were also found to be corrupt. The Royalists tried their best to defame the Republic by taking an advantage of the situation. This weakened the Republic.

(7) *Dreyfus Case*—Dreyfus case was another important matter or problem for the Third Republic. Dreyfus was a Jew who was a Captain in the French Army. He was accused as a traitor in 1894 for betraying the military secrets to Germany. He was tried by a court martial and sentenced to life-imprisonment. He was degraded publicly in the military school. His sword was broken. His military uniform and badges were removed. Dreyfus pleaded innocent but all in vain. He was transported to the Devil's Island in the French Guiana in South America. Its climate was very dangerous for health.

Dreyfus' friends greatly criticised the government decision. So Colonel Picquart was appointed to investigate the case in 1896. He stated in his report that the documents, upon which Dreyfus was convicted were forged ones. Those were written by Major Esterhazy and not by Dreyfus. In order to maintain its prestige, the government sent Colonel Picquart to Algeria after removing him from the military post and Colonel Henry was appointed in his place.

This case now gained public importance. An agitation was started by the newspapers, the labourers and the Socialists for the innocence of Dreyfus. Emile Zola, the famous novelist, greatly criticized the judges who tried Dreyfus. But the War-Minister Cavaignac produced three documents in the Legislature and proved him guilty and justified the punishment given to him. At this Picquart reported that two of those documents were not concerned with Dreyfus and the third was forged which was prepared by Henry. Henry confessed it and committed suicide in remorse.

The supporters of Dreyfus started a tremendous propaganda demanding a re-trial of Dreyfus as they considered him to be innocent and they wanted to prove his innocence in the court. People of other countries were also having the same opinion. **The London Times**, the famous English newspaper, wrote—

> *"That the whole case against Captain Dreyfus, as set forth by the heads of the French Army in plain combination against him, was foul with forgeries, lies, contradictions and puerilities, and that nothing to justify his condemnation had been shown."*

Dreyfus case was re-opened in the military court of Rennes in August, 1899. He was found guilty and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. But President Loubet pardoned him using his special powers. This thing did not pacify his supporters as they wanted to prove him innocent. They did not keep silent and raised their voice against it. So another revision of the trial took place in the Session Court after 6 years. This Court found him innocent and exonerated him. He was re-instated in his post. The military court also honoured him in July, 1906 where he was dishonoured 11 years back. Colonel Picquart was also made the War-Minister once again.

Importance of the Dreyfus Case—The Dreyfus case had its own importance and his innocence was a great defeat for the anti-republicans and victory for the Republic. **Schapiro** has also stated about its importance—

"*Specifically, the Dreyfus affair was ta detective story on a national scale, but it really marked an important epoch in the history of the Third Republic.*"

(*i*) Dreyfus case was an individual case but the opponents of the Republic started taking interest in it for they wanted to defame the Republic and to replace it by Monarchy. But this case gave support to the Republic. Two opponents, the Socialists and the Republicans joined hands to save the Republic on this occasion.

(*ii*) This was the victory of the civil authority over the military and it proved that the army is an organisation under the civil authority.

(*iii*) The church, which wanted to weaken the Republic, was defamed and lost its political importance.

(*iv*) The anti-Jew elements tried to instigate the public against the Jews but the supporters of Dreyfus, who thought him to be innocent, condemned the commual feelings and mutual hatred.

In short, we can say that this case strengthened the Third Republic and there was no immediate danger to it. **Prof. Hazen** has said about its political importance—

"*The Dreyfus case, originally simply involving the fate of an alleged traitor, had soon acquired a far greater significance. Party and personal ambition and interest sought to use it for purposes of their own, and thus the question of legal right and wrong was woefully distored and obscured The chief result of this memorable struggle in the domain of politics was to unite more closely Republicans of every shade in a common programme, to make them resolve to reduce the political importance of the army and of the Church.*"

(8) *The Church and the State*—The Church had a great say in the state and it was a state within the state. The relations of the Church and the State posed a great problem before the Republic. This problem was not only religious but also political as the Church was a supporter of the monarchy and opposed the Republic. **Gambetta** once said—"*Clericalism is the enemy of the Republic.*"

The importance of the Church was also great as it had control over the education in France. The Republicans took many steps to decrease the influence of the Church. Each association was to get the governmental authorisation according to the 'Law of Associations' in 1901. Education was also taken out of the hands of the clergy in 1905 which brought an end to the influence of the Church over the education. The 'Act of Separation' of 1905 also completely separated the Church from the state and the special powers vested in the clergy were confiscated so that they might not pose a problem to the Republic.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Problems and Difficulties of the Third Republic

(1) Problem of the establishment of Republic in France and differences between the Royalists and the Republicans ; the establishment of the Republic in the end ; (2) The withdrawal of the German army on payment of the indemnity : (3) Revolt of the Paris Commune against the Central authority and its suppression ; (4) Boulanger's efforts to take powers in his hands and his failure ; (5) Wilson's conspiracy ; (6) Panama dispute ; (7) Dreyfus case ; its importance—strengthend the Republic and all dangers to it disappeared (8) Powers of the Church were confiscated.

Constitution of the Third French Republic

Q. 3. Give a brief account of the constitution of the Third French Republic.

Ans.—After its defeat in the Sedan War in 1870, the Republic was established in France and Thiers became its President. The elections to the Legislature were also held but the administration could not be run properly due to the differences among the political parties and as such the constitution could not be drawn up. Thiers was forced to resign in 1873 and MacMahon was elected President in his place. He was a supporter of monarchy and the Royalist Party. The Royalists had a majority in the legislature but they were divided on the choice of a king. There were three groups. So the period of the temporary Republic and the term of presidentship of MacMahon was extended for 7 years more. Gradually the Republicans gained strength and all the parties agreed to the establishment of the Republic in the end because there was no other way out. So the legislature started drawing up the consitiution in 1875. The salient featues of this constitution were as follows :—

1. The President—The election of the President was done by the National Assembly i.e., together by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The term of his post was 7 years. Any body belonging to the old ruling families of France could not become the President. This clause was kept so that monarchy could not be established in France.

Powers of the President—

(1) The President had the power to present and pass the new laws. It was also his duty to see whether such laws were properly observed or not.

(2) The President could dissolve the Chamber with the concurrence of the Senate.

(3) The President was the head of the naval, land and air forces.

(4) All the military and civil appointments were made by the President.

(5) The President would receive the Ambassadors from other countries and could execute treaties and agreements with the concurrence of the National Assembly.

(6) He could pardon those sentenced by the courts.

Even so, Presidential powers were only nominal and he was the titular-head only. He did not have the royal powers possessed by the King of England or was not all in all like the American President. His order also bore the signatures of some Minister who was held responsible for that action on behalf of the President. The President was not held resposible for any of his actions.

2. **The Legislature**—As in England, the Parliamentary System of Government was also established in France. There were two Houses of the legislature— the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies.

(1) *The Senate*—The Senate consisted of 300 members. It had a term of 9 years. But one third of its members retired after every three years and new members elected in their place. No body, under the age of 40, could be its member. The election of members was, however, an indirect one.

(2) *The Chamber of Deputies*—It consisted of 548 members elected for 4 years by adult suffrage. No body, under the age of 21, could become its member.

(3) *Powers of the Parliament of the Legislature*—

(i) No bill could become an act unless it was passed by both the Houses.

(ii) A bill could be presented in any House but the Money Bills were to be introduced first in the Chamber of Deputies only.

(iii) It was the work of the Parliament to pass Ordinances and to implement them.

(iv) Both the Houses sat together to elect the President.

(v) Parliament had the right to amend the constitution.

3. **The Ministry**—The real powers of administration were in the hands of the Ministry The President would appoint that member as the Prime Minister who had the majority in the Legislature, and other ministers were appointed with the consent of the Prime Minister. A member from any one of the two houses could be appointed as a Minister. He could make a speech in either House but he could vote only in that House to which he belonged. The Ministry was responsible to the Legislature for its affairs. If the Chamber of Deputies passed a no-confidence motion against a Minister, he had to resign.

Work—The chief function of the Ministry was to propose, pass and implement the laws. Decision of all important matters as well as the formation of state policy was done by the Ministry. The operation and control of the army, navy and air-force was in the hands of the Ministry. It also made the appointments of the government-officers and other officials. It made treaties and signed agreements with other countries.

4. Other Features—

(i) The French Constitution was not based on any one directive order. Amendments were made according to agreements from time to time and those became its part and parcel. It was not a regularly drawn up Constitution.

(ii) The sovereignty of the people was accepted in this French Constitution.

(iii) The French Constitution gained rigidity and it became inflexible day by day.

(iv) The French Constitution was not based on the theory of Separation of Powers and the administrative, judicial and legislative powers were not vested in different persons.

(v) This Constitution did not give the right of vote to women.

(vi) Different matters were decided by Special Courts. Government officers were now governed by the administrative laws.

(vii) The Constitution was a clever compromise between democratic and aristocratic principles.

(viii) The French governments changed quickly as there were many parties in France. No political party gained majority as they were neither well-united nor did they have any set programmes. Fifty Ministries were changed in France since the drawing up of the Constitution to the First World War (i.e. from 1875 to 1914).

5. Amendment of the Constitution—

The French Constitution was amended first in 1884. It gave recognition to the French Republic. Any amendment in the Constitution with a view to change the nature of the Republic was prohibited. It was also decided that anybody, having relations with the old ruling families of France, or who himself had ruled, was ineligible to be the President of France.

Another amendment was made in 1886 to strengthen the Republic. It was decided that anybody who had ruled over France at any time, should leave the country.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Constitution of 1875—National Assembly could not draw up the Constitution due to differences Different parties agreed to establish the Republic. New Constitution was drawn up in 1875.

1. **President**—(1) Election; (2) Term; (3) Powers; (4) President was a nominal head only.

2. **Legislature** (1) *Senate*—300 members, indirect elections, 9 years term, qualifications of the members.

(2) *Chamber of Deputies*—548 members, indirect elections, 4 years term, qualifications of the members.

(3) Powers and work of the Legislature.

3. **Ministry**—(1) Actual powers of the administration were in the hands of the Ministry; (2) Formation of the Ministry; (3) Its work; (4) Other features of the Legislature; (5) Amendments in 1884 and 1886 were made in the Constitution of 1875 to strengthen the Republic.

Relations between the Church and the State

Q. 4. Give a brief account of the struggle between the Church and the State during the Third French Republic.

Or

Explain the hostility between the Church and the State in France under the Third Republic and trace the steps by which separation of the two was brought about.

Ans.—Most of the people in France were Catholics. They were the supporters of monarchy and old traditions. They always tried to establish the Catholic Religion as the religion of the state. The Catholic Religion, as well as the Pope had a great influence over the religious sphere as well as the political activities of France. The Church had enough money and property. It was against the Revolution. So, at the time of the revolution, most of the property belonging to the Church was conficsated by the government. After gaining power, Napoleon entered into a Concordat with the Pope in 1801 to solve this problem. According to it, the appoinment of the clergy began to be made by the government in consultation with the Pope. The government started the payment of salaries to the clergy. The government took in its own hands the responsibility of the expenditure and welfare of the religious institutions. The state had the control over the confiscated Church property during the Revolution. All the Churches were under the control of the State. Under these circumstances, the powers of the Church were reduced and the Church came under the authority of the state. Even then, the arrangements of divorce, marriage and education remained in the hands of the Church.

By and by, their relationship deteriorated and these differences touched their extreme and during the days of the Third Republic (1871-1940) both stood apart.

1. **Causes of Enmity**—There were many causes of the enmity between the State and the Church—

(1) *The Republic did not have any faith in the old traditions and the religious matters.* The followers of the Catholic religion called the Republicans and the Socialists as heretics. So the conflict increased.

(2) The orthodox were the *supporters of the monarchy* and whenever there was any conflict between the Royalists and the Republicans, the Catholics always supported the monarchy. The clericals and the orthodox were against the Republic.

(3) *The Dreyfus Case* increased the conflict because the clericals sided with the opponents of Dreyfus. They also supported General Boulanger against the government. The Republicans always considered the Church as their main enemy.

Combes has remarked—"*Clericalism is, in fact, to be found at the bottom of every agitation and every intrigue from which Republican France* *has suffered during the last 35 years.*"

(4) *The Church and the Clericals had complete control over the education in France.* There were many defects in their system of education. Their educational system was against the rights of freedom and equality. This education produced supporters of monarchy and opponents of the Republic. The French Education Minister Ferry passed many laws which brought an end to the control of the Church over education. Many schools were opened by the Republican Government where free primary education was given so that children in large number should receive education in these schools. Education was made compulsory for the children between 6 to 16 years of age. The clergymen were forbidden to teach in the Public Schools. It was also decided that no religious education be imparted in the Public Schools. The orthodox people greatly condemned these schools declaring them to be godless. The government, by various laws, had in fact taken the education out of the hands of the Catholic Clergy. **Gambetta** said in this context—"*The Prussian School Master had won the last war and the French School Master must win the next.*"

(5) The government ordered the closure of the '*Society of Jesus*' and asked its members to go out of France. Many laws were passed against the monks and the nuns

(6) In 1900, the *French Prime Minister Waldeck Rousseau,* who was a student of Gambetta, declared at Toulonse that the traditions set-up by the monks and the nuns were greatly harmful and the Church was the great enemy of the State. He added—"*In this country whose unity has for centuries constituted its strength and greatness, the two classes of young people are growing up ignorant of each other until the day when they meet, so unlike as the risk not comprehending one another. Such a fact is explained only by the existence of a power which is no longer even occult, and by the constitution in the state of rival power.*"

Waldeck Rousseau also condemned the religious institutions and orders of the monks and the nuns and traditions set-up by them. Their members increased and they amassed large amounts of wealth. The number of monks rose from 1,400 to 7,500 and their property increased from 50 million to 10 billion francs during the period from 1877 to 1900. According to **Waldeck Rousseau**—

"*The real peril confronting the country arose from the growing power of religious orders—orders of monks and nuns and from the character of the teaching given by them in the religious schools, they were conducting. Here was a power within the state which was rival of the state and fundamentally hostile to the state.*"

(7) The government passed the '*Law of Associations*' in 1901 which declared that all religious and political associations must receive their authorisation of the government for their functioning. Many religious institutions did not apply for authorisation and those which applied were not given authorisation by the government. So many religious

institutions were closed and a great number of monks and nuns left France.

(8) In 1904, another law was passed which *forbade all the religious institutions to carry on the teaching work*. As a result of it, the education came under the control of the government and about 500 educational institutions were closed.

(9) In 1905, *when Loubet was the French President*, Public strongly demanded the putting to an end the Concordat of Napoleon with the Pope. Act of Separation, which was passed in 1905, ended the Concordat of 1801. The government stopped the appointment of the clergymen and the payment of salaries to them. Pension for old clergymen was fixed. The young clergymen were paid some money as compensation. Government confiscated the remaining property of the Church leaving only the residence of the clergymen and the Church proper. Associations were formed for the management of the churches and clergymen. A Socialist leader Jean wrote as regards the importance of this Act—

"*There is only one way of establishing religious peace in France, and that is by completely destroying the ecclesiastical pretentions by secularizing the state, and by taking from the Church the powers conferred upon it by the Concordat.*"

The French Roman Catholics greatly opposed this Act. Pope Pius IX criticised it by saying—

"*Separation of church and state is an absolutely false thesis, a very pernicious error. It violates the sacred rights upon which the very life of to the church depends.*"

As a result of the declaration of the Pope Pius IX, the opponents of this Act and the whole of the Catholic Euorpe became antagonistic to France. This created a state of civil war in France. The Religion-Minister, Briand, got a resolution passed in the Assembly which gave permission to use the Church by a group of clergymen with the permission of the government. But this did not satisfy the Pope.

(10) The government passed another Ordinance in 1907. *All facilities given to the Catholics in 1905 were withdrawn* by it. The public was given permission to use the Churches. The clergymen could use these Churches only with the permission of the Mayor and the Prefects.

Importance—The government had stopped giving financial aid to the Church and salaries to the clergymen by the above Acts. The influence of the Church over the education came to an end. The general public started making use of the schools and big institutions under the Church. It was an important revolution in the history of France. The Church was now neither a state within the state nor superior to the State. It became dependent upon the State. It has been rightly said in this respect—

"*By this separation of Church and State, France broke the European tradition of Concordat by which the State officially recognized its religion; she adopted the American system which leaves the Churches to be* *organized by the private initiative. This was a revolution in the ecclesiastical regime of France."*

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Separation of the Church and the State—The Roman Catholic Church in France was supporter of the monarchy and had a great influence over politics. The property of the clergymen was confiscated during the French Revolution. Napoleon established relation between the Church and The State by the Concordat of 1801. The relations deteriorated later on and both were separated from each other.

Causes of Separation—(1) The Republic was the opponent of the old traditions and religious views ; (2) The orthodox people were opponents of the Republic and supporter of the monarchy ; (3) Differences on the Dreyfus and Boulanger cases ; (4) End of the control of the Church over education and the control over education by the State; (5) Closing of the Society of Jesus ; (6) The declaration by French Prime Minister Waldeck Rousseau and the State policy ; (7) Law of Associations of 1901 ; (8) Act of 1904 and control over education by the State ; (9) Act of Separation of 1905 and its opposition by the Pope ; (10) Withdrawal of all facilities by the Act of 1907.

Home and Foreign Policy of the Third Republic

Q. 5. Give a brief account of the Third French Republic in the sphere of Home and Foreign affairs.

Ans. Home Policy—The revolt of the Paris Commune, and Boulanger and Dreyfus cases etc. created much unrest in France. So attention could not be paid towards the reforms in the beginning but the government paid special attention towards reforms after the establishment of peace in France as it was difficult for the Republic to progress without it.

1. **Social Reforms**—Many reforms for the labour were introduced by the government. They were as follows :—

(i) Factory Laws were passed for the welfare of the labour. The working hours were fixed at 10 per day. But these were furthur reduced to 8 hours by the Factory Act of 19.7.

(ii) The hours of work for the females were also reduced and the employment of children under the age of 13 was prohibited.

(iii) The labourers were given one day's holiday in a week.

(iv) An Act passed in 1898 provided for the compensation of the loss suffered by the labourers on duty.

(v) Commercial Boards were set-up to settle the disputes between the labourers and the factory owners.

(vi) The labourers were given free medical aid to keep them physically fit.

(vii) The labourers were allowed to form unions and strike peacefully. An institution known as '*The General Confederation of Labour*' was established in 1894 for the welfare of the labourers.

(viii) An Act was passed in 1905 which provided for pension to the government employees.

(ix) The restrictions on the press were removed and it was given freedom.

(x) Freedom to hold public-meetings was also granted.

(xi) The education system was reformed according to the national policy so that the country and people should be benefitted by it. The religious teaching was prohibited in the Public Schools and the clergymen were forbidden to work as teachers.

(2) *Economic Reforms*—The economic condition of France was not good in the beginning of the Third Republic. The debt had increased and the trade and industries were not in a good condition. The Republican Government did a lot to end the economic crisis in the country.

(i) Though the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were acquired by Germany, yet many steel and silken works were set-up due to the availability of coal in the nearby places.

(ii) The wine industry progressed greatly due to the abundance of different fruits.

(iii) There was an increase in the means of transportation and the railways and bridges were constructed in large numbers. There was also a great progress in the sphere of ship-building.

(iv) France changed to the protected policy. The tariff was increased on the imports but it was decreased on the exports from France. As a result, the exports increased and imports decreased. The 'tourism' as an industry was started to meet the deficit in finance. So the tourists, to France were provided many facilities which added to the economic progress of the country due to the increase in the number of tourists.

(v) The banking-system was set right to safeguard the wealth of the capitalists. The deposits of the capitalist in these banks greatly helped France in the progress of trade. So the war-indemnity was paid off very quickly.

(vi) Many steps were taken to develop the agriculture in the country. Previously, the size of the agricultural units was very small and many were partners in them. The size of the land under different partners was increased under the new system. Public societies were set up and laws were passed to save the agricultural land. Neither the land from the tillers could be taken forcibly nor they could be ejected from them. The sale and auction of their land was forbidden.

2. **Foreign Policy**—France lost its prestige in the international sphere after her defeat in the war with Prussia and was left all alone in the sphere of European politics Prussia acquired her prosperous parts of Alsace and Lorraine. The main objective of the foreign policy of the Third Republic was to increase its military power to avenge its old defeat and to take back those two parts. So France tried to establish friendly relations with other European countries but Bismarck's policy had left her in a position of complete isolation upto 1890.

(1) ***France and Austria-Hungary***—France attempted to establish

friendship with Austria-Hungary but the efforts and political moves of Bismarck made all her attempts completely unsuccessful and himself entered into a treaty with Austria-Hungry in 1879. In 1882, Italy also joined them. This alliance of these countries is known as Triple-Alliance in the history. This alliance also gave great blow to the power of France.

(2) *France and Russia*—All facilities given to Russia in the Black Sea area by the Treaty of San Stefano were ended by the Treaty of Berlin of 1878. This deteriorated the relations between Russia and Germany. But Bismarck made a treaty with Russia in 1887 and thus France was left in a position of Isolation. But with the resignation of Bismarck in 1890 the whole position changed greatly and improvement took place in the relations of France and Russia.

Russia and France started coming nearer to each other. Russia needed money to lay the network of railways and for the improvement of her industries, which she could get from France. France had accumulated enough money by this time. Firstly, France and Russia underwent trade agreements and after that there was a political alliance between the two, which is known as the Dual Alliance. It was agreed if Germany invaded France and Itlay sided with Germany then Russia would help France. It was also decided if Russia attacked Germany and Austria joined hands with Germany then France would help Russia. This alliance has its own importance. So France was no longer isolated. She got the feeling of self-respect and the balance of power was set right in Europe with the result that France found her future to be bright. France increased her power and this strengthened the relation of both these countries. When Czar Nicholas of Russia visited France, he was given a warm welcome there. Because of this alliance Russia and France fought side by side against Germany in the First World War. That is why it has been said—

"The Dual Alliance of 1893 ended the diplomatic isolation of France and enabled her to face the future with Confidence and hope."

This alliance also affected the position of Russia greatly. She wasable to complete the Trans-Siberian and Trans-Caspian railways with the French help. The English politicians thought the Dual Alliance useless and without any international importance but, by and by, they realised that England was isolated in the International sphere She had to make agreements with many countries to make her position strong. So the Dual Alliance has a great importance. It has been rightly said—

"The Dual Allicnce was a factor of isolation and a factor of forced alliance for Great Britain."

(3) *Friendly Relations with England*—In 1898, Delcasse was the Foreign Minister of France. He was on this post from 1898 to 1905. He did not change the policy of the Republic. He was very able, clever hard-working and dutiful. He strengthened the position of France by creating good relations between his country, England and Italy under very adverse circumstances.

The French Government sent a French named Marchand to Fashoda in Eygptian Sudan to stop the influence of the English there. He established the French flag there. The British Officer Kitchner asked to go but he did not do so. So Kitchner also hoisted the British flag occupied Khartum. The condition became very tense and there was sibility of the breaking out of war between the two. Delcasse ed very intelligently at this time. He was in favour of settling this itter peacefully. He had a meeting with the British Ambassador in ris. He was of the opinion that France had the same right over iartum. But the British were not ready to accept it. Delcasse nted to have a permanent alliance with the British but they did not cept it. The British government asked for unconditional withdrawal the French from Fashoda. Delcasse was very eager to have a good nderstanding with the British. So, the French withdrew and the situaon was eased. Delcasse wanted to have friendly ties with England. here were many reasons - (1) There was already enmity between Gernany and France and Delcasse did not like to make the condition more vorse. (2) The naval force of France was inferior to that of England so France was afraid of losing her colonies. (3) France wanted to take evenge on Germany with the aid of England and to get back his provinces of Alsace and Lorraine

Delcasse continued his efforts to create good relations with England and he was successful in entering into an alliance with England in 1899. This is known as 'Entente Cordiale' in history. By it, England recognised the French paramount position in South Africa. This greatly increased their mutual relations "*The Fashoda crisis proved the way towards a closer accord between England and France.*"

Delcasse permitted the British Trade Union to hold its Convention in Paris in 1900. The British King Edward visited France in 1903 and he was given a warm reception. The visits of French President Loubet and Delcasse strengthened the relations. Delcasse settled many disputes with England. France recognised Britain's position in Egypt and England recognised Frances' position in Morocco. Long standing dispute over Newfoundland fisheries was settled. The matters regarding Siam, Madgascar, West Africa were settled peacefully. Lord Lansdowne and Delcasse were satisfied with it. Delcasse stated in this respect –

"*Under our influence, Morocco would be a source of strength for our North African empire. If subject to a foreign power over North African possession would be permanently menaced and paralysed.*"

(4) *France and Italy*—Delcasse made efforts to have friendly relations with Italy and he succeeded in it. He allowed Italy to occupy Tripoli in 1900 and Italy recognised her occupation of Morocco, in return. In 1902 Italy gave assurance to her that Italy had not joined the 'Triple Alliance' against her and would not wage war against her. The French President Loubet visited Rome in 1904. It helped a lot in the establishment of peace between the two countries.

(5) *France and Spain* - Delcasse also made treaty with Spain in 1904 to strengthen his position in Morocco. Spain recognised the Entente Cordiale according to this treaty and recognised France's position in Morocco. England and France also gave an assurance to Spain about Morocco's freedom

(6) *The Morocco crisis*—After making treaties with Italy and Spain Delcasse sent a mission to Morocco in 1904 to strengthen France's

position there and also to make the Sultan of Morocco work according to France's wishes. Sultan started working under France's guidance but Germany could not tolerate it. So Germany made an announcement that she would not accept any country's control over Morocco and would defend her freedom at all costs. She also compelled the European countries to call a conference to solve the Morocco Problem and asked the French government to ask for Delcasse's resignation. France was not in a position to face Germany. He did not hope to receive help from Russia as Germany had helped Russia in the Russo-Japanese conflict. Germany did not like to talk with Delcasse. Delcasse had to resign in 1905 due to the stiff attitude of Germany. But France could not forget his services. He increased her prestige by making treaties with England, Italy and Spain and had done away with her isolation and increased her political status in the international sphere It has been rightly said—

"When he left the foreign office in 1905, England and Italy were friends. It was due to the industry patience and devotion of Delcasse."

A French writer has also said—

"Inspite of his limitations, he remains by general consent, the outstanding figure of the Third Republic in the field of foreign affairs"

Lord Lansdowne, described his fall in these words—*"Delcasse's fall is obnoxious and it has lowered the importance of "Entente Cordiale."* Delcasse continued taking part in the politics of France even after his resignation. He was appointed the Director of Hydro-electricity. He greatly increased the waterpower of France during his tenure. He was appointed as the French Ambassador to Russia in 1914 He greatly worked to strengthen the Franco-Russian relations in this capacity.

First Morocco Crisis and Algeciras Conference, 1905-6—As it has been said above, the German declaration on Morocco problem and her aggressive attitude gave rise to an international crisis. Thus, a Conference was called at Algeciras in 1906 to solve this problem. The representatives of 12 countries took part in it. All other representatives except those of Austria and Hungary took the side of France in this Conference. The decisions taken in this Conference were—(1) Political freedom of Morocco was acknowledged. (2) An International Police Force was provided to defend Morocco but it had a large number of French and Spanish soldiers. (3) France was authorized to control the import-duty on the trade carried on between Morocco and Algeria (4) A bank, under the control of England, France, Germany and Spain, was established to look after the economic and commercial interests of Morocco.

Germany returned without any gains from this Conference. So the international crisis over Morocco could not be solved and the relations of France and Germany also remained strained. On the whole, France strengthened her position in Morocco as the French soldiers formed a major part of the International Police Force established there.

Dr. Gooch has rightly said—

"The conference of Algeciras did not improve the relations between Germany and France or the international condition of Morocco."

The Second Morocco Crisis and Casablanca Case 1908—The

Second Morocco Crisis took place in Morocco in 1908. The German Ambassador at Casablanca in Morocco helped certain fugitives of the French army in their escape. France charged Germany with infringement of the international law. On the other hand, Germany charged France with undue interference in the special rights of the German Embassy. The situation became very serious and it appeared that a war would break out between the two. But the Balkan Crisis helped to avert the deterioration in their relations and both countries came to terms with each other. Germany recognised the special position of France in Morocco and agreed not to interfere in her affairs. France agreed to provide Germany special commercial facilities in Morocco.

The Third Morocco Crisis and Agadir Crisis, 1911—The Morocco problem became serious once again in 1911. The Sultan of Morocco got a large amount as debt from France and it became difficult for him to pay it back. So he started functioning under the French influence. The nationalists and feudal lords of Morocco could not tolerate this It gave rise to lawlessness there The nationalists started a revolt. Marchand was also killed Under these circumstances France sent there an army which captured Morocco's capital Fez dna crushed the revolt. France declared that her action in Morocco rsw for the safety of the Europeans there and she would withdraw her forces as soon as the peace was restored there

Germany greatly condemned this action of France as she could not tolerate France becoming the sole arbiter of Morocco's fate. She accused France of breaching the 1909 Agreement by this military action. Germany sent her gunboat '*The Panther*' to the port of Agadir and declared that this action of her was meant for the safety of the Germans in Morocco and that she would withdraw it as soon as the peace was restored there. In fact, this action of Germany was to decrease the British influence over Egypt and Morocco and to get economic concessions from France. **Lord Grey** stated in this context—

> *"A new situtation has been created by the despatch of German ship to Agadir, future developments might affect interests more directly than they hitherto have been affecting and therefore, we could not recognise any new arrangement which was to come without us."*

The British Finance Minister *Lloyd George* made this declaration on 21 July, 1911.

> *"If a situation were to be forced upon us in whichpeace could only be preserved by the surrender of great and beneficient position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement by allowing Britann to be treated when her interests were vitally affected, as if she were of eo account in the comity of nations, then I say emphatically that peac at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure "*

This declaration greatly embarassed Germany and the war became imminent But Germany thought it better to settle the problem peacefully with France as she was afraid of the united strength of the Triple Entente. So she came to have a compromise with France. Germany gave recognition to the French protectorate over Morocco and France ceded to Germany one lakh square miles area of the French-Congo. This agreement strengthened the friendship between England and France but the relations between England and Germany deteriorated. That is why **Lord Grey** said—

"The Agadir crisis was intended to end either in the diplomatic humiliation of France or in war."

Now, Morocco came under the sole influence of France. Italy tried to capture Tripoli by recognising it also. This problem gave rise to the Balkan Crisis. France went on consolidating her power against the powers of the Triple Alliance and thus precipitated the First World War. **Grant and Temperley** have stated—

"Agadir was a crisis definitely more serious than Algeciras and undoubtedly more critical than the Bosenian one The Triple Entente had been defeated over Bosenia and Russia humiliated. But their defeat and humiliation were perhaps less public and anyhow less recent than that of the Triple Alliance and of Germany in particular, at Agadir. This time England had appeared in shining armour at a grave moment to support her friend ...Russia and the Entente accepted defeat without war in the Crisis of 1909. Germany accepted defeat without war in any future crisis. Both groups understood the danger, and both began to prepare. If a peace-loving country and government faced reality and made preparation like these, it is not surprising that military and naval activity developed elsewhere in a less liberal atmosphere. And the intensity af situation was increased by military reorganization everywhere."

3. The Colonial Policy—France had already established her colonies in Africa and Asia before the establishment of the Third Republic. A great progress was made in this respect during the reigns of Louis Philippe and Napoleon III. France had her colonies in Algeria, Cambodia, Java, India, Africa and some coastal regions of the Pacific Ocean. France added an area of 700,000 square meters with a population of 600,000 to its empire by 1870.

The colonial expansion took place at a fast speed during the period of the Third Republic and France expanded its empire very speedily in North Africa, West Africa, Indian Ocean and Indo-China. **Hazen** has rightly said—

"In the nineteenth century, she was destined to begin again, and to create on empire of vast geographical extent, second only in importance to that of Great Britain."

Reasons for the Colonial Expansion—There were many reasons for the colonial expansion during the period of the Third Republic—

(1) The French Prime Minister Jules Ferry was a great supporter of the colonial expansion.

(2) France wanted to become economically strong by her colonial expansion.

(3) France wanted to wash the blot of defeat by expanding her boundaries and to *increase the honour and prestige of Third Republic.*

(4) A keen *competition was going on among the European countries* for colonial establishment in Africa and Asia. How France could keep away from it ?

(5) The *rivalary among England, Russia*, Italy and Germany provided good opportunity to France for her colonial expansion.

(6) *Bismarck did not oppose* the policy of French colonial expansion. He wanted that France should remain busy in the colonial expansion so that France might not think about gaining back the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

French colonies:—

(1) First of all in 1881, France occupied Tunis in North Africa.

(2) France established her colonies in Senigal, Guinea, Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Niger in Western Africa and North Congo. So she occupied a large tract of Africa extending from Alegria on the shores of the Mediterranian Sea to the river Congo.

(3) In 1883, she established her protectorate over Anam in Asia.

(4) In 1885, she captured Tonkin after her conflict with China.

(5) In 1895, she captured Madagascar in the Indian Ocean and established a permanent settlement there in 1896

(6) She had to enter into a conflict with Germany over the Morocco problem many a time but she was able to establish a protectorate over there in 1911.

In the beginning of the 20th century, France possessed a vast colonial empire with an area of 6,000,000 sq. Kilometers and a population of 50,000,000. **Hazen** has rightly remarked in this connection —

"*Thus at the opening of the 20th century, the colonial empire of France was eleven times larger than France itself, had an area of six million square kilometers, a population of about fifty millions, and a rapidly growing commerce.*"

This colonial expansion proved very useful to France. She gained a lot conomically and set up her markets in many countries. Thus, she greatly flourished her internal as well as external trade She progressed greatly in her financial as well as power resources. "*What France lost by last war, it gained by Colonial acquisition.*"

It must be remembered here that France did not exploit her colonies economically as well as politically like other countries. She treated them as her part and did not discriminate with her colonial subjects. The French people as well as the people living in colonies had love and sympathy and they also co-operated with each other. It has been rightly said—

"*The Third Republican Colonies of France were model colonies of the world.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Foreign and Home Policy of the Third Republic

1. **Home Policy**—(1) Special attention was paid to the reforms.

(1) *Social Reforms*—(1) Fixation of hours of work for the labour by Factory Acts; (2) Decrease in the hours of work of women, labourers and prohibition on the employment of children under the age of 13; (3) A weekly off; (4) Compensation for loss; (5) Trade boards to settle disputes (6) Medical aid; (7) Permission to form labour unions and to strikes; (8) Pension for the government empolyees; (9) Freedom of the Press; (10) Freedom of holding Public meetings; (11) Education according to the national programme.

(2) *Economic Reforms*—(1) Setting-up of steel and silk works; (2) Progress in the wine industry; (3) Progress in the means of transport; (4) Policy of Protection

in the place of free trade: (5) Reforms in the banking system; (6) Progress in Agriculture.

2. **Foreign Policy**—(1) To take revenge on Germany for defeat and to get back the provinces of Aslace and Lorraine; efforts to have friendly relations with other countries to achieve this end (2) Efforts to have friendly relations with Austria and Hungary; Bismarck's Triple alliance made it unsuccessful (3) Dual Alliance of 1893 brought an end to the political isolation of France. (4) Delcasses followed the republican policy as a Foreign Minister from 1898 to 1905 and created friendly relations with England. (5) Friendly relations between France and Italy. (6) Alliance between France and Spain in 1904.

(3) *The Morocco Crisis*—(*1*) Seriousness of the Morocco Crisis in 1904, Algeciras Conference of 1906 to solve it. (2) Second Morocco crisis and Casablanca case 1908. 3) Third Morocco crisis and Agadir Crisis 1911.

4. **Colonial Policy**—French colonies in Africa and Asia before the establishment of Third Republic. A great expansion in colonial empire under the Third Republic

(1) *Reasons*—Ferry was a follower and supporter of the colonial expansion. (2) Strengthening her economic condition (3) Increase in the honour and prestige (4) A race for colonies; (5) Difference among England, Germany, Italy and Russia (6) No opposition by Bismarck.

(2) *Colonies*—(1) Tunis in North Africa, (2) Senegal, Guinea, Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Niger in Westren Africa; (3) Protectorate over Anam (Asia) in 1883; (4) Capture of Tonkin in 1885; (5) Occupation of Madagascar in Indian Ocean in 1896; (6) Morocco Crisis and establishment of protectorate there.

Increase in man as well as financial power and progress of internal and external trade by colonial expansion; Policy of non-exploitation in the colonies etc

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. Give a brief account of the circumstances under which the Third Republic in France was established.
2. "The Third Republic in France came and survived only because there was no other alternative." Discuss.
3. Give a brief description of the various problems and difficulties faced by France after 1871. How were they solved ?
4. Name the important reforms introduced under the Third French Republic.
5. Describe briefly the home policy or the work of consolidation under the Third French Republic.
6. Describe the salient features of the Constitution of Third French Republic.
7. Describe the Anti-Church Policy of the Third Republic of France.
8. Descibe briefly the struggle between the Church and the State during the Third French Republic.
9. Give a brief account of the achievements of the Third French Republic in the sphere of Foreign Policy.
10. Describe briefly the Morocco Crisis of 1905-6, 1908 and 1911.
11. Form an estimate of Delcasse's services to France.
12. Review the problem of Franco-German tension in Morocco. Show how far were the international relations affected by it ? (D.U. 1956)

22

THE GERMAN EMPIRE (1871—1914)

With the complete rout of France in 1871 and the incorporation o the southern states into the Northern union, the declaration of th German Empire under the Prussian emperor was made and the worl of the unification of Germany was completed. The credit of all thi goes to the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. Germany was dominant power in Europe from 1871 to 1914. Bismarck's importanc enhanced enviably in the international sphere and he dominated th European politics upto 1890. German capital became the centre o European political activity. After the war of 1871, Bismarck tried t change his martial policy into a policy of peace so that he might b able to consolidate the German power and could make her stron and powerful empire.

Home and Foreign Policy of Bismarck

Q. 1. Give an account of the Home and Foreign Policy o Bismarck from 1371 to 1890 A.D. (V. Important

Or

Form an estimate of Bismarck's work and achievements for the consolidation of Germany during the period extending from 1871 t 1890 A.D.

Or

What do you understand by Kultur Kampf ? Why was Bismarck obliged to abandon it ? (A.U. 1959)

Or

Describe briefly the controversy between the church and the state after the establishment of the German Empire.

Or

What were the aims of Bismarck's foreign policy after 1870 ? How far was he successful in achieving his aims ? (D.U. 1961)

Ans. **Home Policy of Bismarck, 1871 to 1890**—After 1871, the main objective of Bismarck's policy was to consolidate the German power and to win for Germany a position of strength, eminence and glory in the European comity of nations.

(1) *New Constitution*—The German empire was established on 18th January, 1871. A Federal constitution was adopted. It consisted of 25 states Prussia was the largest and the most important state among them War, peace and foreign policy etc. were the central subjects. The state governments were given many powers regarding local and internal matters. Prussian emperor was made the head of the empire. He had very vast powers. He directed the foreign policy. He also made the appointment of the Chancellor. He had the power to declare the war and peace and also to make alliances and treaties He had the power to call or to adjourn the assembly, and to dissolve the Lower House or the Reichstag on the recommendation of the Upper House or the Bundesrath. He was the commander of the army and the navy. The Reichstag had no control over his policies.

The emperor appointed the Federal Chancellor from the Upper House to assist him. The Chancellor was responsible to the Emperor and not to the legislature. He had many ministers to assist him in his work and they headed the different departments of the government. The executive powers were vested in the Emperor and the Chancellor. *Ketelbey* has remarked—"*There was a representative and not a responsible government.*"

Legislature—The legislature consisted of two houses *viz.* ths Upper House (Bundesrath) and the Lower House (Reichstag) The Upper House consisted of the representatives of the princes of Germany and they acted according to the instructions given by their respective governments. They were 60 in all. Their main functions were to enact acts, to accept the resolutions passed by the Lower House, budget-formation, to levy taxes, to amend the constitution and to issue ordinances. The Upper House or the Bundesrath had many executive, legislative and judicial powers. All its proceedings were kept secret. The Lower House had 397 members elected by manhood suffrage. Its powers were much less than those of the Upper House. It was an advisory body of Germany and had some rights to frame laws for the country. It had very little real power as the real power was mainly vested in the Upper House.

There was a lack of responsible government in Germany and the legislature had no control over the executive. In this regard, **Hazen** observes—

> "*The Bundesrath was in reality an assembly of the sovereigns of Germany In reality, the Reichstag was little more than an advisory body ..... The King of Prussia was very nearly an absolute monarch...... Ministerial responsibility to parliament existed neither in Prussia nor in the empire.*"

Indeed, it was singularly to Bismarck's credit to have established his supremacy over the parliament.

(2) *Work of Reconstruction*—The influence of the Prussian emperor was always an eye-sore to the princes of other states. Hence, Bismarck

undertook many works of reconstruction to establish unity by removing their differences so as to consolidate the Empire. A Federal Court was established in 1877. Uniform legal procedure was introduced by repealing a variety of local legal systems. A new common coinage and educational system was instituted. An Imperial Bank was set up in 1873. The railways, post and telegraph were brought under the control of the central government. Many parts of the empire were connected by rail and road. Thus, Bismarck established economic and social unity by these measures. He introduced compulsory military service for the whole of empire and greatly reformed the military system of the empire.

(3) *Bismarck and Non-Germans*—Many non-German nationalities were living in Germany. There were about 35 lakh Poles in the eastern parts, 1½ lakh Danes in Schleswig and 18 lakh French in Alsace-Lorraine. They were against the united Germany and the German emperor. Bismarck tried to Germanise them by force, and also tried to make them a part of the German empire. This policy is called "Policy of forced Germanisation". Those nationalities always opposed this policy of Bismarck and remained dissatisfied with it. **Robertson** has said in this context—

"In this direction. Bismarck's policy proved an utter failure and ever kept the fan of opposition active and alive."

(4) *Kultur Kampf*—The conflict between the German empire and the Catholics is known by the name of Kultur Kampf or struggle for civilization This conflict is an important event of Bismarck's political life This conflict was of two ideologies. There were many reasons for it :—

(*i*) The Protestant church was the national church of Germany and the *Catholics were not considered to be a national party* since they regarded Pope as their leader.

(*ii*) *Bismarck wanted to consolidate the position of the Emperor* and Chancellor and also to enhance their importance. So, to achieve this end, he had to challenge the Catholic church and the conventional system prevalent over there, which created difficulties for him.

(*iii*) *Bismarck wanted to make Germany a consolidated power* on the basis of liberalism and nationalism. It was necessary to make it a secular state in order to unite the different states of Germany. The Catholics opposed these efforts of Bismarck.

(*iv*) *The Prussian state*, which had supreme place in the German empire, was a Protestant one. She had defeated the Catholic countries of France and Austria. It naturally turned the German Catholics against the German empire.

(*v*) Catholics were against the unification of Italy as it was to deprive Pope of its temporal powers there. But Bismarck had clearly said that *his government would not stand in the way of Italian unity.* (Thus, it) was also because of their religious and theological sentiments that the Catholics were against the German empire.

(*vi*) The Papal decree of 1870 declared Pope to be the head of all religious and other matters and it was a sin to oppose his religious and other orders. This is known as '*Infallibility Decree*'. Bismarck was its staunch opponent as he thought the Papal influence to be fatal for the secular state. He said, "*It is the infallibility of the Pope which threatens the state. He arrogates himself whatever secular rights he pleases......declares our laws null and void, levies taxes......in a word, no one in Prussia is so powerful as this foreigner.*"

(*vii*) *The German Catholics restored the temporal power of the Papacy* and established a central party to safeguard the interests of the Catholic Church. Its branches were set up throughout the empire and 63 of its members were elected to the Lower House (Reichstag) in 1871 This group worked against the state. So, Bismarck decided to bring an end to it.

Work against the Church. Bismarck undertook numerous measures to counter the growing influence of the Church. The steps were as under :—

(*i*) He prohibited the priests, by a law, to debate on *the political subjects* in the religious places.

(*ii*) The Jesuits were *expelled from the country.*

(*iii*) The members of the religious associations were *debarred from the teaching work.* Also the educational institutions came under the authority of common men.

(*iv*) *The German ambassador* from the Vatican was called back and all relations with the Vatican were severed with.

(*v*) He passed some laws in 1873 which are known as '*May Laws*' Civil marriages were made compulsory by these laws. Three year university education was also made obligatory for the priests or the bishops. The priests or bishops were henceforth to be appointed by the state. Inspectors were appointed for all the Catholic educational centres.

As an instantaneous rebuff to all such mandatory decrees, the Pope declared these laws null and void and appealed to other Catholics to resist these. Condemning these, the Pope declared—

"*Bismarck is a fast friend of the Satan.*"

Bismarck adopted the policy of suppression to implement these laws. It gave rise to a conflict between the state and the church. Bismarck punished the priests in many ways. They were fined heavily. The payment of financial assistance and salaries was stopped. Many of them were imprisoned and many more expelled from the country. Bismarck said about his policy of suppression—

"*I hope to see the ship of the fools of the age wrecked on the rock of the Christian church.*"

Failure of his Policy. Bismarck's policy towards the church failed and there were many reasons for its failure :—

(i) *The representation of the Central Party* members in the Reichstag increased from 63 to 91 in the 1877 elections and they greatly opposed Bismarck's policy of suppression.

(ii) Bismarck wanted to improve the economic condition of his country by the policy of protection in trade. The Central Party strongly supported this policy. *Bismarck wanted their support* in this respect. So, he had to give up his struggle.

(iii) *The continuous struggle of the Catholics* inflicted a great loss to the sources of Germany. Bismarck found it appropriate to end this internal struggle.

(iv) *The influence of the Socialist Party* also started increasing. In the 1877 elections, their 12 members were elected to the Reichstag. The Emperor and Bismarck found a serious menace to the empire in the joining of the Catholics with the Socialists. So, he decided to stop this struggle.

(v) *Leo XIII* became Pope in place of Pope Pius IX in 1878. He was more diplomatic and moderate and inclined to have conciliatory attitude towards Bismarck.

Under these circumstances, Bismarck reconciled with the Catholics and withdrew many restrictions imposed upon them. Many 'May Laws' were allowed to lapse. Bismarck's policy of suppression was unsuccessful in this struggle. *Robertson* has opined—

'Heads can be cut off, but the obedience of the inspired hearts cannot be enforced by prison or guillotine. Bullets or wristcuffs cannot kill ideas."

(5) *Bismarck and Socialism*—By and by, the influence of socialism started increasing in the German empire. Bismarck thought that it was out to destory the empire. So, he took special measures to weaken its power. The labour class came into existence in Germany by the industrial progress there, but they were socially backward. The Socialists were against the government, imperialism and militarism. They were supporters of the nationalisation of the industries as well as the labour welfare. They were of the view that the labourers should get social, political and economic rights like other people. They wanted to build up a new society on the principles of socialism. Their influence started increasing in the legislature and they were able to win 12 seats in the Reichstag in the 1877 elections. The number of their followers increased, and even two unsuccessful attempts were made on the life of the emperor by them. Under these circumstances, Bismarck decided to adopt a policy of repression.

Bismarck adopted a policy of repression towards the Socialists and on the other hand, he introduced many reforms to improve the conditions of the workmen. He introduced severe laws for the suppression of the Socialists :—

(*i*) *The unions,* meetings and the news-papers that advocated the cause of socialism were banned.

(*ii*) *The police were given special powers* to act against the Socialists.

(*iii*) Arrangements were made to introduce *martial law* during an emergency and to besiege the towns.

(*iv*) *The Socialists were punished in many ways.* About 900 Socialists were deported and about 1500 imprisoned.

While Bismarck tried to repress the Socialists, he also introduced many reforms to improve the condition of the workmen. He instituted a scheme of insurance against old age, sickness and accident. The wages of the labourers were increased and pension was introduced for them. He declared his policy in the following words—

"Give the workman the right to employment as long as he has health, assure him care when he is sick and maintenance when he is old—then these gentlemen (Socialists) will sound their bird-call in vain."

Bismarck wanted that the workmen should take the state as their friend and not as their enemy. They should depend upon the state so that the influence of the Socialists should have no effect on them.

However, Bismarck could not succeed in the repression of Socialists. The more he repressed them, the more strength did they gain against him. Their number swelled in the Reichstag in the 1890 elections. William Second withdrew all the restrictions imposed against them after the fall of Bismarck. The critics are of the opinion that Bismarck's failure was due to his artificial reforms. Conceding his failure Bismarck himself had said—

"But I have been faithful to this, the unification of Germany under the leadership of Prussia. Every thing else is accessary."

(6) *Economic Policy*—Before the unification of Germany, Bismarck was a supporter of Laissez-faire policy but under new circumstances, after the unification, he abandoned this policy and adopted the policy of protection. There were many reasons for it. (*i*) The foreign goods stuffed the german market and those were cheaper. So the german goods could not compete with them. (*ii*) A large amount was required for the all-round development of the state which could only be obtained by the protected tariff policy.

As per this policy of protected trade, Bismarck protected the national industries, solved many of the economic problems of the country, collected money for the new plans, improved the agriculture and reformed the economic condition of the country. His economic policy helped a lot in bringing unity in the country and stregthening the central government.

It is clear from the above-mentioned home-policy of Bismarck that he was a constructive politician. Though he did not succeed in his policy of repression against the church and the Socialists, even then he succeeded in uniting the different parts of Germany into one unified whole by his reforms and work of reconstruction and turned Germany into a united and strong empire.

Foreign Policy of Bismarck—Until 1870, Bismack followed the policy of war and 'blood and iron'. After 1870, he changed his policy to that of the maintenance of peace for the unity and organisation of Germany. He tried his best to avoid wars and to maintain status-quo. Bismarck possessed a great personality and was a great politician. He attained a great success in creating status-quo by his ability and diplomacy. **Russell** has said in this context—

"Bismarck's word was a gospel at St. Petersburg and so was it at Paris and Rome, where his saying inspired respect and his silence caused apprehensions."

(1) *Aims of his Foreign Policy.* Following were the main aims of Bismarck's foreign policy—

(*i*) Bismarck wanted to *maintain status-quo* and the balance of power in Europe.

(*ii*) He *wanted to unite Germany* and make it a strong political power.

(*iii*) He *wanted to transform Germany into a supreme power* in Europe. Famous historian **Turner** has said :—

"He wanted to make Germany a saturated empire of Continent and was keen to convert Berlin into European capital."

(*iv*) Bismarck wanted to establish friendly relations with other European countries and to strengthen his power. He wanted to grind his own axe by entangling the European powers.

(*v*) Bismarck wanted *diplomatic isolation of France* so that she might not be able to avenge her national humiliation and recover her territorial loss with their help. This policy of Bismarck is known as '*The Policy of Isolation of France*'.

(*vi*) He *was an imperialist* and wanted the territorial expansion of his country. He himself said about his foreign policy—

"The Foreign Policy of German Empire since 1870 has been the maintenance of peace and the prevention of anti-German coalitions and the pivot of the policy is Russia."

(2) *Three Emperors' League*—Bismarck established peace with Russia by helping her against the Polish Revolt in 1863. He defeated Austria at Sadowa in 1866. But his lenient treatment towards Austria after this defeat paved way for rapprochement. He invited the

Austrian emperor to visit Berlin and accorded him a warm welcome during this visit. The Czar of Russia was also present there at that time. In 1872 *Dreikaiserbund* or Three Emperor's League was formed by the Emperors of Germany, Austria and Russia. There was no written treaty in it. Bismarck formed this league to isolate France diplomatically.

(3) *Dual-Alliance between Austria and Germany*—The Sultan of Turkey had promised to treat his Christian subjects better according to the Treaty of Paris, 1856. But the Sultan perpetrated atrocities on the Christians in the revolts of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1875. Russia helped the revolutionaries against the Sultan and defeated him. Sultan was compelled to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. Russia gained many facilities in the Black Sea. This created a state giving rise to the possibilities of war between England and Russia. But the possibilities of war soon disappeared and a Congress of the European powers was held at Berlin under the chairmanship of Bismarck in 1878. In this Congress, Bismarck greatly took side with England. So, Russia got enraged and withdrew from the League of Three Emperors in 1879. **Dr. Gooch** has said—

"The outstanding result of the Congress of Berlin in the realm of high politics was the estrangement of Russia from Germany."

Bismarck drew towards Austria on the dissolution of this League and entered into an alliance with Austria on the question of the Balkan crisis in 1879. It provided for the mutual military assistance in case Russia or any other power attacked either of these countries.

(4) *Triple Alliance*—France and Italy wanted to occupy Tunis in North Africa. At the outset, Bismarck instigated both of them to do it. France occupied Tunis in 1881. Bismarck took advantage of this enmity between Italy and France. He formed the Triple Alliance by bringing Itlay into the fold of the Dual Alliance of Germany and Austria. So these three countries agreed to help one another at the time of attack. Triple Alliance was a great success of Bismarck. As a result of it, Europe was divided into two hostile groups later on. It has been said of this alliance—

"The Triple Alliance was essentially defensive in character and was primarily intended to preserve the peace of Europe."

(5) *Reinsurance Treaty with Russia in 1887*—Bismarck made his position strong after the Triple Alliance but he wanted to restore friendly relations with Russia because he was afraid of Russia joining hands with France. Under these circumstances, Bismarck made a secret alliance with Russia in 1887 which is known as Reinsurance Treaty. It was decided that if either of the two was attacked by a third power then the other would remain neutral.

(6) *Bismarck and England*—Bismarck maintained friendly relations with England. He did not want to lose England's sympathy. He would say ***"There is no reason for a war between the land rat and the water rat."***

hus, it was by sheer dint of his astute diplomacy that Bismarck England follow the policy of splendid isolation with no interference : European politics. On the other hand, he tried to compete England in increasing his naval force and the colonial empire.

7) *Foundation of Colonial Empire*—In the beginning, Bismarck ot think about the foundation of the colonial empire as he wanted st strengthen the German empire and also did not want to create ty with other countries by competing with them in colonial nsion. But, later on, he changed this policy and paid attention e set-up of colonies in other countries. He said—

"To this day, I am not a colonies man and I entertain the gravest ehension on the subject. I was compelled to decide upon yielding to general demand of the nation."

There were many reasons for this :—(*i*) Germany was making a id *industrial progress*. So she needed markets for raw materials. *pertson* has rightly remarked in this context—

"Commercial and industrial interests created a veritable hot-house nosphere for the culture of colonial idea."

(*ii*) The *increasing populatian* of the country made it necessary to t up colonies.

(*iii*) The *Christian missionaries* wanted to spread their religion in her countries.

(*iv*) *German patriots* wanted to enhance the country's prestige nd honour in the international sphere by setting up colonial empire.

A German colonial union was established in 1882 to achieve his aim. A large colonial empire was established in Africa by its efforts. t included Kameroon, Togoland, German South West Africa, German East Africa and some parts of New Guinea.

Criticism—Bismarck was a high ranking politician of his times. He had the capacity to understand a situation and to act accordingly. He followed the policy of peace after 1871 to strengthen the German empire and to safeguard it against the foreign attacks. In order to maintain the status-quo and the balance of power in Europe he followed the policy of 'Divide and Rule' by isolating France diplomatically. To achieve this end he left no stone unturned to create mutual differences among various countries. He adopted the system of alliances and achieved Russian neutrality against any attack. He gained help from Italy against France. He formed the Triple Alliance against the possible alliance of Russia and France. He kept his diplomacy above the European politics. It has been said—*"He was the only man who could juggle with five balls of which at least two were in the air."*

Bismarck maintained the international peace by his policy. The chief aim of his foreign policy was to strengthen the German empire and the diplomatic isolation of France. *Grant and Temperley* have said "A general survey of Bismarckian Policy between 1870 and 1890 shows that it was primarily inspired by the idea of keeping France isolated and enabling Germany to develop her new possessions and her enormous resources undisturbed."

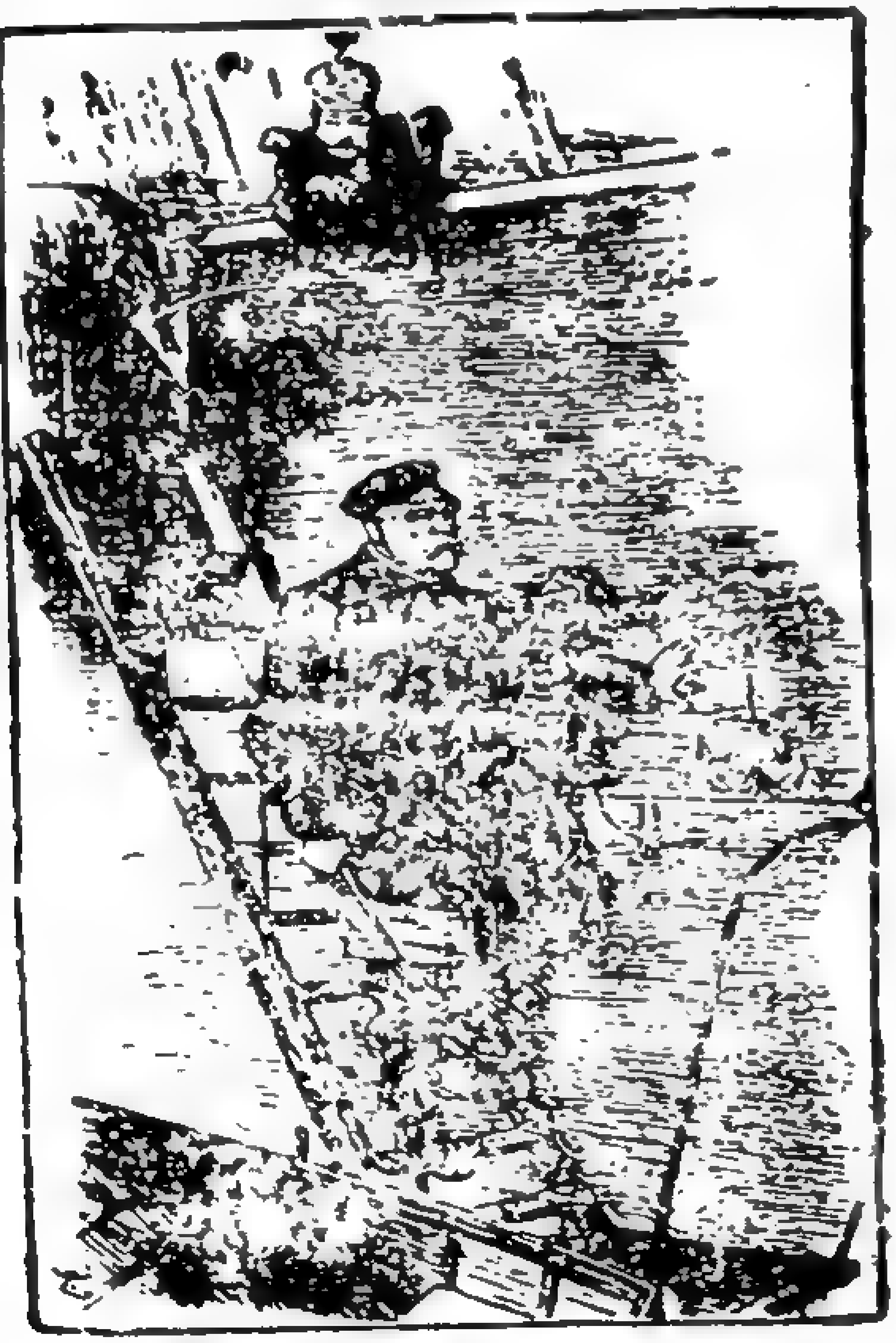
His fall, however, resulted in the ending of this intricate policy of alliances because William II could not follow it properly and so the world peace was disturbed.

Some critics are of the opinion that Bismarck gave rise to dissent, hatred, mutual conflicts and mistrust by his policies. His alliances led to counter-alliances by his enemies and corrupted the European political sphere with the result that there were mutual differences and bitterness. His policy of alliance divided Europe into two groups which was the main cause of the First World War of 1914 in which Germany was defeated

Even then it cannot be denied that Bismarck was the builder of Germany. He reformed the internal state of Germany by creating international peace and raised her to a strong and dominant power. He made her a supreme power in the world and raised her international prestige. **Hazen** has said about his success—

"*Thus was created a combination of powers which dominated Central Europe from the Baltic to the Mediterranean and which rested on a military force of over two million men. At its head stood Germany. Europe entered upon a period of German leadership in international affairs.*"

Fall of Bismarck—After the death of William I his son Frederick III succeeded him as the emperor of Germany. He ruled from 9th March, 1888 to 15th June, 1888 and then his son William II became the emperor after him. He was far-sighted, self-willed and greatly impulsive. He wanted to rule as a dictator and did not like any interference from Bismarck. Sharp differences came up between the two as regards the Home and Foreign policies, Colonial expansion and Socialist movement. So the emperor compelled Bismarck to resign from his post in 1890. Thus, the pilot who had steered the ship through so many storms and so many shoals was dropped. Bismarck remained loyal to the emperor even after has resignation. In 1898, this great statesman breathed his last.



'Dropping the Pilot'

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Bismarck's Home Policy.** His main objective was to consolidate the German empire.

New Constitution.—The establishment of the German empire in 1871 g 25 states ; Federal constitution.

Prussian king was to be the emperor of empire. He had unlimited legislative powers vested in the emperor as well as the chancellor or the nister.

ncellor and council of ministers were responsible to the Emperor and not islature.

ere were two Houses of the Legislature. Bundesrath and Reichstag ; th had more powers ; no responsible government in Germany.

Works of Reconstruction—Introduction of uniform laws and currency to te the empire ; foundation of Imperial Bank ; central control over post, and railways etc ; compulsory military training.

Non-Germans—Germanisation could not be successful due to the non- s such as Poles. Danes, French etc.

Kultur Kampf—The struggle between the State and the Catholics is known *ur Kampf* ; Bismarck did not succeed in it also and had to compromise with rch.

5) **Bismarck and the Socialists**—Bismarck was the supporter of the protect- licy and the opponent of Socialism (2) Supporter of nationalisation of dustries and welfare of the labourers. (3) Passed many laws to suppress cialists. (4) He introduced many reforms to get support from the labourers. ismarck's failure.

(6) **Economic Policy**—He collected large amounts for the country by his of Protection, helped the industries and agriculture and improved the omic condition of the country.

Foreign Policy of Bismarck. Policy of peace in place of policy of 'blood ron' and to have friendly alliances with European countries.

(1) **Objectives.** (*i*) To establish Status-quo and Balance of power (*ii*) To Germany (*iii*) To make Germany a supreme power in Europe (*iv*) To create ndly relations with other countries (*v*) To isolate France diplomatically (*vi*) ansion of the colonial empire.

(2) Three Emperors' League—Austria, Germany and Russia.

(3) Dual-Alliance of Germany and Austria in 1879.

(4) Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy in 1881.

(5) Reinsurance Treaty with Russia.

(6) Bismarck's relations with England.

(7) Colonial expansion in Africa.

Criticism. Bismarck's alliances divided Europe into two groups ; created atmosphere for First World War ; united Germany and made it a supreme er.

Fall—Compelled to resign in 1890 by William II because of their mutual erences.

Kaiser William II (1888-1918)

Q. 2. Give a brief account of Home and Foreign Policy of Kaiser lliam II.

Or

What do you know about the Foreign Policy of Kaiser William of Germany ? To what extent did his policy affect the out-break of First World War ? **(P.U. 1964, 65)**

Ans. After the death of William I, his son Frederick III ascended the throne of Germany on March 9, 1888. He was very weak and always remained sick. He died on June 15, 1888.

William's Accession and Fall of Bismarck—After the death of Frederick III, his son William II ascended the throne of Germany. He was 29 years old at that time. He had an active mind, capacity for hard work, far-sightedness and high sense of duty. He took great interest in politics, religion and military affairs. He had a firm belief in the Theory of Divine Rights of Kings. He believed in the king's will as being the supreme law of the land.

Though he possessed so many qualities, yet he was self-willed, impressionable, impulsive and egoistic. He did not believe in democracy and the rights of people.

William wanted to become the real ruler of the country and to govern it in his own way. So, he could not tolerate Bismarck's interference. He took Bismarck as a hurdle in his way. He would say—

"Whether the Hohenzollern dynasty or the Bismarck's dynasty should rule was the question."

There were many reasons for his differences with Bismarck—(1) They differed as regards the Foreign policy. Bismarck was in favour of having friendly relations with England and Russia but William was against it. (2) Bismarck wanted to expand the colonial empire without any conflict with England. William was against this weak policy. (3) Both of them were against the Socialists but their methods to uproot their power were different. Bismarck wanted to repress them with hard laws, whereas William did not want it. (4) William issued an order by which the ministers could see him direct and discuss the matters with him. They did not require to bring the Chancellor in it. This order was a great blow to Bismarck's power. He could not bear it and had to resign in 1890. William remarked on this occasion—

"Germany was too small to hold two such self-willed aristocrats".

2. Home Policy of William II

(1) *William II and Socialism*—Bismarck made many repressive legislations against the Socialists and many Socialists were punished heavily. William was also against the Socialists like Bismarck but he was not in favour of adopting hard repressive measures against them. William wanted to kill them with kindness.

He abolished the repressive legislations but he could not succeed in ending their influence. The Socialists became aggressive day by day. They did not care for the laws. They began challenging the state policy for the establishment of democracy against monarchy. Their party gained majority in the Reichstag in the 1913 elections and they introduced a motion of no-confidence against the Emperor and his advisory body. But the beginning of the First World War nullified their attempts.

(2) *Economic Progress*—William II paid special attention towards improving the economic condition of the country. He made special efforts for the improvement of trade and industry. He increased the production of iron and coal with view to the progress of the industries. The production of coal increased from 70 million tons to 20 million tons and the production of iron from 5 million tons to 15 million tons during his reign. Many factories were set up in Germany. The increase in the production of steel became seven times and Germany became the top most nation among the steel producing countries. The chemical industry also made a lot of progress. The industrial development reached its Zenith and all types of things began to be produced in Germany.

This industrial development rendered a great help to the trade of the country. The exports increased and things produced in the factories of Germany were now sold in different countries.

The agricultural department was set up for the agricultural progress of the country. The arrangements were made to provide better seeds, implements and manures to the farmers. This resulted in better production.

(3) *Navy*—By increasing the German army, Bismarck made it supreme in Europe and thereby established his own influence. The increasing trade and the colonial empire needed a powerful navy for protection. Realizing this, William paid special attention to the development of the navy. He was of the view, "*World power and sea-power are complementary ; the one cannot exist without the other.*" He was also of the view—"*Our future lies on the water.*"

Germany prepared 5 big ships and 17 small ships in the beginning. By and by, she prepared big warships and organised the navy very quickly. The Kiel canal was also widened. William II said—

"*Germany must possess a fleet of such strength that a war against mightiest naval power would endanger the supremacy of that power.*"

By this policy of naval expansion, William created enmity with England and she was compelled to take part in the First World War which proved fatal for Germany.

(4) *Various Chancellors of William II*—After the fall of Bismarck, William started ruling according to his whims and despotically too. In reality, he was his own chancellor Even then, he appointed four chancellors who were titular only and acted according to his desires

Caprivi—After the fall of Bismarck, Caprivi acted as the Chancellor from 1890 to 1894. He abolished many strict laws against the Socialists. He was in favour of having friendly relations with England. He exchanged Zanzibar for Heligoland with England. During this period, the alliance between Russia and France matured. He made many trade pacts with number of countries of Europe. This increased his opposition and he was compelled to resign in 1894.

Hohenlohe—Hohenlohe remained at this post from 1894 to 1900. During this period, German trade progressed greatly and Germany became a world power. Many Germans migrated to Brazil and German trade flourished greatly in Africa. William visited Constantinople and created friendly relations with Turkey. Berlin-Baghdad railway also opened during this period. Thismade France and England, the enemies of Germany. Special attention was paid to the naval forces and the fleet, because **William** used to say—

"The ocean is essential to Germany's greatness."

Von Bulow—After Hohenlohe's resignation, Von Bulow worked upto 1909 on this post. He introduced heavy protective duties on the imports which improved Germany's economic condition. He also inincreased Germany's military power. He tried to extend a friendly hand to England but he could not succeed in doing so. Conversely, England entered into an alliance with France which is known as the 'Entente Cordiale'. During his period the First and Second Morocco Crisis took place in which Germany achieved nothing but France greatly increased her influence. So, the Emperor dismissed Von Bulow from his office.

Bethmann Hollweg—Bethmann worked as chancellor from 1909 to 1917 after the fall of Bulow. Third Morocco Crisis took place in 1911 during his period. This problem was solved peacefully. France and Germany entered into an alliance in 1911. A special position of France was accepted over Morocco and in exchange, Germany got one lakh sq. miles area of French Congo.

Foreign Policy of William II—William's foreign policy was completely different from that of Bismarck. Bismarck wanted to maintain status quo and isolate France diplomatically and create friendly alliances with other countries. But William II adopted the policy of *'Welt Politik'* (world politics). He wanted to increase the naval force of Germany and expand her colonial empire. William II, greatly ambitious and egoistical as he was, wanted to win for Germany a world eminence, grandeur and glory. He used to say—

"The waves beat powerfully at our national gates and call us a great nation to maintain our place in the world, in other words to follow world policy."

H.A.L. Fisher has said in this context—*"William II of Germany bade good-bye to conciliatory policy of* ***Bismarck*** *and adopted a policy of World Politics."*

(1) *Diplomatic Relations with different countries*—William wanted to strengthen alliance with Austria at the cost of Russia. He sided with Austria in the Balkan crisis. He also wanted to increase his influence in Turkey. He gave financial assistance in the construction of the Berlin-Baghdad railway. Thus, he made Russia his opponent. As a result of it, Russia and France entered into Dual Alliance in 1891.

(2) *William II and England*—The basis of Bismarck's foreign policy was to have friendly relations with England. So, he did not enter into competition with England in increasing his naval forces and expanding his colonial empire. He appointed Herbert (his son) as an ambassador in England and accomplished the marriage of William I's son, Fredrick with Queen Victoria's daughter. This brought both the countries nearer to each other.

In the beginning, William showed friendly gestures towards England and he got Heligoland from England in exchange of Zanzibar. In 1890, Prince of Wales visited Germany and in 1891 William visited England. But it was William's desire to make Germany a world power which antagonised Britain. **Dr. Gooch** has said—

"The sky began to darken in 1894 and Anglo-German relations were never to regain the confidence and intimacy of the opening years of the reign of William II."

Firstly, William helped Italy financially for the construction of the Berlin-Baghdad railway. England could not tolerate it as it created a danger to her Asian colonies. Again, the African situation made the circumstances more serious and it increased their enmity. England wanted to capture Transvaal. In 1885, Kruger, the President of Transvaal, asked for German help against England from Bismarck, which he refused. In 1895, the English attacked Transvaal but they were defeated. William sent a telegram congratulating Kruger on his victory against the English[1]. This created a great conflict between the two countries.[2] In 1892, **Salisbury** said in this context—

"The raid was a folly, but the telegram was even more foolish."

Secondly, In 1901, William went to England at the time of Queen Victoria's death. Germany promised England that she would help her against China and Russia. Chamberlain made efforts to have an alliance with Germany. Even then both the countries could not come near each other. Getting disappointed, **Chamberlain** said—

"*If the people in Berlin are short-sighted, there is no help*".

Thirdly, competition was going on among Germany and England in increasing their naval power. Germany constructed many warships and started widening the Kiel Canal. William II wanted to over-power the English naval power. But England was not ready to accept her defeat. That is why it has been said—

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[1] "I heartily congratulate you on the fact that you and your people without appealing to the aid of friendly powers have succeeded in your unaided efforts in restoring peace and preserving the independence of the country against the armed bands which broke into your land." —(*William II*)

[2] The Morning Post wrote. "The nation will never forget this telegram and it will always bear it in mind in the future orientation of its policy."

"Unfortunately the peace of Europe, however, without actually building a navy powerful enough to challenge Great Britain on the seas, Kaiser by his speeches and by his various navy bills had by 1914 succeeded in thoroughly alarming and antagonizing the British in whose opinion control of the seas was a matter of national existence."

England entered into Dual Entente with France in 1904 due to William's imperialistic policy. In 1907, France, Russia and England entered into the Triple Entente. Germany had already made Triple Alliance with Austria and Italy. So Europe was divided into two hostile groups.

(3) *Expansion of Colonial Empire*—William was impulsive and an imperialist. He made great efforts for colonial expansion. He used to say—

"Germans should have a place under the sun."

He wanted to have his colonies in other countries for the national honour and industrial and commercial progress. German Chancellor Hohenlohe said while throwing light on his policy—

"Support of our colonial possession is a command of a national honour and manifestation of our national prestige."

When William received Heligoland in East Africa in place of Zanzibar from the English, he had said in this context :—

"Without a battle, without the shedding of tear, this beautiful island has passed into my possession."

He sided with China against Japan, in alliance with Russia and France, in the Sino-Japanese war. But two missionaries were kliled in China. William got Kiachao from China as a compensation. He got the Ulpolu and Sevai islands from America. He also got Caroline, Pelon and Marinus islands by lending financial help to Spain against America. In 1911, he got some parts of French Congo by accepting the French Proctorate in Morocco. The policy of colonial expansion of William added to the number of his enemies. That is why it has been said—

"She incurred the increased hostility of Great Britain, the suspicion of France and indignation of the rising Far-Eastern power Japan."

It is clear from the above mentioned things that extreme and aggressive policy of William, his desire to increase the naval force and army of Germany, vigorous colonial policy and his ambition to raise Germany to the level of a world power, divided the world into two groups. This led to the First World War in which William was defeated. The Allies later on condemned him to death. So this war proved fatal for William and his empire.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

William II. After the death of William I, his son Frederick ruled from March 9, 1888 to June 15, 1888 and after that Frederick's son William II reigned from 1888 to 1918.

(1) He was very ambitious and self-willed and believed in the Divine Right Theory of Kings.

(2) He wanted to be an autocrat.

(3) He understood Bismarck as a hurdle in his path.

(4) Bismarck was compelled to resign in 1890.

Home Policy. (1) Opponent of socialism, however, did not want to use repressive measures against them like Bismarck ; allowed anti-socialist laws to lapse ; the Socialists gained strength.

(2) To reform the economic condition of the country, agriculture, trade and industries.

(3) Consolidation of the naval power to make Germany a world power.

(4) The Chancellors of his times were weak—Caprivi (1890—1894), Hohenlohe (1894—1900), Von Bulow (1900—1909) and Bethmann Hollweg (1909—1917).

Foreign Policy. Aggressive, imperialistic policy in place of Bismarck's peace policy ; policy of Welt politik :—

(1) Alliance with Austria at the cost of Russian friendship ; supported Austria in Balkan problem ; increased influence in Turkey.

(2) Good relations with England in the beginning ; Deterioration in the relations by and by ; Berlin-Baghdad railways ; Telegram to Kruger ; Enmity with England due to increase in the Naval expansion ; Division of Europe into two groups as a result of his policy and the outbreak of First World War in 1914 which proved fatal for William and the German Empire.

University and other Important Questions

1. Describe the Home Policy of Bismarck from 1871 A.D.—1890 A.D.
2. How and to what extent was Bismarck successful in suppressing the growth of Socialism ?
3. "Bismarck's reform thoroughly reconstructed and reorganised the German Empire." Discuss.
4. "The sound, constructive statesmanship of Bismarck is beyond all doubt and discussion." Elucidate.
5. What do you mean by Kultur Kampf ? Why Bismarck was obliged to abandon it ? (D.U. 1967)
6. Why is the reign of Kaiser William II called an epoch-making period in the history of Germany ?
7. "Kaiser William II followed an ambitious foreign policy and it inaugurated a new era in Welt Politik." Explain.
8. What led to Dual Alliance of 1878 A.D. between Germany and Austria ? What was its influence on German foreign policy in the subsequent period ?
9. "Bismarck's system of Alliances aimed directly at the preservation of peace." Discuss. (D.U. 1965)

10. "Bismarck's system of Alliances was precarious and was likely to disappear with him." Discuss. (D.U. 1966, 72)

11. How far did Bismarck's foreign policy between 1870 and 1890 justify his claim to be an advocate of Peace ? (D. U. 1966)

12. It is difficult to over-estimate the achievements of the German people during the 20 years of Bismarckian peace. Elucidate. (P.U. 1967)

13. Critically examine Bismarck's methods and achievements as an architect of Germany.

14. "I am a fanatic for peace". How far did Bismarck's foreign policy between 1870 A.D. to 1890 A.D. justify his statement ? (D.U. 1969)

15. "So gigantic has been his success, so transcendental and brilliant his achievements that for sometime to his contemporaries and to the later generations he appeared not only a great diplomat or statesman or a successful national builder, but the greatest historical figure of his times." (Turner). Discuss the above statement with reference to the personality and achievements of Bismarck. (A. U. 1967)

16. "From 1871 to 1890 Bismarck was the arbiter of European Politics, and Bismarck as Chancellor of the new German Empire wanted peace." (Ketelbey) Explain (Delhi B.A. 1970)

17. Attempt a critical estimate of the foreign policy of Bismarck. (Delhi B. A. 1970)

18. Discuss Bismarck's Policy towards the problem of Socialism in Germany. Would you regard his policy in this respect a success or failure ? Give reasons in support of your answer. (Pb. M.A. 1971)

19. Critically examine Bismarck's methods and achievements as architect of Germany. (Pb. B.A. 1971)

20. Examine Bismarck's Policy towards the Socialist movement in Germany and account for his failure in checking its growth. (Punjab M.A. 1972)

22. In what important respects did German Foreign Policy change after 1890 A.D. ? (Punjab M. A. 1972)

* * *

2

RUSSIA, 1881 A.D. TO 1914 A.D.

From 1881 to 1914, the Russian history is usually characterised a History of the rise and fall in Russia. The Communist views of K Marx spread rapidly there and they provoked revolutionary movemen The defeat of Russia in 1904-05 in Russo-Japanese War brought revolution against the Czarist gavernment in 1905. It resulted in t establishment of Parliament which was the representative of the peo in the real sense of the term. The autocrat government of the C was, however, replaced in 1917 by the Government of the Work Class.

Alexander III (1881—1894)

Q. 1. Give a brief account of the reign of Alexander III Russia.

Ans. In 1881, the Nihilists assassinated Alexander II by hurli bombs at him. After his death, his son Alexander III ascended t throne of Russia. He was a brave, bold and strong fellow. He w greatly resolute and self-willed but he lacked sense of culture a tenderness. A staunch opponent of liberalism, Alexander III w greatly orthodox as also honest and hard-working.

1. Reactionary Policy of Alexander III—Alexander III w unliberal and reactionary. He was orthodox and an autocrat anc staunch opponent of reformation, liberalism and socialism. He believ only in the principle of "*One Czar, one Russia and one Church*". That why it has been said—

> "*Three things—maintenance of autocracy, Russification, and Industrial Revolution in Russia are the great landmarks of the reign Alexander III.*"

He was a supporter of autocracy and a staunch opponent democratic form of government. In his views—

> "*Democracy was a shame employed by the wealthy to hide th control of the government; a free press meant the free dissemination lies and calumnies; religious toleration meant division in church a rebellion in the states.*"

He followed the policy of 'cold storage' *i.e.* a reactionary and thodox policy.

(1) He left no stone unturned to *suppress the revolutionary eology.* The Nihilists and the revolutionaries were punished severely. housands of them were imprisioned and thousands were banished the cold regions of Siberia.

(2) Many *restrictions were imposed on the press,* newspapers, eech and writing.

(3) The *education* under the church was made compulsory for all e children. Primary education was completely put under the control the church. Children were prohibited from attending the democratic titutions.

(4) A strict vigilance was imposed on the *schools, universities,* idents and teachers and it was made compulsory for them to follow e government rules and regulations. So, restrictions were also posed on intellectual progress.

(5) The police were entrusted with special powers to suppress the *erals and the forces of liberalism.*

(6) Alexander III adopted the policy of *centralisation* by curtailing powers of the local bodies. Those persons, who were faithful to ar, were appointed to the high posts.

.2. **Policy of Russification**—The Finns, the Germans, the Danes, Poles, the Jews etc, lived in a great number in Russia. Alexander npelled them to lead their life in the Russian manner. This policy of Czar is known as "*the policy of Russification.*" He was in favour of language, one religion and one culture in Russia.

"*One Russia, one creed, one Czar was to him a living motto.*"

He applied the Russian laws and Russian language in Finland, and and other states under Russia. Russian language and code an to be used in the trade and commerce of the country. The ssian religion was forced upon these parts. The property of the man Catholic monasteries and the churches was confiscated.

He adopted a very strict policy towards the Jews. They were jected to cruel treatment. They were deprived of their political hts. They did not have any rights in the elections to the Dumas in cities. The Jews could not pursue their education in their own nner. They were not allowed to go out of some towns of Western ssia. Besides, they were not allowed to purchase any property or to lertake any business and trade. They were also debarred from ing any jobs. Their houses were set on fire and their property was ed largely. There was no protection provided to them. The Jews ered heavily at the hands of the government. Many of the Jews e executed and many others banished from the country. Because of cruel policy of the government, many Jews left for America and er countries. Thus, his ruthlessness soon won Alexander notoriety, red and defamation.

3. **Industrial Policy**—Though unreputed for his reaction policy, Alexander III did a praiseworthy work in the field of ind trial development of Russia. He was helped by his minister, Cou Witt, in this sphere. Many factories were set up and mines est lished by raising a loan from France. The production of the mine wealth increased manifold. A Russo-Persian Bank was set up. Ma rail and road links were established for the improvement of the mea of transport. The Trans-Siberian railway was built during this peric This railway connected the Baltic Sea with the Pacific Ocean. T economic progress in Russia took place as a result of this industr and commercial development.

The Industrial Revolution offered a good opportunity for t middle class and the labourers to unite. The Industrial Revoluti also paved the way for an unprecedented political revolution and ma people started criticising the government policy. At last, as a resu of their efforts, the dictatorial rule of the Working Class w established in place of the autocratic rule of the Czar of Russia 1917. It has been said—

"Strange as it might have seemed, it was during the iron regin of Alexander III that conditions were ripening for the revolutions 1905 and 1917."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Alexander III (1881—1894)—After the death of Alexander II, his s Alexander III ruled from 1881 to 1894 ; He was brave, honest and hardworking b reactionary, self-willed and unliberal.

1. **Reactionary policy**—Alexander was reactionary. 'One Russia, o creed, one Czar' was his main principle. He was deadly against democracy. (Repression of the revolutionaries and the Nihilists ; (*ii*) Restrictions on pres speech and newspapers ; (*iii*) Education in the institutions under the control the church ; (*iv*) A close eye on students, teachers and institutions ; (*v*) Speci powers of the police ; (*vi*) the policy of centralisation.

2. **The Policy of Russification**—(*i*) The Russification of the Finns, German Danes, Poles and Jews living in Russia ; (*ii*) Implementation of the Russian languag and regulations ; (*iii*) Cruel-policy towards the Jews ; heavy punishments ; leavin of Russia by the Jews.

3. **Industrial Policy**—Setting up of factories and the mines for industria development ; (*ii*) Taking of French loan ; (*iii*) Construction of railways an roads and the establishment of Trans-Siberian railway ; (*iv*) Progress in trade ; (v The revolutions of 1905 and 1917 as a result of the Industrial Revolution.

Nicholas II and the Russian Revolution of 1905 A. D.

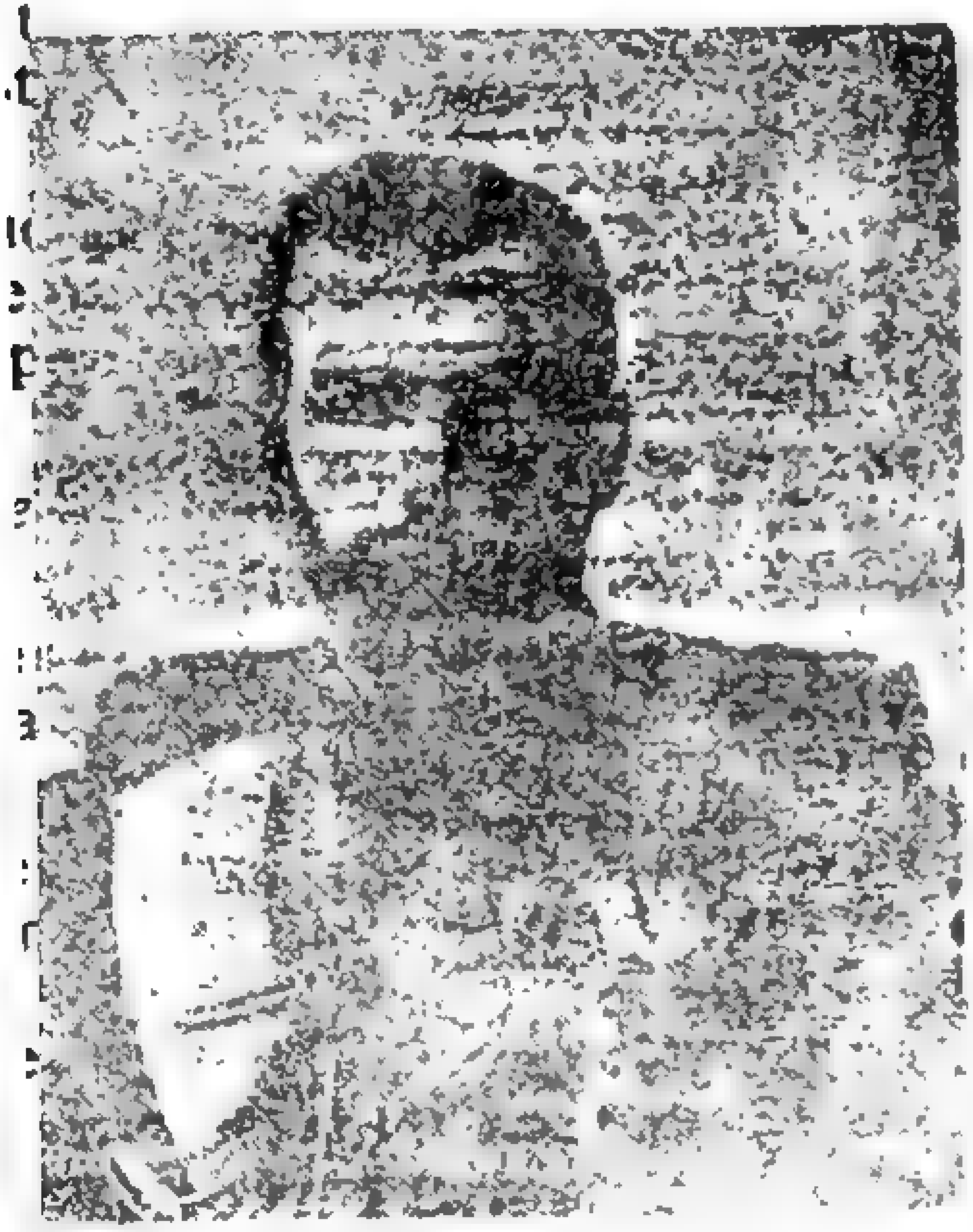
Q. 2. Briefly describe the main events of the reign of Czar Nicholas II.

(*Important*)

Or

What were the Causes of the Russian Revolution of 1905 A. D. ? Why did it fail ?

Ans. 1. Nicholas' Reactionary Policy—After the death of xander III, his son Nicholas II became the Czar of Russia. He gned from 1894 to 1917 and was the last Czar of Russia. A man of traditions, Nicholas II was self-willed, whimsical as also gifted h not too strong a heart. Imbued with mysticism and fatalism, he by and large a hen-pecked husband. Evidently under the profound uence of Czarina, his wife, Nicholas II hardly ever ventured any portant decision without consulting her as also her teacher Rasputin.



Nicholas II

When he ascended the throne, the masses believed that he would leave the reactionary policy of his father but their hopes were belied. Nicholas, like his father, was reactionary and a follower of Russification and repression. He started ruling autocratically. An army of spies was employed throughout the country and the police was given special powers to deal with the revolutionaries. Nobody was secure against execution, imprisonment, arrest and exile. **Hazen** writes—

> "*The government was not one of law but of the arbitrary power. Its instruments were a numerous and corrupt body of state officials and a ruthless active police.*"

As regards the Jews and the other non-Russian people living in Russia, he came down very heavily upon them.

Russian language and the conventionalism were given impetus. e Polish Catholics were not treated well and their church was not ared. The Russian language was enforced upon them and their titutions were Russificated. The Finnish constitution was abrogated. e Russian law was enforced upon Finland and Russian officers were pointed there. He tried to take away their freedom to repress eralism and reformation by adopting this policy of oppression and tocracy.

2. **Industrial Progress**—Count Witte worked as the Finance inister for ten years during the reign of Nicholas. A remarkable ogress was made in the sphere of trade and industries by his able idance. Factories were set up at many places. A net work of ilways was set up throughout the country. The financial resources of e country made a great progress. The workers, the labourers and the formists gained momentum and they started spreading revolutionary eals against him which proved fatal for the Czar and brought about fall in 1917.

3. **War between China and Japan**—Korea was under the rule of China. In 1894, Japan captured Korea for the safety of her commercial and imperial interests. Thus, the Sino-Japanese War broke out in which Japan defeated China and occupied Korea. Both signed a treaty under the pressure of Russia, France and Germany. China got back Korea and Japan gained Formosa according to this treaty. In 1898, China handed over the harbour of Port Arthur to Russia and allowed her to extend the Trans-Siberian railway from Manchuria to Port Arthur.

4. **Russo-Japanese War**—In 1904-5, the Russo-Japanese War broke out. (*For the detailed study of this; consult the next question*).

5. **Russian Revolution of 1905**—Following were the causes of the Russian Revolution of 1905 :—

(1) *Autocratic Rule of the Czar*—Czar Nicholas II of Russia was an autocratic ruler. He believed in the Divine Rights of Kings. The 18 million Russians did not have any right. The Czar used to say that no institution or social power could challenge his rights.

"*As it was God who bestowed upon us our power of autocratic rule, it is before his altar that we shall answer for the destinies of the Russian State.*" —(**Nicholas II**)

The masses did not have any say in the goverment and were displeased with his autocratic rule. Hence they wanted to do away with it.

(2) *Reactionary Policy of the Czar*—When Nicholas II became the Czar of Russia, the people hoped that he would follow a policy of reforms. But he proved to be an opponent of liberalism and reforms like his father. He made the following declaration while sitting on the throne—

"*I want to preserve the principles of autocracy as unwaveringly as my late father of imperishable memory did.*" (**Nicholas II**)

Nicholas II followed the policy of reaction according to this declaration. He set-up a net-work of spies in the country and the police was given special rights to control the public. He imposed restrictions on the press, speech, newspapers etc. The books on liberalism were confiscated. A strict eye was kept on the educational institutions, students and teachers. He committed many atrocities on the people. Nobody could escape the arrest, exile and execution in his autocratic rule. People hated him for this policy and his subjects turned against his rule.

(3) *Inefficient Administration*—The administration had become inefficient. Only privileged persons were appointed to the administrative jobs because they were thought to be loyal to the state. As a matter of fact, such persons were useless, selfish, cheat and cunning. The measure of their services was their loyality to the Czar. Being a notorious band of royal stooges, they did not care for the welfare of the masses and treated

them cruelly. Red-tapism and bribery was the order of the day. That is why it has been said—

"*Russian officialdom was notoriously corrupt, bribery was almost universal, reaching from cabinet ministers to the lowest clerk.*"

In fact, what has been said of France on the eve of Revolution, could be safely applied to the prevalent state of affairs in Russia during Nicholas' reign : "*no one was so exalted that he was safe from the ill-will of a minister, or so insignificant that he might not incur that of a clerk.*" The people as a matter of fact, were sick of the governmental cruelties and were prepared to end this inefficient administration.

(4) *Social Causes*—The Russian society was not based on the principle of equality The society had many disparities in it. The landlords and the upper classes possessed many privileges. They predominated the political sphere. The masses, in fact, a large part of the society, were without any say. They had become sick of this dissimilarity and wanted to change such a society.

(5) *Influence of the Church*—The church was also a supporter of the orthodox ideals. Masses were illiterate and offered blind adherence to the past traditions. The clericalism dominated them. The church was also a supporter of the autocratic rule of the Czar and was against the rights of the masses.

(6) *Undue influence of Czarina and Rasputin*—Nicholas II was a weak ruler being greatly influenced by his wife and her teacher Rasputin. Rasputin was clever, cunning and a cheat. The Czar consulted him in all important matters and in framing his policies. Rasputin was also responsible to a great extent for the Czar's policy of repression. People wanted to bring an end to his policy.

(7) *The Czar's Policy of Russification*—Germans, Danes, Poles, Finns and Jews lived in Russia. They all wanted to spread their own languages and cultures in Russia and wanted to progress freely. But the Czar was interested in their Russification. The main principle of his rule was "*One Czar, one creed, one Russia*". He wanted that only the Russian culture should flourish in Russia. He declared Russian as the national language of the country. Its use was made compulsory in all states, institutions and libraries. The use of Russian code was made compulsory in the trade and commerce of the country. The Russian church was thrust upon all the people. The Jews, in particular, suffered great atrocities. When the revolutionaries opposed this policy of the Czar, the foreigners and the Jews also joined them.

(8) *Various Political Parties in Russia*—Many parties, which wanted the end of the rule of Czar. were formed in Russia at this time. The Liberals and the Communists were the main among these parties. These parties came into being due to the changed social and economic conditions.

(*i*) *The Liberal Party*—As in England, the Liberal Party was in favour of establishing the right type of government in the country. It was the supporter of Parliamentary form of Government. It wanted the formation of the Parliament on the basis of adult franchise; the cabinet should be responsible to the parliament and the rights of the people should be safeguarded. This party got the support of the capitalists, land-lords and the middle class.

(*ii*) *The Socialist Party* had the support of the labourers. It wanted to establish a socialist system on the basis of the principles of Marx and wanted the rein of the government to be in the hands of the Working Class. This party was of the view that the labourers would themselves set-up the socialist system and then there would be no place for the privileged class. The Socialist leader Plekhanov said—

"The Russian Revolution will triumph as a revolution of the working class, otherwise, it will not triumph at all."

Later on, this party was divided into two groups :—

(1) The Bolsheviks and (2) The Mensheviks. The first group was the supporter of establishing the labour power by means of armed rebellion whereas the second one was the supporter of the legal government.

(*iii*) *Communist Revolutionary Party*—This party was in favour of ending the Czar's rule by armed revolution. It had the support of the farmers and the young men of Russia. It strongly held that no revolution could prove successful without the help of the farmers. These people were known as Nihilists.

(9) *Immediate Causes*—The Russo-Japanese war broke out in 1904. Russia was defeated in this war. People were against this war from the very beginning. Defeat added to the feeling of national indignation. People held the autocratic rule of the Czar to be responsible for this defeat and adopted the path of revolution to overthrow his rule.

Events—The defeat in the Russo-Japanese war prompted the people to revolt against the autocratic and repressive rule of the Czar which started the revolution. The revolutionaries started murdering the cruel officials. The name of Plehve, the Government agent, is worth mentioning among them Strikes occurred at every place, processions were taken out and the slogans of '*Stop the War*' *and* '*Down with Autocracy*' were raised every where.

The revolutionaries also started loot and arson on all sides.

The Liberals took out a procession on Sunday, the 2nd January, 1905 headed by Father Gapon. This procession proceeded towards the royal palace in Petersburg to present a petition. But the troops opened fire on it which resulted in thousands of casualties of the innocent people. This Sunday, because of this mass-slaughter, is known as the *Bloody Sunday* in the Russian History.

This event sent a thrill of horror on all sides and added fuel to the fire and thereby resulting in revolt and unrest throughout Russia. The strikes occurred in many cities now. The policy of repression of the government failed to frighten the revolutionaries. Murder of government officials started. The landlords were assassinated, their houses were pillaged and property looted and burnt to ashes. The Grand Duke Serge, Czar's uncle, and a noted reactionary and a cruel person, was also assassinated. He used to say quite often—"*People want the stick*".

The army and the naval forces also started joining hands with the revolutionaries. There prevailed general unrest and lawlessness throughout the country. The bombs were used openly. Czar tried to suppress it with force but he remained unsuccessful.

End of the Revolution—Finding the situation out of control, Nicholas granted some rights to the people by making a declaration in August, 1905. (1) An assurance was given that the Czar would adopt a policy of religious tolerance towards all with religious freedom assured to all. (2) An assurance was given not to debar any citizen from his civic rights on the basis of religion. (3) None was to be punished without trial. (4) All nationalities would have freedom regarding language and culture (5) Balance from the farmers were not to be realised. (6) He dismissed the cruel officials as Pobeydonosteff. (7) The war with Japan was ended by making a treaty with her.

This declaration of Czar established peace for some time and he gave many assurances to the public by making a declaration on October 30, 1905—

(1) Public was given freedom of speech, conscience and association.

(2) Duma or the National Assembly would be established in the country which would be formed by adult franchise.

(3) Duma would have the powers to frame laws and to implement them.

(4) People would have the right to control the government servants.

(5) Finns would have the right of local administration.

This declaration of the Czar checked the progress of the revolution. It ended the unrest among the people but this peace did not prove permanent.

Three Dumas or The National Assemblies

(1) *First Duma*—The elections to the First Duma were held in 1906 and its meeting was called in May 1906. Duma asked for pardoning the political prisoners which was accepted partially. In addition to this, Duma demanded an end to the Martial law and to make the ministry responsible to it but the Czar did not accept these demands and dissolved it.

(2) *Second Duma*—Second Duma was called in March 1907. It also tried to make the ministry responsible to it but a struggle started among the two on this point and this Duma was also dissolved.

(3) *Third Duma*—Its elections were held on limited franchise and its session was called in November, 1907. Most of its members were conservative, reactionary and supporters of the Czar. It was also dissolved in 1912.

Causes of the Failure of the Revolution—The 1905 Revolution died its own death for certain apparent reasons. Some of these were as under :—

(1) There was *lack of unity among the* revolutionaries. People of different nationalities lived in Russia and there was lack of nationalism among them They did not organise the revolution unitedly. Their mutual differences proved helpful to the Czar.

(2) The revolution *did not have any capable* leader among them and there was no central organisation among them.

(3) The *army also sided with the Czar* and he was able to suppress the revolution with the help of the soldiers.

(4) The *Czar got financial help* from France. Germany and Austria also showed their co-operative attitude to the Czar in the suppression of the revolution.

It has been said about the failure of this revolution—

"*Looking back upon the events of 1905 A.D. and to succeeding years, opponents of the autocratic regime feel all their efforts to secure for Russia a liberal Parliamentary government had been largely futile.*"

C.D.M. Ketelbey also observes, "*For from 1907, reaction had set in, autocracy was in the saddle, and the exultation of the reformers had given place to a listless depression.*"

Results of the Revolution—The Russian revolution of 1905 failed to achieve its aims to establish a constitutional government by ending the autocratic government, but it had its own importance in the history. Duma was established as a result of this revolution and it was a step towards the parliamentary form of government. It gave a great moral set-back to autocracy and also decreased the fidelity of the masses to the Czar. The autocratic government could not continue for a longer time in Russia. It gave rise to the national and revolutionary forces and as a result of it the Czardom was ended in Russia by the great Revolution of 1917. *Schapiro* has said—

"*Russia was now a constitutional state...... There was now a Parliament. By far the greatest outcome of the revolution was the moral downfall of autocracy...... The Revolution of 1905 A.D. was the first great step in people's education. It taught them that autocracy which they had long regarded as the special gift of God......was essentially brutal and selfish.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Nicholas II (1894-1917). (1) A weak personality, reactionary, conservative and upporter of Russification like his father ;

(2) Industrial progress ;
(3) War betwesn China and Japan ;
(4) Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 A.D.

ussian Revolution of 1905—Causes. (1) Autocratic rule of Czar,

(2) Reactionary Policy ;
(3) Inefficient Administration ;
(4) Social causes ;
(5) Influence of the Church ;
(6) Undue influence of Czarina and Rasputin ;
(7) Czar's policy of Russification ;
(8) Various political parties in Russia ;
(9) Immediate cause—war with Japan.

Events. (1) Defeat in the war with Japan and revolt against the autocratic rule ;

(2) Murder of the cruel officials :
(3) Procession led by Gapon and the Bloody Sunday ;
(4) Strikes in towns, murder of the landlords, loot and arson ;
(5) Murder of Czar's uncle ;
(6) An all-round unrest and lawlessness.

End of the Revolution. (1) End of the revolution by the declaration of 1905,

(2) An assurance to grant rights to the people of the October 1905 declaration.
(3) Calling of three national assemblies or the Dumas.

Causes of Failure—(1) Lack of unity among the revolutionaries ;

(2) Lack of able leadership ;
(3) Support of the army to Czar ;
(4) Czar's help by France, Austria and Germany.

Results—(1) A step towards constitutional government by calling the Duma ;

(2) Moral downfall of autocracy ;
(3) To give rise to the national and revolutionary forces and making grounds or the Revolution of 1917.

Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5 A.D.

Q. 3. What were the causes and results of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 A.D. Account for the defeat of Russia.

Or

"The Russo-Japanese War had momentous effects not only in Russia and Japan, but also in China, nay, in the entire Europe." Examine this bservation critically.

Ans. **Causes of the Russo-Japanese War**—A war broke out between Russia and Japan in 1904. The war did not come about as if from no where. There were some reasons which gradually drove the two countries towards an armed conflict. The following reasons precipitated the hostilities :—

(1) *Russian Imperialism*—All European countries were busy establishing their colonies in other countries and also for the expansion of their colonial empire. Russia also did not want to lag behind. Keeping this aspect in view, she took part in the Crimean War and the Balkan War. But she remained unsuccessful in Europe after her defeat and she desired to increase her influence in the east and to establish her colonial empire. Japan was not ready to accept the increase of the Russian influence in the east as it was harmful to her own interests.

(2) *Desire to have control over Ice-free Ports*—The north-western coast of Russia remained frozen throughout the year and was not navigable. It was a great set-back to the Russian trade. When she failed to increase her territorial limits in Europe, she tried to capture the Pacific coast so that she might have such ports which would remain open throughout the year and increase her trade. Japan protested as the increase of Russian influence in the Pacific ocean was detrimental to her commercial interests and the expansion of her markets.

(3) *Problem of Liao Tung Peninsula*—Liao Tung Peninsula was under the control of Japan but she was to surrender it to Russia in 1895 by the Treaty of Shimonosky. France and Germany both pressed her much for it and Japan was not so powerful as to oppose them. Japan now wanted to take back Liao Tung Peninsula for which Russia was not ready. So the conflict was but natural.

(4) *Treaty between Japan and England*—Russia wanted to increase her influence by interfering in the internal affairs of China and tried to strengthen her position in Korea. Japan could not tolerate it England also found Russian influence in the East as harmful. In 1902. England and Japan entered into a treaty for the safeguard of their common interests. It was decided that England would remain neutral if war breaks out between Russia and Japan and if any other country helped Russia then England would help Japan. It strengthened the international position of Japan.

(5) *Problem of Korea*—After the war between China and Japan. Russia accepted Japanese right over Korea but the Russians had started cutting the wood in the forests near the Yalu river in Korea. Also, the Russian army started advancing towards the river. These movements of Russia were against the treaty between the two countries. Japan sent a note of strong protest but Russia did not care a bit for that and rejected the offer to solve the problem by peaceful means. Thus, it increased the enmity between the two countries.

(6) *Problem of Manchuria*—Russian protection to Manchuria was accepted in 1895. She got the harbour of Port Arthur on lease for 25 years. In addition to this, Russia was allowed by China to construct the Trans-Siberian railway through Manchuria upto Vladivostok. Russia also established its military cantonment in Manchuria. She fortified Port Arthur so that she could easily capture Korea. She also set-up a military base in Port Arthur. England, Japan and America opposed these actions of Russia in Manchuria. Because of their opposition, Russia entered into an alliance with China in 1 02 and gave a word to withdraw from Manchuria when peace was established. But later on, she placed this demand before China that she would withdraw from Manchuria if China gave her special facilities. But China rejected this demand on the support of America, England and Japan. So the Russo-Japanese relations deteriorated further.

(7) *Japanese Efforts for Treaty*—It is clear from the above mentioned things that there was a clash of interests between Russia and Japan in Liao Tung Peninsula, Korea and Manchuria. Japan tried to solve these problems by negotiations. She was ready to solve the common problems with Russia in Manchuria and Korea. Japan made this offer that if Russia accepted Japan's right over Korea, then Japan would recognise the Russian right over Manchuria. Both these countries did not compromise and they decided to settle it by force.

2 **Events of War**—When both the countries could not solve their mutual problems then Japan called back her ambassador from Russia and made a declaration of war on February 5, 1904. This war was fought from February 1904 to September 1905.

It was fought both on land and sea. The Japanese Admiral Togo gave a crushing defeat to the Russian fleet at Port Arthur and after that he besieged Port Arthur. He was able to capture Port Arthur after nine months. After that, the Japanese forces started advancing towards the Liao Tung Peninsula after crossing Korea. The Japanese forces gave a crushing defeat to the Russian forces at Liao-Yang and Sha-ho near the Yalo river. After that, the Japanese army advanced towards Mukden, the capital of Manchuria A fierce battle was fought at Mukden between the two armies and Japan defeated Russia after fighting for four days. About 1,20,000 soldiers were killed on both the sides. Russia vacated Mukden after this defeat.

The Czar of Russia sent the Russian fleet in the Baltic Sea to capture Port Arthur. Admiral Togo defeated it at Tsushima. The battles of Mukden and Tsushima proved to be decisive and consequently Japan emerged out victorious.

3. **Treaty of Portsmouth**—The war ended in 1905 with the Treaty of Portsmouth by the efforts of the American President Roosevelt. The following were the terms of this treaty :—

(1) Japan got Port Arthur and Liao Tung Peninsula.

(2) Russia recognised the Japanese rights in Korea.

(3) Japan also got the Southern half of Sakhalin island.

(4) Manchuria was divided into two parts. Russia gained the northern part and Japan got the southern part.

4. Causes of the Russian Defeat—Following were the causes of Russian defeat and the Japanese victory in this war :—

(1) The *European powers* sympathised with Japan in this war and they sided with Japan because the increase of the Russian influence in the East was a great danger to them.

(2) Japan got the assurance of *England's neutrality* by signing a treaty with her. This factor added to her strength.

(3) The *battle-field* was nearer to Japan than Russia. So it was difficult for Russia to send her forces and the war material to such a distance.

(4) The autocratic and reactionary policy of the Czar gave rise to a *revolt in Russia* which spread unrest and lawlessness throughout the country. This greatly harmed Czar's position as he could not get the help and assistance of the Russian people. On the other hand the Japanese people helped their government whole-heartedly.

(5) *The differences came up between China* and Russia on the problem of Manchuria and Russia also could not get any help from China.

5. Results of the War—The Russo-Japanese war is an important event of history as it not only affected Russia and Japan but almost all the countries of the East and the West. Its results were vital and far reaching. It has been rightly remarked—

"Russia's ambitions were checked in the East, China was given a wave of regeneration and Japan showed a spirit of unparalled growth."

(1) *Effects on Japan*—Japan, a small country of the East, increased her international prestige by defeating a great and powerful country of the world. Her influence was established in the Far East and she joined the ranks of the most powerful nations of the world. She got a golden chance to expand her empire, to increase her trade and interfere in the internal affairs of China. She got control over Formosa, Sakhalin and Korea in 1910. *Benns* has remarked—

Clearly the Japanese had administered a definite check to Russian expansion in the Far East. They had furthermore demonstrated not only to Czar but to world at large that a new great power had appeared which must there-after be considered in dealing with affairs, in that part of the globe."

Hazen has also said, *"Japan, thus stood forth as the dominant power of the East."*

(2) *Effects on Russia*—Defeat from a small country set a great blow to the international prestige of Russia. Her weakness was exposed before the whole of the world. It administered a definite check to Russian expansion in the East. The internal condition of Russia was unsteady and the public stepped up the struggle for the establishment of the constitutional set-up. People put the responsibility on Czar for this defeat. The Russian Revolution of 1905 failed but it greatly stirred up the revolutionary feelings and set a basis for the Revolution of 1917 which brought about the Czar's fall. **Ketelbey** has remarked—

"This war checked definitely the Czar once again to the Balkan and Near Eastern affairs. At home, it precipitated the internal revolution in Russia that had been brewing for a long time."

(3) *Effects on China*—This war gave rise to a new light and a desire for reform in China. The Chinese had it in their mind that it is difficult to progress without adopting the western civilization. Many schools were opened to educate the public. Many Chinese students were sent to Europe and America to get education on the western lines. Japanese officers were appointed to train the Chinese soldiers on the western lines. Industrial progress took place as a result of the setting-up of many factories. Many social and political reforms were carried out. Political re-organisation also started. As a result, the Revolution of 1912 took place and the emperor was forced to leave his throne. It brought an end to the Manchu dynasty and a republic was set-up there.

(4) *Effects on Asia*—As a result of this war, the national movement all over the world gained impetus. If a small nation like Japan can defeat a powerful nation like Russia, the Indians thought that it was not difficult for them to get themselves freed from the English. It stirred up the national movement in India which got her freedom in 1947. Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia etc. got ready to get their freedom. *Fisher* has rightly remarked—

"The victory of Japan became the eye-opener to the eastern nations, especially to China and India, to rise, organise and over-throw the western yoke."

(5) *Effects on Europe*—Germany tried to have an alliance with Russia and France but she remained unsuccessful. Now, Russia was inclined towards England and both of these countries signed a treaty in 1907.

This war gave a great blow to the Russian power. Austria started its interference in the Balkans taking advantage of the weakness of Russia and captured Bosenia and Herzegovina. So, Russia had to take part in the Eastern Question and this very fact proved to be the immediate cause of the First World War.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Russo-Japanese War (1904—1905)

1. **Causes:—(1)** Russian imperialism;
   - (2) Russia's desire to have control over the free ports ;
   - (3) The problem of Liao Tung Peninsula ;
   - (4) Treaty between Japan and England ;
   - (5) Problem of Korea ;
   - (6) Problem of Manchuria :
   - (7) Japanese Efforts for Treaty.
2. **Events:**—(1) Japanese Admiral Togo defeated the Russian fleet in Por Arthur ;
   - (2) Russia's defeat at Liao Yang and Sha-ho ;
   - (3) The defeat of the Russia's army at Mukden ;
   - (4) Togo destroyed the Russian fleet at Tsushima.
3. **Treaty of Portsmouth:**—The war ended with the Treaty of Portsmouth.
   - (1) Japan's control over Port Arthur and Liao Tung.
   - (2) Recognition of Japan's rights in Korea ;
   - (3) Japan's control over Sakhalin ;
   - (4) Division of Manchuria.
4. **Causes of Russian Defeat:** (1) European powers took the side of Japan
   - (2) Treaty of 1905 between England and Japan for mutual help ;
   - (3) The battle-field was away from Russia ;
   - (4) Revolt in Russia and no public support to Czar ;
   - (5) China also did not help Russia.
5. **Results of the War :**—This war was of great international importance.

(1) **Effects on Japan**—Increase in the prestige, power and empire of Japan.

(2) **Effects on Russia**—A set-back to the international prestige : weakness of military power ; check on expansion of Empire in the East : internal unrest ; Czar's fall.

(3) **Effects on China**—Political and social reforms in China : spread of western education ; organisation of the army on western lines ; End of Manchu dynasty and establishment of the Republic.

(4) **Effects on Asia**—A great impetus to the national movements in India, Ceylon, Burma etc. and achievement of freedom by them at the end.

(5) **Effects on Europe**—Treaty between England and Russia in 1907 ; (2) Austria's efforts to interfere in the Balkan States.

University and Other Important Questions

1. Give a brief account of the main events of the reign of Alexander III.
2. Describe the chief events of the reign of Nicholas II.
3. "Nicholas was in no case less reactionary than his father". Discuss.
4. "The Russo-Japanese War of 1905 A.D. was pregnant with momentous consequences". Discuss.
5. "In Russia, in Japan, in China and in Europe as well, the Russo-Japanese War produced its effects". Elucidate.
6. Describe the causes and results of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 A.D. (A.U. 1967)
7. Discuss the causes, course and results of the Russo-Japanese War. (P. U. 1969)
8. Explain how Russo-Japanese war (1904 – 1905) inaugurated a new era in European history. (Pb. M. A. 1972)

24

ITALY AFTER 1870 A.D.

Italy was a very prosperous and powerful nation in ancient times and she had control over a large part of Europe. Rome was the centre of Papal activity and Christian religion. But after a time, the empire of Italy in Central Europe got weakened and started disintegrating. Italy was divided into many small states which came under the control of foreign powers. In the 19th century, in about 1870, Italy was united into one state as a result of the efforts of the patriots like Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour and Victor Emmanuel. This goal was achieved by public co-operation but the united and free Italy faced many problems and this work of unification would have remained incomplete without the solution of these problems. The efforts continued and Italy was able to solve many of its problems. **C.D.M. Ketelbey** observes in this regard : "*The history of Italy from her unification until the end of the century is one of swift decline from the epic heights which she had attained during the forties, fifties and the sixties. It is a story of disappointment and discontent, of poverty, intrigue, and disorganization...An outward unity had, indeed, been achieved...*"

Q. 1. Give an account of the problems and difficulties Italy had to face after unification. How were these solved ?

Or

How did Italy establish herself as a great power ?

Ans. Problems before Italy—The unification of Italy was comleted in 1871. A united empire was established in Itay but there were many problems before her which deserved immediate solution. **Victor Emmanuel** had said—"*We have made Italy, we shall have to make Italians*". Following were the problems :—

(1) *Provincialism*—Italy became a free nation by 1870. The work of unification was established by the vote of public but there was still the shortage of the spiritual unity to supplement the outward unity.

The spirit of provincialism was still prevalent there, and there was lack of nationalism in Italy. People were divided politically and there were great differences among the state governments. They had different social and economic back-grounds. People of different states were against each other. That is why it has been said—

"*Italian unity was obtained too suddenly by people for centuries divided and hetrogenous. Liberty was rather given as a gift than won* *by the efforts of the people, and nationality did not find equal echo in the popular consciousness."*

(2) *Religious Problem*—Religious problem also posed a serious trouble. Rome was under the Papal influence since a long time. He also had his influence over the economic and political sphere. Rome was the capital of the Papal empire. Rome was declared to be the Capital of the free Italy. This was intolerable for the Pope as well as for the Catholics. It gave rise to unrest and anger among them. It was difficult for both the spiritual and the temporal powers to rule from the same place at the same time. Unity was not possible between the two as the Pope was not ready to see the end of his authority. He refused to accept Victor Emmanuel as the emperor of united Italy. He still recognised him as the emperor of Sardinia. He also did not recognise the Italian empire. The then Pope, Pius IX, expelled Victor Emmanuel from Christianity and shut himself in as a prisoner in the Vatican. He issued an order to the Catholics forbidding them to take part in the political activities, to vote at the elections to the Parliament and to hold office under the Italian government.

This hostile attitude of Pope proved to be a great obstacle in the work of national reconstruction as Italy could not get the services of those able Catholics because they refused to co-operate with the government under instructions from the Pope.

(3) *Problem of North and South Italy*—There existed a wide disparity in Italy between the north and the south as regards the economic development. North was industrially developed and there was a greater number of cities in comparison to the south. People were very progressive and prosperous in this part. There were many labour problems in this part. Comparatively the number of towns in the south was much less and also it was lagging behind industrially. Agriculture was the main occupation in this part and the condition of this occupation was also backward. There were many underground parties working in this part and it created a bad influence over people. There was lack of education and people were backward. Thus, wide disparity existed between the two parts as regards economic, political and social development. It was very necessary to do away with this disparity.

(4) *Economic Problem*—Agriculture and industries were backward in Italy. People were poor and their standard of living was not too high. Government spent a lot on the construction of railways, bridges, roads etc. She had to raise huge loans in order to effect all-round progressive plans and programmes. It had a deficit financing every year and many taxes were levied to combat debts. This further deteriorated the financial condition of country and it added to the public unrest every day. The Socialists took advantage of the situation and started propagating their own ideology. There started riots all over the country. Emperor Humbert was murdered in 1900 in these riots.

(5) *Political Problem*—The parliamentary government was set up in Italy after the unification of Italy but the political parties could not prosper there in the real sense. Various political parties had a narrow out-look. They neglected the national interests and preference was given to the party affiliations as well as provincialism. The political state of affairs was corrupt and the political life had declined. In the beginning, the franchise was limited and the right to vote was vested only with those who owned property and were educated.

(6) *Problem of Emigration*—The economic condition of the country deteriorated every day and the people were suppressed under the weight of taxes. Population increased rapidly but the industrial development was not keeping pace with it. It resulted in the increase of unrest among the labourers and the farmers. So a large number of Italians emigrated to North and South America. It resulted in the shortage of man-power in Italy.

2. **Solution of the Problems**—Italy had to face many problems after its unification in 1870. Steps were taken to solve these problems and gradually Italy became a prosperous nation by 1914.

(1) *New Constitution*—The new constitution was introduced in Italy after its unification. It had following characteristics :—

(*i*) Parliamentary government was established in Italy where the Emperor was only a nominal head but he held a hereditary status. After the death of Victor Emmanuel, his son Humbert succeeded him and after Humbert, his son Victor Emmanuel III ascended the throne of Italy.

(*ii*) There was a cabinet to assist the Emperor. The Emperor would appoint the ministers but they were responsible to the national assembly. So, there was a parliamentary government modelled after England.

(*iii*) Italian Parliament consisted of two houses—Senate and Legislative Assembly. Senate had 385 members who were nominated by the emperor for life.

Legislative Assembly comprised of 508 members and they were elected by the people for a period of 5 years.

(*iv*) Parliament had the right to make laws and levy taxes.

(*v*) In the beginning, the franchise was limited and only educated and property holders had the right to vote. Some rights were changed in 1882 elections and adult franchise was adopted in 1912.

(*vi*) Many fundamental rights were given to people by this constitution and all the citizens were equal in status in the eyes of the law.

(2) *Solution of the Religious Problem*—It has been explained above that the unification of Italy and setting-up of Rome as the capital gave

a great set-back to the status and rights of Pope. He did not recognise the new empire and the new emperor, and declared himself to be a 'prisoner' in the Vatican. He ordered the Catholics neither to vote at elections nor to hold any office under the new government. At that time, Pope Pius IX was the Pope in Rome. Government passed a law *i.e.* 'Law of Papal Guarantees' in 1871 to solve the religious problem and to compromise with Pope. According to the 'Law of Papal Guarantees' :— (1) Pope's sovereign right was accepted over the Vatican. Lateran Palace and its lands and the Castle Gandolfo. No government official could interfere in their management. (2) Pope was given the right to correspond with the public and foreign countries. (3) Pope could send his ambassadors to other countries and receive foreign ambassadors. (4) Government agreed to pay 30 lac Lires to Pope as his pension. (5) Pope had the right to freely use railways, post and telegraph etc. (6) Catholic religion was accepted as the state religion.

However, Pope Pius IX refused to accept this Law and issued a circular to the Catholics forbidding them to co-operate with the government. But, the next Pope Pius X compromised with the government and repealed the previous circular. As a result of this, limited religious sentiments gave place to the national sentiments.

(3) *Educational Reforms*—There was a small number of educated people in 1870. They formed only 30 percent of the population. Due to this lack of education in the country, it was difficult for the people to fulfil their political responsibilities. So government paid special attention to the spread of education in the country. Government under an official order, made the primary education compulsory. Schools were opened and the number of teachers was also greatly increased. It was decided to meet the expenses by local taxes. The night schools were opened for the education of the adults. It is said that 75% of the public was educated by 1914 in Italy.

(4) *Military Reforms*—A great army was organised to maintain internal peace as well as to win international prestige. Warships were built and most effective arrangements were made to collect the war material. Arrangements were made also for the training of the army recruits and a Military Academy was established in 1881 to impart training to the naval officials.

(5) *End of Provincialism*—Though an empire in Italy was established in 1870 by uniting the different states, the spirit of provincialism was still existing in full swing. They lacked the spirit of nationalism. There remained the work of uniting the people of Italy as yet. That is why *Victor Emmanuel* said—*"Political unity had been gained but not moral unity ; we have united Italy, now let us unite Italians"*.

It was essential to enlighten people of different parts of Italy to achieve this object. Efforts were made to unite the people by expanding education, commerce, equal rights and by ending the spirit of provincialism.

(6) *Economic Reforms*—Many reforms were carried out in Italy during the reign of Victor Emmanuel. He was a clever and strong-willed emperor. He was very generous and hard working. Italy took great strides towards progress in the spheres of agriculture, industries and trade under his able stewardship.

In 1877, the government made special efforts to ascertain the position of agriculture and to reform it. Thousands of acres of swamps were converted into cultivable land. Arrangements were made through the co-operative societies to provide good seeds and manure to the farmers. Banks were opened in the villages to help the farmers Arrangements were made to hold exhibitions and model farms were established to acquaint the farmers with new methods of agriculture. Thus, all this combined to yield better produce.

The government also gave impetus to industries. Many Italians left for foreign countries. There was shortage of labour, even then the government set-up many factories in the country. There was shortage of iron and coal in the country. So arrangements were made to produce hydro-electricity. The cotton and woollen industries made a great progress. Milan became a great silk-producing centre. Italy started producing half of the total silk of the whole world. Factories were also set-up for the construction of big ships.

Trade also flourished greatly with the progress of agriculture and industries. The emigrants helped a great deal in this direction. It goes beyond any doubt that they were compelled to leave the country but they greatly used the manufactures of Italy. It led to the development of trade. Wheat, cotton and woollen cloth, fruit, wine, oils etc. were exported from Italy. By 1913, the volume of trade in Italy was three times than that of 1870.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Problems before Italy—Italy had to face many problems after its unification.**

(1) Provincialism stood in the way of national unity.

(2) Religious Problem—Discord between the emperor and the Pope due to governmental taking-over of Rome.

(3) Problem of Northern and Southern Italy.

(4) Economic Problem—Backwardness of industries, agriculture and trade. People were poor and had low standard of living.

(5) Political Problem.

(6) Problem of Emigrants.

2. **Solution of the Problem**—(1) Framing of new constitution and establishment of parliamentary government.

(2) Unsuccessful attempts to reconcile with Pope by the Law of Guarantees : Religious problem was solved by the reconciliation of Pope Pius X in 1905.

(3) **Educational Reforms**—Schools were opened for the expansion of education especially Primary education.

(4) **Military Reforms**—Introduction of compulsory military training; building-up of the ships and war-material; opening of military academies.

(5) **End of Provincialism.**

(6) **Economic Reforms**—Impetus to agriculture, industries and trade in order to reform the economic condition of the people.

Foreign Policy of Italy (1871—1914 A.D.)

Q. 2. Critically discuss the foreign policy of Italy from 1871 to 1914 A.D.

Ans. **Foreign Policy of Italy**—After consolidating her internal position by introducing many political, economic and social reforms, Italy started taking part in the political affairs of Europe. The objective of her foreign policy was to increase her influence by expanding her empire, establishing her colonies and raising her international prestige.

Besides, Italy also wanted to conquer those parts where Italians lived in large numbers.

(1) *Triple-Alliance*—Italy wanted to occupy Tunis in Africa, France also had an eye on it. In 1881, France occupied Tunis and Italy could do nothing. By occupying Rome, Italy set a blow to the influence of Pope and she feared that France might attack her by taking the side of Pope. So, she entered into an alliance with Austria and Germany in 1882. It is known as the "*Triple-Alliance*". It strengthened her position and there remained no fear of any attack from France. The Triple Alliance was again signed in 1887 and 1891. So Italy got many facilities for her colonial expansion in Africa.

(2) *Italy and England*—Italy signed a treaty with England in 1887 to establish friendly relations. Both the countries decided to maintain status-quo in the Atlantic Ocean, Adriatic sea, Aegean and the Black seas. It was also decided that if Russia attacked either of the two in the Atlantic Ocean, then the other would help the attacked nation. Italy also gave a word of possible help to England in Egypt. To reciprocate, England assured help in the problem of Tripoli. Italy assured not to fight against England in 1902. Italy, however, sided with England and France in the Algeciras Conference in 1906 against Germany and Austria, though she was the member of Triple Alliance So Italy, by entering into alliance with England, saved herself from the French attack.

(3) *Italy and Russia*—In 1909, the Czar of Russia, Nicholos II, visited Italy and met Victor Emmanuel III. Both decided to maintain the status-quo in the Balkans and to safe-guard the interests of one another. Russia assured not to stand in her way in the Tripoli Affair and Italy assured Russia that she would create no obstacles in her advancement towards Dardanelles and Bosphorus.

(4) *Italy and Austria*—Italy was a member of the Triple-Alliance but Austria and Germany always looked suspiciously at her and did not have any faith in her alliance. In 1909, Austria occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina by non-observance of status-quo in the Balkans without informing Italy. This created differences between the two. Austria had in her occupation many parts which were largely inhabited by the Italians. The nationalists of Italy started a movement to annex these parts from Austria. This is known as "Irredentist Movement" or the movement to get from Austria the parts of unredeemed Italy. This was the cause of suspicion and bitterness irrespective of the alliance between the two.

(5) *Italy and France*—In the beginning, Italy and France did not have good relations and Italy always had the fear of being attacked by France. So, she joined the Triple-Alliance. By and by, her differences increased with Austria and her relations with France started turning good. In 1896, France signed a treaty with Italy and assured the security of the Italians living in Tunis. In 1900, Italy accepted France's occupation over Morocco. French President paid a visit to Rome and the Italian Emperor Victor Emmanuel visited France. In 1906, Italy sided with France and England in Algeciras Conference.

2. **Colonial Policy**—Italy also tried to take part in the colonial expansion of Europe as she wanted to increase her power, to increase her influence in the political sphere of Europe, to increase her international prestige, to gain place for her increasing population, to get the raw material from the colonies and to use them as her markets.

In the beginning, she tried to capture Tunis and Tripoli but could not succeed. In 1885, she occupied Abyssinian port Massova. The colonial expansion gained momentum after Crispi's becoming the foreign minister. In 1880, Italy established her protectorate in Somaliland and increased her influence in the Red Sea. In 1912, she captured Tripoli and named it as Libya. In order to capture Abyssinia, she attacked in 1896 but she was very badly defeated at Adowa by the Abyssinians. But, later on, in the 20th century, in the days of Mussolini she was able to annex Abyssinia into her empire.

There were many countries under the European powers where Italians lived in large numbers : Malta was under the English. Tikino was under Switzerland. Nice, Savoy, Corsica etc. were under the French. Austria and Hungary also had many states where the Italians used to live. The nationalists and the political parties were trying to annex these territories into their own Empire, as about one million Italians inhabited these parts. But they succeeded partially after the First World War when they were able to secure 4900 sq. miles of these countries which were inhabited by about 1·6 million Italians. It has been said—

"Italy during these years—by means of irredentism, her African ambitions, her understandings with England, the pledges given and received

with regard to Triple Alliance, and the contingent clauses contained in the treaty, laid down all principles of future international policy which resulted at last in her participation in the First World War."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Foreign Policy of Italy (1871—1914 A.D.)—Raising her international prestige; expansion of the empire; establishment of the colonies and enhancement of her influence in the European political sphere etc.

Main objectives of the foreign policy of Italy :—

(1) Triple Alliance with Austria and Germany.

(2) Friendly relations with England.

(3) Friendship with Russia.

(4) Differences with Austria.

(5) Improvement of relations with France later on.

Colonial Policy—(1) Rivalry in colonial expansion ;

(2) Failure in the attempt to capture Tunis and Tripoli due to French opposition. Chance came to annex Tripoli in 1912 which was renamed as Libya.

(3) Establishment of the colonies of Massova and Somaliland.

(4) Failure in Abyssinia in the beginning but its annexation in the times of Mussolini.

(5) Annexation of many parts largely inhabited by the Italians after the First World War.

University and other Important Questions

1. Describe briefly the problems before Italy in 1871 A.D. What efforts were made to solve them ?
2. "Italy had to face a difficult position during 1870-1914 A.D." Amplify.
3. Discuss critically the foreign and colonial policy of Italy during the period 1871-1914 A.D.

25

OTHER SMALL KINGDOMS OF EUROPE (1871–1914 A.D.)

(Austria—Hungary)

Q. 1. Give an account of the development of Austria–Hungary from 1871–1914 A.D.

Ans. Different countries under Austria revolted to get freedom as a result of the French Revolution of 1848. Metternich had to fly to England to save his life. Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph took the power into his own hands. He was able to suppress the revolutionaries after a great struggle. He again gained control over these scattered states by 1850 and established an autocratic rule.

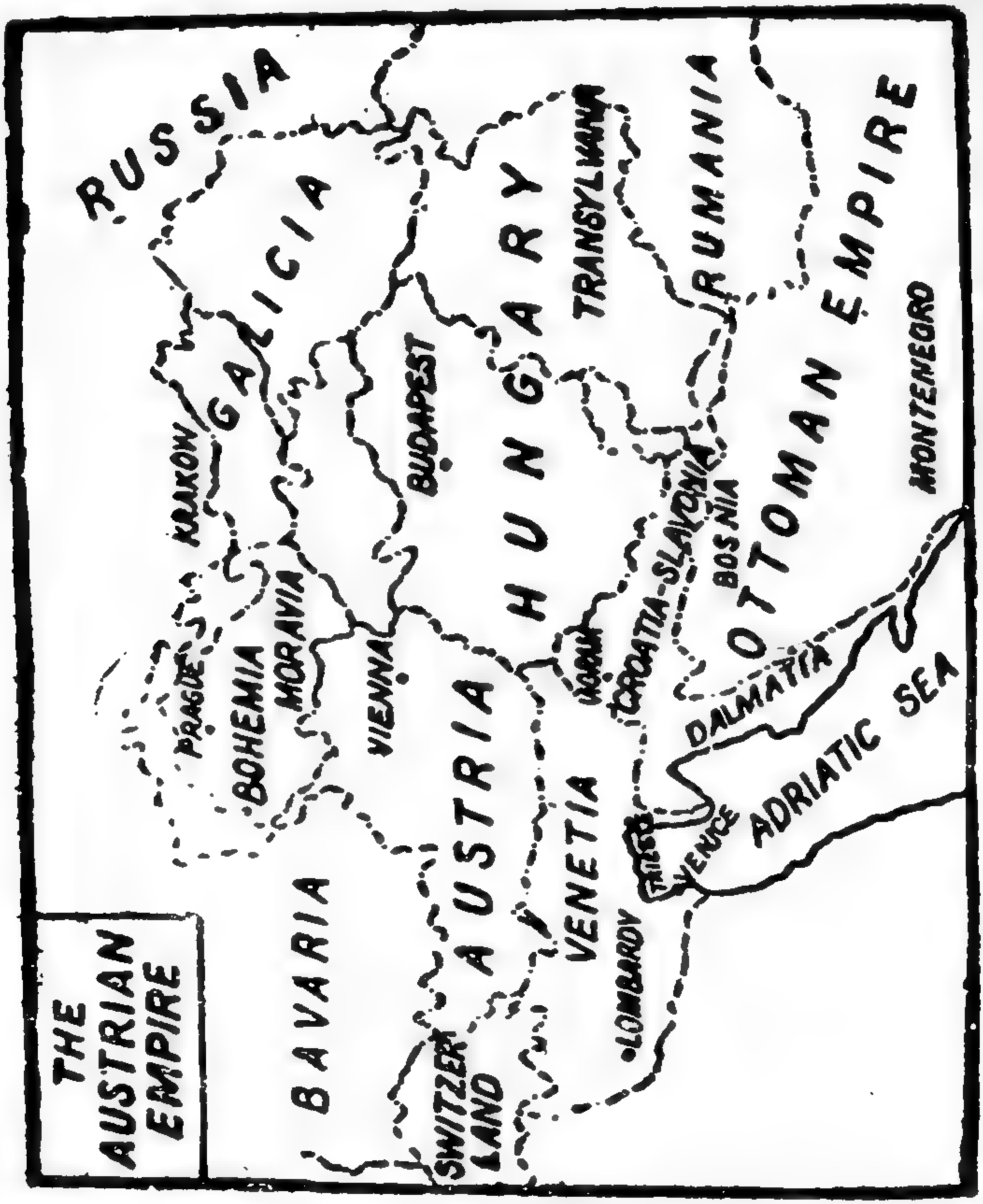
1. **Difficulties before Austria**—The Austrian Emperor suppressed the revolution of 1848 forcibly but he had to face many problems :—

Different nations lived in the different parts of Austria as Germans, Magyars, Czechs, Rumanians, Poles, Slavs, Italians, Serbs, Croats etc. They had different languages and cultures. Each nation was trying to establish her own separate rule and to give impetus to its own language and culture.

2. **Separate States of Austria and Hungary**—Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph tried to solve the intricate problems of racialism and language and to bring an end to the elements of separation but he could not succeed due to the opposition from the Magyars of Hungary.

The Magyars sided with Italy in the War of 1859. As a result of this, the Austrian Emperor had to follow a liberal policy in place of the policy of repression. He affected many reforms in 1861 and established a constitutional monarchy in place of an autocratic rule. The Hungarians opposed it. In 1866, Austria was defeated by Prussia in the War of 1866 which brought an end to her influence over Germany and Italy. Under these circumstances, the Austrian Emperor wanted to strengthen his position in Austria. Soon, Austria and Hungary entered into a treaty in 1867 which is called as '*Ausgleich*' in the German langauge. It separated Austria and Hungary as two separate free·

states under one emperor. Thus, the new state began to be called as Austria-Hungary. Budapest was the Hungarian capital, while Vienna was the Austrian capital. Both had different administrations but had common foreign, war and revenue departments and these were looked after by a common ministry.


THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
RUSSIA
GALICIA
KRAKOW
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
RUMANIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
MONTENEGRO
BUDAPEST
BOSNIA
CROATIA-SLAVONIA
BOHEMIA
PRAGUE
MORAVIA
VIENNA
AUSTRIA
VENETIA
DALMATIA
ADRIATIC SEA
TRIESTE
VENICE
LOMBARDY
BAVARIA
SWITZERLAND

3 Austrian Empire after 1867 A.D.—(1) By Francis Joseph's efforts, *constitutional monarchy* was established in Austria and the parliamentary form of government started functioning there. Parliament had two houses. The Upper House represented the nobles and the

Lower House consisted of members elected by the people for a period of 6 years. In the beginning, the franchise was limited and the number of the voters was very low but in 1907 it was replaced by the system of adult franchise. The members of the cabinet were nominated by the Emperor and they were responsible to him.

(2) *German language* was declared the national language for the unification of the different races.

(3) Many *laws were passed to reform the condition* of labourers. Working hours were fixed at 10 per day for the miners and 11 per day for the factory workers. The insurance scheme was also introduced. Sunday was an off-day for them. The working classes were given the freedom to form unions to safeguard their rights.

(4) The *different races in Austria* demanded the establishment of their free states after the establishment of the free state of Hungary. The Czecks of Bohemia gave the lead in this respect. They demanded that Bohemia should be declared a free state. The Austrian Emperor recognised Bohemia as a separate state within the union in 1871. But it did not satisfy the Czecks as they wanted separate rights like Hungary. The Germans of Austria opposed it because they thought that it would reduce their influence and the Slavs would get an opportunity to progress and would have a feeling of hatred towards them. The Magyars of Hungary also opposed it because they felt that the Slavs would find an opportunity to revolt and the Emperor had to submit to their opposition in the end.

The Slavs were favoured greatly during the times of the Teffa Ministry (1871 - 1893). The German influence loosened and the Slavs got a chance to progress. This ended the racial problem to a great extent in Austria but the national feelings of different races could not be checked completely and Austria was divided into various parts after the First World War.

4. **Kingdom of Hungary after 1867 A.D.**—(1) The kingdom of *Hungary was established* after the alliance of 1867. She had her separate administration. The Austrian Emperor also ruled over Hungary but with the help of the Magyar ministry. The parliamentary system of the government was also set-up in Hungary but there was no responsible government. The parliament consisted of two houses. The National Assembly consisted of the representatives elected by the people The Magyars formed the majority in them. The franchise was limited.

(2) The *racial conflict took a serious turn in Hungary*. The Magyars were more powerful in Hungary. Besides, there lived Slavs, the Serbs and Croats etc. The Magyars were in majority in the Parliament and they had a control over almost all the departments of the government. Magyar language was declared as the national language there. They refused to provide facilities to the other races. Though

they were free races yet they were prevented from making progress in the spheres of their respective languages, cultures, arts and their economic life. The Magyar administration was so much repressive that it was impossible to set up a proper government there. The whole of Hungary could not be Magyarised and the racial conflict increased day by day. Efforts were made to solve the racial conflict by the law of Equal Rights of Nationalities of 1868 but this law could not achieve its aim as it proved to be defunct from the very beginning.

Different political parties of Hungary tried for her permanent separation from Austria but they could not succeed as a result of Francis Joseph's sound policy.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Austria—Hungary (1871—1914 A.D)--Suppression of 1848 A.D. Revolution ; Establishment of old autocratic dynasties : the liberal government.**
2. **Difficulties. (1) Different races in Austria ;**
   - **(2) Different languages and culture ;**
   - **(3) National movements and wish to establish free kingdoms.**
3. **Separate kingdoms of Austria and Hungary, 1867 A.D.**
4. **Austrian Empire after 1867—(1) Constitutional and parliamentary system of government ;**
   - **(2) German as the national language.**
   - **(3) Betterment in the condition of the labourers ;**
   - **(4) Racial conflict and Teffa ministry ;**
   - **(5) Disintegration of the empire after 1914 A.D.**
5. **Kingdom of Hungary after 1867 A.D.—(1) Establishment of Hungarian Kingdom after the alliance of 1867 A.D.**
   - **(2) Administration.**
   - **(3) Racial conflicts.**

Belgium, Holland, Spain and Portugal (1871-1914 A.D.)

Q. 2. Give a brief account of the development of Belgium, Holland, Spain and Portugal from 1871 to 1914 A.D.

Ans.

1. Belgium

(1) *Vienna Congress and Belgium*—To check the French influence in the North, the Vienna Congress united Belgium with Holland and the new country was called Netherlands. But the people of Belgium were against it from the very beginning as this treaty was enforced upon them and was unnatural. There was a great difference in the religion. language and economic conditions of both the countries

(2) *Independence of Belgium and Leopold I*—In 1830, the people of Belgium revolted to get freedom under the influence of the Revolution

of 1830. People of Belgium succeeded in gaining freedom. The big powers of Europe recognised the free entity of Belgium.

Administration—After that, new constitution was promulgated there and Leopold I was made the ruler. He ruled from 1831 to 1865 A D. The parliamentary form of government was established there. There were two houses of the parliament. The Council of Ministers was responsible to the parliament.

Reforms—Special attention was paid to the material and mental development of the people. (*i*) National university was established and a great number of schools were opened.

(*ii*) Freedom of religion, press and union-formation was given.

(*iii*) Large quantities of iron and coal were found in Belgium which helped in the industrial development of the country. Many factories were set-up.

(*iv*) Means of transport were improved by the construction of railways and new roads.

(*v*) Laws were passed to reform the condition of the labourers.

(*vi*) An army of one lakh soldiers was raised to safeguard the freedom and separate entity of the state.

(3) *Leopold II*—After Leopold I's death, his son Leopold II ruled from 1865 to 1909 A D. Many educational institutions were opened for the spread of education during his reign. In the beginning the franchise was limited but the constitution was reformed in 1893 and to liberalise it, the right of vote was given to an adult of 23.

(4) *Albert I*—After the death of Leopold II, Albert I became the ruler of Belgium in 1909 A.D. During his reign, the First World War started and soon Germany captured Belgium.

Holland

(1) *Holland before 1830 A.D.*—Holland and Belgium were a united country in 1830 A.D. and it was called Netherlands. Belgium established a free kingdom in 830 A.D. Holland adopted the constitutional monarchy but the king had more powers than the parliament. Holland, however, did not have any influence in the sphere of international politics.

(2) *William III*—The constitution was amended during the reign of William III (1849—1894 A.D.) and the powers of the king were reduced and the powers of the parliament were increased. There were two houses of the parliament. The Lower House had the representation of the general public. The ministry was made responsible to the parliament Parliament was given the rights to put up the bills, to amend them and to vote over the budget but the franchise still remained limited. The franchise was however, liberalised in 1918 and the elections started on the basis of adult franchise.

(3) *Wilhelmina*—On the death of William III, his daughter Wilhelmina became the ruler of Holland in 1890 A.D. She ruled upto 1918. She made special efforts for the spread of education and made the military service compulsory to strengthen and enhance the prestige of Holland. Industrial development did not make much progress due to the shortage of iron and coal. Holland remained neutral and did not join any side.

(4) *Colonies*—Holland established her Colonies in the Eastern and Western Islands. She established her control over Java, Sumatra, Borneo in Asia, Korakao and Dutch Guiana in America. Holland had only a population of 6,000,000 whereas its colonial empire had a population of 38,000,000.

Spain

Isabella's autocratic rule ended in 1868 A.D. The parliament decided to establish monarchy but there was a complicated problem of searching the king but the solution was found out in 1870 A.D. Bismarck was in the favour of Leopold. But he refused to accept the reign of Spain under pressure from France when a war broke out between Prussia and France in 1870. At last, it was decided that Amadeo, the 2nd son of Victor Emmanuel, the Emperor of Italy, should be made the ruler of Spain.

Amadeo—Amadeo was not given a hearty welcome on his arrival in Spain and different parties started opposing him from the very beginning. The Democrats wanted to establish democracy in Spain. Some leaders took Ferdinand VII as their king and some were supporters of Isabela's son, Alphonso. Amadeo wanted to establish constitutional monarchy but being a foreigner, his opposition increased day by day. The ministries changed very quickly and unrest grew wider in the country. Finding the condition out of his control he himself resigned and said at this occasion—

> "*I realise that my good intentions have been in vain. For two long years have I worn the crown of Spain and Spain still lives in continual strife departing day by day more widely from that of peace and prosperity for which I have so orderly yearned. I am today firmly convinced of the barrenness of my efforts and impossibility of attaining my aims. These are reasons that move me to give back to the nation and in its name to you, the crown offered to me by national sufferage, renouncing it for myself, my children and my successors.*"

Republic in Spain—After the fall of Amadeo, the parliament decided with a majority to set up a Republic in Spain. But the Republic also failed in establishing peace and prosperity in the country. None but America recognised it. All other countries except Switzerland called back her ambassadors from there.

The Republic proposed a resolution to separate the church from the state, liberalised the franchise, passed the resolution of setting the slaves free and granted religious freedom.

The republic worked from February, 1873 to December, 1874. During this short period, 4 Presidents were elected. The last President Serano brought an end to the Republic by declaring Isabella's Second son Alphonso XII as the ruler of Spain. There were many reasons of the failure of the Republic in Spain such as :—

(1) The Republicans, who had the real power, were divided into many groups.

(2) There was shortage of experienced and able leaders among the Republicans.

(3) The Republicans lacked unity and they did not work unitedly.

(4) The monarchists and religious-minded persons also opposed it due to the declaration of religious freedom.

(5) The Republic had to face three wars which she could not organise well and so the unrest increased.

Alphonso XII (1875-85 A.D.)—The new constitution was introduced and the constitutional government was established in Spain in 1876 A.D. after Alphonso's succession to the throne.

(1) The Parliamentary form of government was adopted in Spain.

(2) Parliament had two houses—The Senate and the Assembly. The Assembly was the representative of the public. Some members to the Senate were elected, some of them were nominated by the king and some were represented by the nobles.

(3) Responsible government was set up in Spain and the ministry was made responsible to the Parliament.

(4) Franchise was limited in the beginning, but the system of Adult Franchise was adopted in 1870 and voting was made compulsory in 1909. A.D.

Alphonso was married to the Austrian princess Maria Christine. This marriage had its own special importance. Spain got help both from Austria and Germany and consequently her position was strengthened.

Alphonso XIII—Alphonso XII died in 1885 A.D. A few months after his death, Maria gave birth to a son who was named Alphonso XIII. Alphonso being minor, so Maria looked after the administrative work as his guardian. She had to face many difficulties. Spain had many colonies in America. One of those was Cuba. Its inhabitants revolted against Spain in 1895 A.D. Maria sent General Ballan there to suppress the revolt. At this America also joined hands with Cuba. In the end, Spain remained unsuccessful and the war ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1898 A.D. Following were the main conditions of this treaty :—

(1) Cuba was granted freedom by Spain.

(2) America got the islands of Puerto Rico and Philippines from Spain but America paid a sum of 6 crore rupees to Spain in lieu of Philippines.

(3) Spain also handed over some Atlantic islands to Germany in exchange for 1½ crore rupees.

In 1902 A.D , when Alphonso was 16, he took over all the powers in his hands. He was a bold ruler and a clever politician. At that time, Spain was backward and there was lack of education. He opened many schools for the spread of education. He made the primary education compulsory by a regulation in 1909 A.D. So he tried hard to end illiteracy in Spain. He also introduced many economic reforms to make the country economically sound under his guidance. Spain remained aloof from the First World War.

4. Portugal

Portugal also remained under the autocratic rule in Middle Ages but the revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries also affected Portugal and constitutional government was set up there. Maria II succeeded to the throne in 1853 A.D. The unrest spread there during her reign because of revolutions. Consequently, many reforms were introduced to make the rule more liberal. There was peace during the reign of her successor Pedro. After that, Louis I ruled from 1861 to 1889 A D.

Carlos I (1889-1908 A.D)—After Louis I, Carlos I ruled over Spain from 1 89 to 1908 A.D. He made many efforts in the sphere of education and also lessened the taxes. The Democrats and the Socialists made many efforts and intrigues to end monarchy in Spain. Carlos tried to suppress them, but the revolutionaries killed him as well as his son in Lisbon in 1908.

Manual II—Manual II, the second son of Carlos, succeeded him after his death. The revolutionaries increased their activities in his times. The Democrats and the Socialist party insinuated the revolution in 1910 A.D. As a result of this, monarchy ended in Spain.

Republic in Portugal—The Republic was set-up in Spain after the end of monarchy. Manual fled away to England to save his life. The new constitution was introduced in Portugal on the basis of the French Constitution. The parliament had two houses : the Senate and the Council. Both the houses had the elected representatives. Responsible government was set-up and the ministry was made responsible to the parliament. The President was elected by both the Houses. Dr. Vega became the first President of the Republic.

The Republic had to confront many serious problems. The economic structure deteriorated and the debt increased. People were greatly crushed under these taxes. Education was made compulsory by the legislation of 1913. Portugal allied with England and France during the First World War. Portugal also established her colonies in Asia.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Belgium**—(1) Annexation with Holland by the Vienna Congress.

(2) Belgium became a free Kingdom in 1830 A.D.

(3) Leopold I ruled from 1831 to 1865 A.D. He made many administrative, educational, economic and military reforms ;

(4) Spread of Education and the Adult Franchise during the reign of Leopold II.

(5) Albert I became the ruler in 1909 A.D. Capture of Belgium by Germany during the First World War.

2. **Holland**—(1) Belgium and Holland were united before 1830 A.D. and union was called Netherlands.

2. Separation in 1830 A.D.

3. William III became the ruler in 1849 A.D. The parliamentary form of government was established during his reign.

4 His daughter Wilhelmina ruled from 1890 to 1918 A.D. after his death. She introduced compulsory military training and made industrial development.

5. Holland remained neutral during the First World War.

6 She established colonies also.

3. **Spain**—1. End of the autocratic rule of Isabella in 1868 A.D. and Amadeo, the son of Victor Emmanuel of Italy, became the ruler of Spain.

2. Efforts of different political parties to bring an end to the monarchy during Amadeo's rule ; resigned in 1873 A.D. due to unrest

3. Establishment of the Republic after that but it was a failure.

4. Alphonso XII, the second son of Isabella ruled from 1875 to 1885 A.D.

5. The establishment of constitutional monarchy.

6. Maria Christine ruled as a protector of Alphonso XIII.

7. Spain's defeat in the revolt of Cuba

8. In 1902, Alphonso XIII, took the reins of the rule in his hands. He made the country prosperous.

9. Neutrality in the First World War.

4. **Portugal**—Carlos I, Manual II, Republic in Portugal.

Other Kingdoms

Q. 3. Give a brief account of the development of Switzerland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden from 1871 to 1914 A.D.

Switzerland

Ans. Switzerland is a beautiful country of the world even today. There are many beautiful lakes, rivers, mountains etc. which make her beautiful. The natural sights are worth seeing. It is a union of 22 states or Cantons. The Germans, French and Italians live there. The French and Italians were Roman Catholics and others were Protestants. A Democratic Republic was established there by the new constitution :—

(1) There were *two houses of the Parliament*—National Council and Council of States. Members to the National Council were elected by direct franchise by the public. The Council of States had two members of each Canton. Adult franchise was in vogue.

(2) The rights of administration were vested in the *Legislative* Council consisting of seven members. Parliament used to select these out of its members. Each member had a department under his control. These members were not responsible to the parliament.

(3) The *term of the Parliament* and the Legislative Council was the same.

(4) The *Legislative Council* would elect one of its members as its Chairman who was called 'The President'.

(5) The *central government had great powers.* Foreign affairs, post and telegraph, mint, army, import-export, taxation etc. all were under the jurisdiction of the central government. Religion, education, justice etc. were under the Cantons.

(6) There was *complete democratic* rule in the small Cantons. There people used to gather at an open place at a fixed time and elect their officers and vote on different laws by raising hands. Public could affect the administration by referendum and intiative in large Cantons and could frame any law. So by these two methods, public was the ruler.

Switzerland had, however, no say in the European politics. The Vienna Congress recognised its freedom and its separate entity. Special attention was paid to the spread of education and the industrial development. There was a great facility to produce the hydro-electricity because of a great number of water-falls. The production of electricity greatly helped her in the industrial progress.

2. Denmark

Denmark was one of the developed countries of the world during the 19th century because Norway was under its control. Norway was given to Denmark according to the decision of the Vienna Congress. This not only adversely affected the population but also thwarted seriously her trade, which ultimately worsened her economic condition.

(1) *Administrative System*—Up to 1848, Denmark was under an autocratic monarchy. But in that year *i.e.*, in 1848, Frederick VII promulgated the new constitution, which was amended from time to time till it was given a permanent shape in 1886 A.D.

(*i*) Denmark had the parliamentary form of government and the parliament had two houses. The members of the Legislative Assembly were elected by the people whereas the members of the Upper House were nominated by the king. Later on, electoral method came to be adopted for sending representatives to both the Houses.

(*ii*) In the beginning, the franchise was limited and there was the condition of property for a voter but in 1915 A.D. the adult franchise was introduced by an amendment and all persons of 25 years of age were given the right to vote.

(*iii*) In 1901, by an amendment, the ministry was made responsible to the parliament and the constitutional monarchy was completely established there.

(2) *Problem of Schleswig and Holstein*—Both these provinces were under Denmark but mostly the Germans inhabited these provinces. In 1864 A.D., Bismarck demanded both these provinces from Denmark and after a little armed action captured them and annexed them into his own empire. Consequently, there was decrease in population and area of Denmark.

(3) *Colonies*—Denmark had established her colonies in other countries. Denmark had control over Ireland, Greenland and some islands of the West Indies. In 1917 A.D., America purchased the islands of West Indies from Denmark for a sum of eight crores of rupees.

(4) *Various Reforms*—Agriculture was well-developed in Denmark and trade in milk was quite good. A large number of factories could not be set-up due to the shortage of iron and coal. Special attention was paid to the spread of education and it was made compulsory for all children between 7 to 14 years of age. Arrangements for old-age pension were also made in 1891 A.D.

3. Sweden and Norway

During the Napoleonic Wars, Sweden joined hands with the Allies whereas Denmark sided with Napoleon. The Vienna Congress (1815 A.D.) took away the territory of Norway from Denmark as a punishment and handed it over to Sweden for her services. Both the countries were brought under one ruler and Napoleon's commander-in-chief was made the ruler under the name of Charles XIV.

Separation of the two Countries—People of Norway were against this unification and they did not want to live with Sweden. The people of Norway selected their own king and framed a liberal constitution. But the king of Sweden could not tolerate this and a war broke out between the two countries, but the people of Norway came out victorious. As a result of this, the unity of Norway and Sweden did not prove to be a lasting one and their separate entities were recognised.

The only relation between the two was that the king of Sweden was also the ruler of Norway. He ruled with the help of different ministeries. Both the countries had their separat parliaments as well as legislative assemblies. There was a great difference in the administration of both the countries. The nobles were powerful in Sweden whereas there was largely a democratic set up in Norway. Both the countries had their own language and their separate capitals.

The difference between the two countries increased from 1872 to 1904 and their relations became all the more constrained. In 1905, the Parliament of Norway brought an end to the special privileges enjoyed by the nobility. The king did not give his assent to this law. So the Parliament, by passing another law, declared Norway as a separate and free country. Sweden opposed it on the ground that the people of Norway did not favour it. The referendum took place in August, 1905 and the people of Norway supported this break-up with a majority of vote. The king had to accept this on two conditions (1) Both the countries would not build castles on the boundaries. (2) Their differences, which would not be solved by mutual understanding, would be referred to the international judge at Hague and his decision would be accepted by both the parties.

Monarchy in Norway—After the break-up of Sweden, a conflict came up between the Democrats and the Monarchists of Norway about the form of the government in Norway. The Democrats wanted to establish a Republic in Norway whereas the Monarchists favoured the monarchy. In the end, monarchy was set-up there and the grandson of the ruler of Denmark was made the King of Norway. His name was Prince Charles.

(1) There was constitutional monarchy in Norway and the king ruled with the help of the Parliament.

(2) He did not have the right to reject the laws or the articles passed by the Parliament.

(3) The franchise was liberalised and every person of 25 years of age was given the right to vote.

(4) Afterwards, women were also given the right to become the members of Parliament.

Other countries of Europe recognised the free kingdom and separate entity of Norway. She remained neutral during the First World War of 1914.

Sweden after Separation—Sweden marched towards progress after separation. In 1909 A.D., Sweden took a step towards democracy when all the adults were given the right to vote and proportionate franchise was introduced there. Sweden made a great progress in the sphere of industries because iron and electricity were available there in abundance.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Switzerland.** (1) A large country consisted of 22 Cantons.

(2) German, French and Italian population.

(3) Establishment of democratic set-up in 1848 A.D. : Two houses of parliament ; Introduction of adult franchise ; Seven members in the legislative council; Complete democratic set-up in small Cantons : Direct voting.

(4) Free and separate country.

(5) A great progress in the industrial sphere.

2. **Denmark.** (1) A large country.

(2) Handing over of Norway to Sweden by the Vienna Congress ; Decrease in area and population.

(3) Autocratic monarchy upto 1848 A D ; establishment of constitutional monarchy in 1866 A D ; Parliamentary system of government and responsible government in 1905 A.D. and adult franchise in 1915 A.D.

(4) Possession of Schleswig and Holstein by Germany.

(5) Establishment of colonies.

(6) Progress in agriculture and milk industry ; spread of education and old age pension.

3. **Sweden and Norway.** (1) The Vienna Congress handed over Norway to Sweden after taking it away from Denmark.

(2) Both the countries under one ruler ; opposition by the people of Norway : War between the two countries and victory of Norway.

(3) Norway as a free country ; Both had separate parliaments but under one king.

(4) Differences came up from 1872 to 1905 A. D. and complete separation in 1905 A.D.

(5) Monarchy in Norway.

(6) Democracy in Sweden after separation.

(7) Progress in the sphere of industries.

University and other Important Questions

1. Describe the condition of any four the following countries of Europe between 1871 to 1914 A.D.

(*a*) Austria-Hungary (*b*) Belgium (*c*) Holland (*d*) Spain (*e*) Portugal (*f*) Switzerland (*g*) Denmark (*h*) Norway and (*i*) Sweden.

2. How far was there any real chance of a federal solution of the national problem of Austria-Hungary on the eve of the First World War ?

(Delhi M.A. 1972)

26

THE EASTERN QUESTION

"*This damned Eastern Question is like the gout,*" remarked a Russian Statesman. "*Sometimes it takes you in the leg, sometimes it nips your hand. One is lucky if it does not fly to the stomach.*"

Turkey was a powerful country during the 15th and 16th centuries and she had established a vast empire which included Balkans and the regions around the Black Sea in the Eastern Europe. She touched the heights of progress in those times. Ironically, however, she became so weak in the 19th century that she began to be called the '*Sickman of the Europe*'. Unrest and disorder prevailed in Turkey due to the autocratic and corrupt rule of the Sultan of Turkey. Taking advantage of her weakness, many Christian nations under her rule, like Serbs, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Slavs etc. started efforts for their freedom. All the Balkan States wanted to enhance their territorial jurisdictions. Different European nations such as England, Austria, Russia, France etc. had different views about this problem according to their own interests which made the problem all the more complicated. Russia wanted to increase her influence over the Black Sea. England could not tolerate this increasing influence of Russia as it could create a great danger to her Indian Empire. Austrian interests were even greater than that of England. Russian influence was against her commercial and political interests she feared the Slavs under her may not rise in revolt following the example of the Slavs under Turkey. France also had taken interest in the Eastern Question for her commercial as well as religious interests. So these political, economic and religious interests of the European nations made it a critical and complicated problem. **Hazen** has rightly said—

"*The basic importance of the Eastern Question before the continental statesmen in this period has been whether Turkey was to be wiped out of Europe or not-and if it is was to be wiped out, what was to take her place.*"

Treaty of Berlin, 1878 A. D.

☞ Q. 1. Give an account of Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 A. D. with special reference to the Treaty of Berlin. (V. Important)

Or

Write a note on the Treaty of Berlin and show how far it solved the Eastern Question.

Or

Examine the statement that instead of solving the original problem, Treaty of Berlin raised fresh and more difficult problems.

Or

"Out of Disraeli's policy at the Congress of Berlin, arose most of causes of the Balkan Wars of 1912 A.D. and 1913 A.D. and of the eat War of 1914 A.D." Discuss.

Or

Consider how far was Disraeli justified in claiming to have brought ck "Peace with honour from Berlin".

Or

Do you agree with the statement that the Treaty of Berlin was a mpromise and like all compromises was pregnant with future oubles ?

Ans. After 1870 A.D., the Eastern Question took a serious turn. etelbey has rightly stated in this respect—

> *"A mere comparison of the map of Europe from 1870 A.D. to 1914 D. will reveal the multiplication and the prominence of the Eastern estion in European affairs."*

1. Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 A.D.

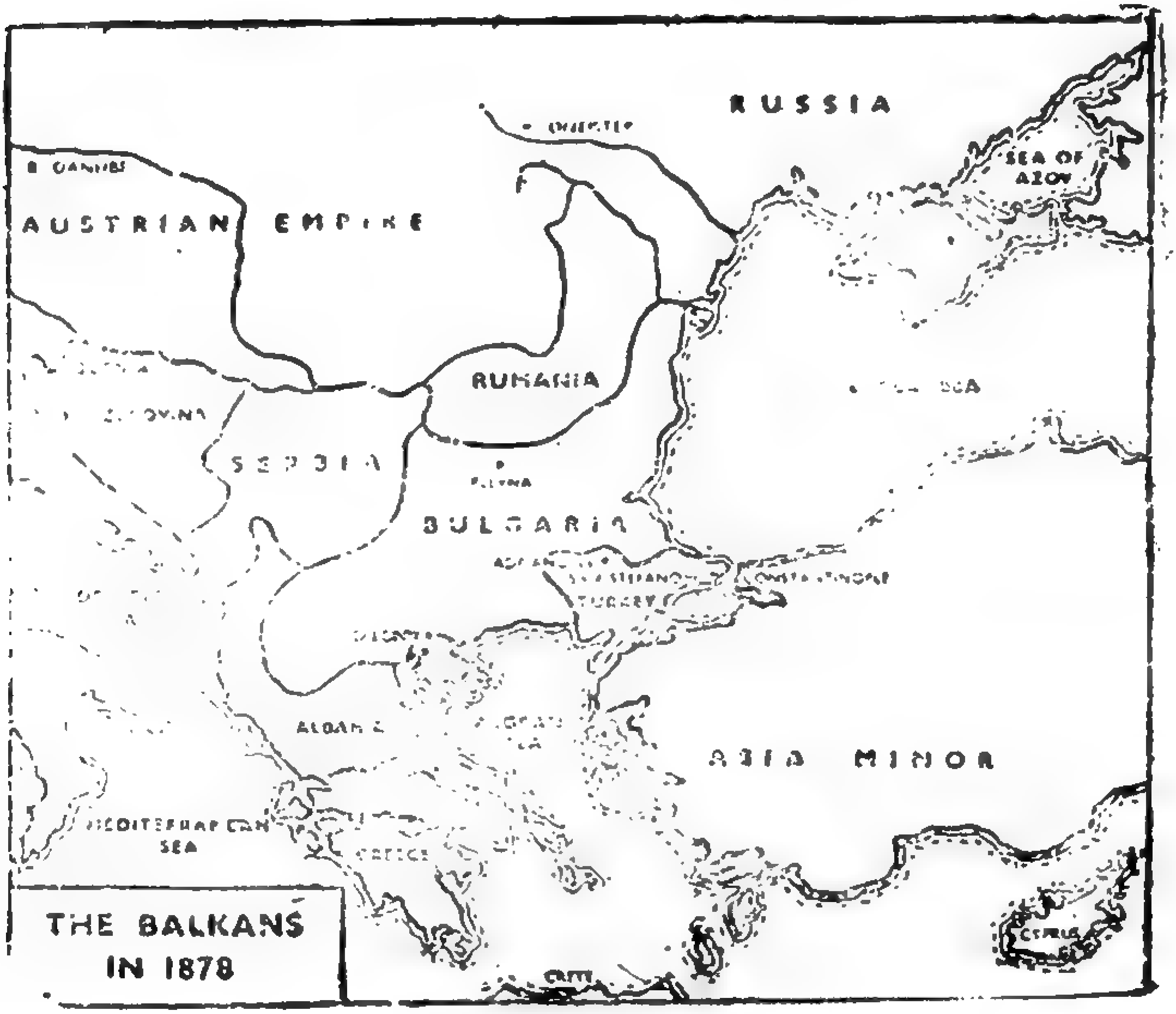
1. *Causes—(i) The Treaty of Paris* in 1856 A.D. after the Crimean War failed to find a permanent solution to the Eastern Question. France became weak after her defeat from Germany in 1870 A.D. Russia took advantage of this opportunity and started building her shipyard to increase her control over the Black Sea. England could not tolerate this.

(*ii*) By the Treaty of Paris in 1856 A. D., the *Sultan of Turkey* promised to reform the condition of his Christian subjects but he did not fulfil his promise. It resulted in an increase in the unrest of his Christian subjects. In 1876 A.D., the Christians of Bosnia and Herzegovina revolted against the atrocious rule of the Sultan as well as the ill-treatment of the tax-collectors. People of Serbia and Montenegro also helped them in their cause The European powers like Austria, Russia, Germany etc sent an Andrassy Note in which they demanded from him better condition of the Christians of Italy. Sultan received that note but did not care to better their condition. Then, the European powers tried to exert pressuse on the Sultan by the Berlin Memorandum but the Sultan did not care in the least as England was on his side.

(*iii*) Under these circumstances, the *people of Bulgaria* also revolted against the Sultan and murdered some Turkish officials. Turkey suppressed this revolt so severely that there was an uproar against her in

Europe. The English Opposition Leader, Gladstone, made speeches everywhere and said that the time had come that the Christians from these provinces of Turkey should leave with bag and baggage. But, the then British Prime Minister, Disraeli kept mum as he did not want to see a weak Turkey. It has rightly been stated in this context—

> *"No question of foreign policy has so aroused or bitterly divided the British public opinion within the living memory."*


RUSSIA
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AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
RUMANIA
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PLEVNA
BULGARIA
ADRIANOPLE
SAN STEFANO
TURKEY
CONSTANTINOPLE
ALBANIA
AEGEAN SEA
ASIA MINOR
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GREECE
CRETE
CYPRUS

THE BALKANS IN 1878

(2) *Events*—Representatives of some European countries assembled at Constantinople and they presented a scheme of reforms to the Sultan. But the Sultan did not accept them. When England did not do any thing to safeguard the interests of the Christians, then Russia came forward to help them and she declared war against the Sultan of Turkey on 24th April, 1877 A.D. in the name of religion. The Sultan was defeated in the war of Plevna and Russia captured Adrianople. After that, she advanced towards Constantinople. The condition of the Sultan became very grave and he was forced to sign the 'Treaty of San Stefano' in 1878 A.D.

(3) *Treaty of San Stefano*—After his defeat, the Sultan entered into the Treaty of San Stefano with Russia and following were its main terms :—

The Congress of Berlin, 1878 A.D.

(*i*) The Sultan recognised the independence of Serbia, Rumania and Montenegro and also increased their territories.

(*ii*) A new state of Bulgaria was created under the protectorate of Russia and this new state extended from the Aegean Sea to the Danube.

(*iii*) Russia acquired some part of Armenia and some other states and the Sultan also agreed to pay a large sum to Russia as war indemnity.

(*iv*) The Sultan also agreed to the demand of the reforms.

2. The Treaty of Berlin, 1878 A.D.

(1) *Circumstances leading to the Treaty of Berlin*—The treaty of San Stefano set a great blow to the Turkish power and Russia gained many facilities in the Black Sea. England and Austria were against this treaty. Austria received a great blow to her interests as she wanted to strengthen her position by extending her empire upto the Balkan states. It also created a great danger to England's eastern empire. The people of Balkans were also against it as the creation of Bulgaria greatly upset the balance of power there. England, Austria, Germany and other European powers opposed this Treaty jointly and charged Russia with the violation of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 A.D. They asked Russia to place for revision the treaty of San Stefano before the European powers. Russia was not ready for this. With her warlike attitude, England gave a threat and sent her Indian forces to the Malta island. In a threatening note, she said—

> *We do not want to fight,*
> *But by Jingo, if we do,*
> *We've got the men, We've got the ships,*
> *We've got the money too."*

Russia was compelled for the revision of the Treaty of San Stefano under these circumstances. A Congress met in Berlin in July, 1878 A.D. under the presidentship of Bismarck in which England, Russia, Germany, Austria, Turkey etc. took part. The Treaty succeeded in averting any imminent armed conflict.

(2) *Terms of the Treaty of Berlin*—(*i*) Recognition to the independent states of Serbia, Rumania and Montenegro was given. The territorial limits of Montenegro were decreased.

(*ii*) Russia also got some parts of Asia Minor with Bessarabia.

(*iii*) England gained the Cyprus island because she wanted to set-up her military base there.

(*iv*) Austria was allowed occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina but she was not allowed to annex them into her empire. She was, however, allowed to keep her troops in the forts of Sanjak of Navi Bazaar in Montenegro and Serbia.

(*v*) Bulgaria was divided into three parts. Macedonia was given to Turkey. Second part, which was called Eastern Romelia was kept under the Sultan and the third part of Bulgaria was declared as an independent state.

(*vi*) The Sultan agreed to introduce reforms in Crete, Epirus, Thessaly and Albania and also to grant religious freedom to his Christian subjects.

(3) *Criticism of the Treaty*—Lord Disraeli took this treaty as his great achievement and would say, "*I have brought peace with honour*". This treaty repealed the Treaty of San Stefano and ended the facilities given to Russia and her influence in the Balkans was reduced. Bulgaria was divided into small states of Eastern Rumelia, Macedonia and Bulgaria which dashed Russian hopes to the ground. Russia now could not interfere of its own accord into the internal matters of Turkey. The Turkish power was kept intact. Most of the Christian subjects in Turkey gained religious freedom.

On the other hand, the critics have said that the Treaty of Berlin failed to achieve its objectives. Russian influence could not be checked and Turkey could not be saved from being weakened. It created many difficulties for the future which caused many conflicts. **Grant and Temperley** have stated—

> *"The Congress was, thus, over and the great powers were pacified. Queen Victoria offered Disraeli a Dukedom and gave garters both to him and Salisbury amid the enthusiasm which the careful stage-management had evoked and which the phrase "Peace with Honour" embodied. It would be wrong to deny that Disraeli had shown great courage at the crisis, but courage in diplomacy should be accompanied by knowledge and in this Disraeli was poorly provided and he did not try to obtain it from the more instructed Salisbury. He seems to have had no belief in the strength of nascent nationality in the Balkan peninsula and no idea of resisting Russia except by military force. His belief in the virtues of Abdul Hamid and the Turkish desire to protect and ameliorate the condition of their Christian subject whether in Europe or Asia was woefully mistaken. His policy in Asia specially came to nought. The despatch of British military consuls to America to arrange for its defence against Russia proved useless."*

This treaty could not establish peace. Neither did it succeed in increasing the English honour nor could it check the Russian influence. The island of Cyprus did not prove important from the military point of view. Russia set-up her military base in Batum infringing the treaty. She now paid her attention towards Manchuria, Iran and Afghanistan in place of the Balkan States. Thus, it did not decrease the enmity between Russia and England but, on the other hand, they became opponents of each other. So, Disraeli failed in imposing a check upon the Russian power.

The national spirit in the Balkans was also neglected This was not a method to check the Russian influence by giving her control over the states freed from Turkey, but those emancipated states should have been made free, united and powerful nations. **Grant and Temperley** have stated—

> *"Surely the best resistance to be offered to Russia is by the strength and freedom of these countries that will have to resist her. You want to place a living barrier between her and Turkey. There is no barrier then, like the breast of freemen."*

The power of Turkey could not be maintained. The Sultan did not introduce any reforms and also he did not treat the Christians well. Turkish rule in Macedonia failed and there were continuous revolts. In 1885 A.D., the Eastern Rumalia and Bulgaria were united. Atrocities were laid on the Armenian people in 1896 A.D. According to **Turner**—

> *"Disraeli boasted of having secured a peace with honour, for there was again the Ottoman Empire in Europe and the Eastern interests of England were more firmly preserved but in fact all that he had done for Turkey, was to prolong the process and the pains of her extinction."*

After the Treaty of Berlin, the races of the Balkans started extending their territories and to unite themselves. This gave rise to conflict among them and increased their enmity with Turkey. Besides, the self-interests of different European powers gave rise to many complicated problems. Europe was divided into two hostile groups and the basis of the First World War began to be prepared.

Macedonian problem resulted in the breaking out of a war between Greece and Turkey in 1897. The influence of Austria—Hungary in the Balkans made the problem more complicated and all these gave rise to the Balkan Wars. Bismarck's attitude in the Berlin Congress increased the differences between Russia and Germany. Bismarck's inclination towards Austria made them to contract an alliance. Russia and Austria also became enemies. After that, a circle of treaties was formed and Europe was divided into two opposite groups. In this context, **Grant and Temperley** observe—

> *"In 1878 A D., we have the origin of estrangement between Russia and Germany, which divided Europe into two camps—the Franco-Russian and the Austro-Italiah-German Alliances."*

This Treaty gave a severe blow to the Pan-Slav movement. It proved fatal for the Serbians interest. The states of Bosnia and Herzegovina were handed over to the Austrian rule. Austria was not satisfied with it so she annexed both these provinces into its empire in 1908 A D. It was intolerable for Serbia. This made Russia and Serbia severe opponents of Austria. In 1914 A D., a Serbian murdered the Austrian prince Arch-Duke Ferdinand and this event proved to be the immediate cause of the First World War.

It is clear from the above description that the Treaty of Berlin proved to be a treaty by name as it completely failed to achieve its objectives. This did not solve the Eastern Question. It created many complicated problems instead of establishing peace, and increased the tension among the European powers. It resulted in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 A.D. In the same manner, the Eastern Question divided the European nations into two hostile camps and proved to be a great cause of the First World War of 1914 A.D. **Thomson** has rightly said—

> *"The settlement reached at the Congress of Berlin had the remarkable outcome that it left each power more dissatisfied and anxious than before... International tension was increased, not eased......It was doomed to be a most uneasy and unstable peace, subject to recurrent crisis and threats of war."*

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Russo, Turkish War of 1877-1878—The Eastern Question became more complicated after 1870 A.D.

Causes—(1) Violation by Russia of the Treaty of Paris.

(2) Revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Russia sided with the revolutionaries.

Events. In April 1877 A.D., Russia declared war against Turkey ; the Sultan was defeated ; End with the treaty of San Stefano.

Treaty of San Stefano. Independent states of Serbia, Rumania and Montenegro.

(2) Rise of Bulgaria under the Russian protection.

(3) Russia got some parts of Armenia and money.

(4) Sultan's acceptance to introduce reforms.

1. **Treaty of Berlin, 1878 A.D.**

(1) Circumstances leading to the Treaty—Opposition of Disraeli to the treaty of San Stefano.

(2) Infringement of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 A.D.

(3) Russian influence in the Black sea.

(4) Demand of revision by Disraeli.

(5) The Berlin Congress under the presidentship of Bismarck in July, 1878 A.D. and signing of the Treaty of Berlin by the European powers.

(2) Terms. (*i*) Recognition given to the free states of Serbia, Rumania and Montenegro ;

(*ii*) Russia got some parts of Asia Minor and Bessarabia ;

(*iii*) England gained the Cyprus island :

(*iv*) Austrian rules over Bosnia and Herzegovina ;

(*v*) Division of Bulgaria into 3 parts :

(*iv*) Sultan's agreement to the demand of reforms.

(3) Criticism. Disraeli took it as his great success ; claim of gaining peace with honour, to check the Russian influence ; to keep Sultan's power intact.

Critics believe that the treaty failed to achieve its objectives.

(1) Violation of the terms.

(2) Russian efforts to increase her influence in the east leading to increase in estrangement of England and Russia ;

(3) Ignoring the national interests in the Balkan states ;

(4) The power of Turkey could not be maintained ;

(5) Sultan's ill-treatment of his subjects :

(6) To give rise to the complicated problems in future ;

(7) Division of Europe into two camps ;

(8) This Treaty was a cause of the 1912 & 1913 Balkan wars and First World War of 1914 A.D.

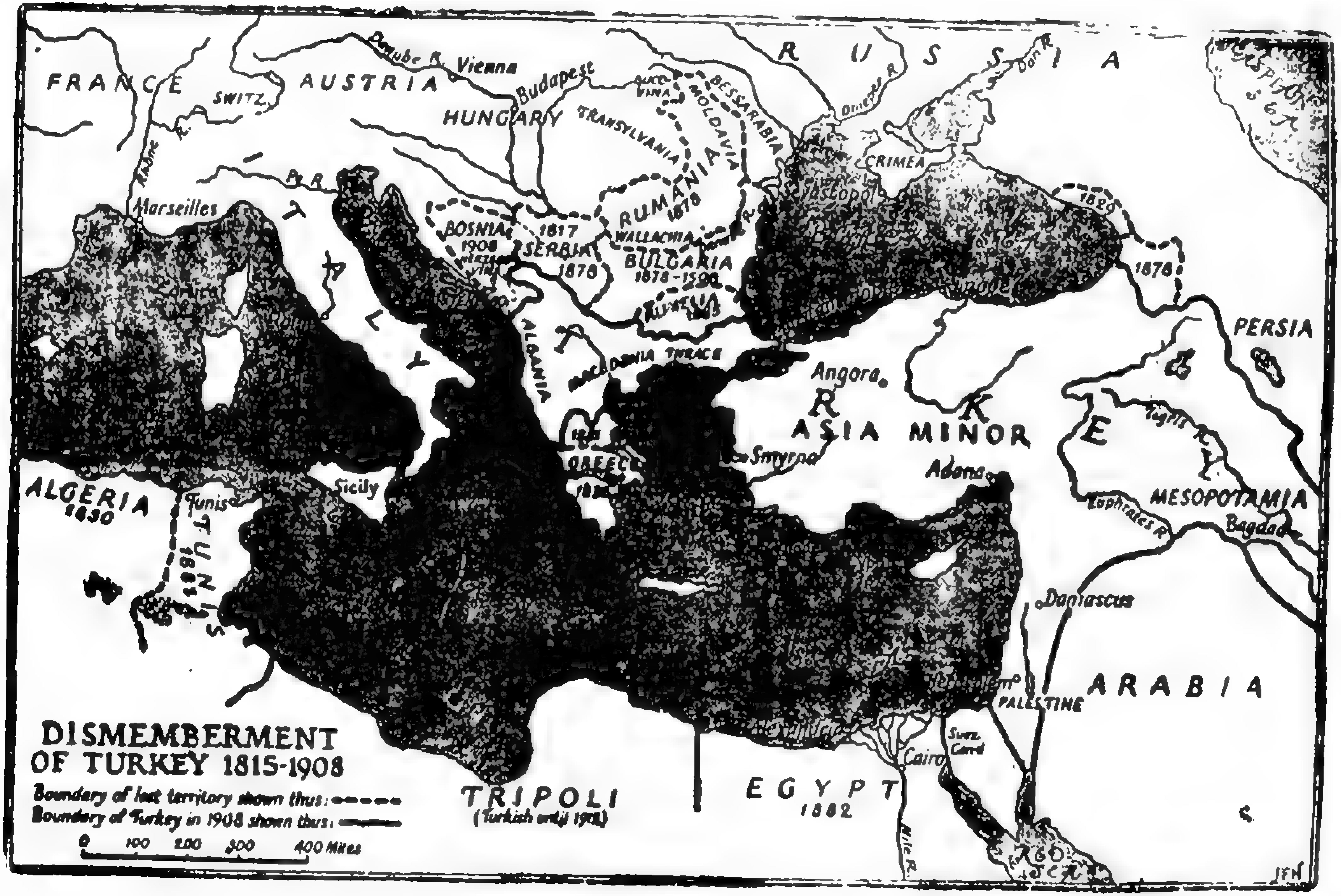
Eastern Question from 1778 to 1908 A.D.

Q. 2. Trace in outline the different phases of the Eastern Question from 1778 to 1908 A.D.

Ans. The Treaty of Berlin could not bring peace to the Balkan States as it could not fulfil the ambitions of various nations and so uncertainty continued to be there.

1 Bulgaria—By the Treaty of San Stefano, the vast Bulgarian empire was formed by uniting Bulgaria and Rumelia but they were again separated by the Treaty of Berlin. In 1879 A.D., Alexander of Battenberg was made the ruler of Bulgaria. He was very brave, bold, wise and an able ruler. He had an inclination towards Russia. He gave all the rights of citizenship to the Russians living in Bulgaria and appointed them on high posts. The Bulgarians took it ill and the condition started deteriorating there. In 1881, Alexander III became the ruler in Bulgaria.

In 1885, Bulgaria and Rumelia were united into one empire. England recognised it and Austria showed her sympathy. Russia, who was the supporter of Bulgaria formerly, became its great opponent. The Russian revolutionaries surrounded the emperor in his place and compelled him to resign. After that, he was allowed to go to Austria. He came back to Bulgaria from there. At this time, the condition became very critical there. The Bulgarians were divided into two groups. One group was the supporter of Russia and it was of the opinion that a person recognised by Russia should be made ruler of Bulgaria. The other group was not ready to accept it. Its views were that "*Bulgaria is for Bulgarians*". The leader of this group, Stambolov was a very able person. His efforts resulted in selecting Prince Ferdinand of Saxcoburg in July, 1887 A.D. but Russia was not ready to recognise it. But England, Itlay and Austria supported him. Austria got ready for war against Russia. Russia made it clear that if some other person was made the king of that place, she would not interfere in the internal affairs of Bulgaria. Austria and other powers were not ready to agree to this proposal. Ferdinand, however, remained the ruler of Bulgaria and Russia was unable to unseat him. By 1896, the great powers of



DISMEMBERMENT OF TURKEY 1815-1908

Boundary of lost territory shown thus: - - - - -

Boundary of Turkey in 1908 shown thus: ———

0 100 200 300 400 Miles

FRANCE
SWITZ.
AUSTRIA
Danube R.
Vienna
Budapest
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
BUCO-VINA
MOLDAVIA
BESSARABIA
RUMANIA 1878
WALLACHIA
BULGARIA 1878-1908
RUMELIA
BOSNIA 1908
HERZEGOVINA
SERBIA 1817 1878
ALBANIA
MACEDONIA THRACE
GREECE 1829
RUSSIA
Dnieper R.
Don R.
CRIMEA
Sevastopol
1829
1878
CASPIAN SEA
PERSIA
Rhone R.
Po R.
Marseilles
ITALY
Sicily
ALGERIA 1830
Tunis
TUNIS 1881
TRIPOLI
(Turkish until 1912)
EGYPT 1882
Nile R.
Cairo
Suez Canal
RED SEA
PALESTINE
Jerusalem
Damascus
ARABIA
TURKEY
Angora
ASIA MINOR
Smyrna
Adana
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
MESOPOTAMIA
Bagdad
JFH

Europe gave recognition to Ferdinand and Russia could not do any thing. The unity of Bulgaria was strengthened by the efforts of Stambulov and Ferdinand whereby Bulgaria became a prosperous country. After that, the relations between Russia and Bulgaria started becoming better. In 1898 A.D., the king and the queen of Bulgaria visited Russia and their visit brought both the countries nearer. Ferdinand ruled upto 1918 A.D. Bulgaria took part in both the Balkan Wars (1912—13).

2. **The Problem of Armenia**—According to the Treaty of Berlin, the Sultan of Turkey gave a word to treat his Christian subjects better but Sultan Abdul Hamid II, disregarding it, perpetrated atrocities on the Christians of Armenia. His policy towards the Christians has been described in the following words—

"The only way to get rid of the Armenian question is to get rid of the Armenians."

In 1895 A.D., about 50 thousand Armenians were put to death. In 1896 A.D., in Constantinople alone about six thousand Armemians were done to death in 24 hours. These massacres stirred the whole of Europe but even then Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary did not interfere into it. England also did not do anything to solve this problem as she did not like to indulge in any conflict on the Armenian problem. Thus. the Christians in Armenia remained repressed under the atrocious rule of the Sultan.

3. **Greece and the Eastern Question**—Greece did not gain anything as a result of the Treaty of Berlin which resulted in the increase of bitterness between Greece and Turkey. In 1881 A.D., Turkey ceded ½ of Epirus and a great portlon of Thessaly to Greece under persuaion from the British Prime Minister, Gladstone. But Greece wanted to acquire Crete as it was largely inhabited by the Greeks. The union of Bulgaria and Rumelia gave an incentive to the national movement in Crete and the Greeks there revolted against Turkey. It resulted in the Greeco-Turkish War in 1897 A.D. on the question of Crete. Turkey defeated Greece and, consequently, Greece was made to return Thessaly to Turkey. Crete gained only nominal freedom under Turkish rule. In 1905 A.D , the Cretans flared the flame of rebellion for their union with Greece but their efforts proved to be unsuccessful. At last, after the Balkan Wars (1912-13), Crete was united with Greece in 1913 A D.

4 **Rumania**—Six years after the Crimean War *i.e.*, in 1862 A.D., Moldavia and Wallachia were united into a new state of Rumania. Prince Charles I of Germany was made the ruler of Rumania in 1866 A.D. He ruled there upto 1914 A D. During his reign, Rumania gained freedom in the Congress of Berlin (1878 A.D.) and she was recognised as a free kingdom in 1881 A.D. A large number of Rumanians also inhabited Bessarabia under Russia and Bukovina under Austria. A struggle lasted for a long time among Turkey, Russia and Austria to establish their influence in Rumania.

The nationalists in Rumania wanted its unification but they ha deeper internal differences. Charles I was inclined towards Austria He started his efforts to gain back the province of Bessarabia wit the help of Austria. In 1883 A.D., Austria entered into a treaty wit Rumania and the German influence started increasing there. Ruman started organising a strong army with foreign assistance. A grea progress was also made in the sphere of agriculture, trade, mineral and industries. In 1907 A.D., however, the flames of revolt flared u as a result of bad condition of the farmers but the army repressed forcibly.

5 Montenegro—The Serb kingdom of Montenegro was situate near the Adriatic Sea. The Congress of Berlin recognised it. Nichola I ruled there from 1860 to 1918 A.D. He was inclined towards Russ and kept friendly relations with her. He wanted to unite th Serbs under his leadership. He introduced a new constitution Montenegro. Montenegro took a great part in the Balkan Wars 1912-13.

6. Serbia—The Congress of Berlin accepted the freedom of th Serbs in Serbia. There was lawlessness and unrest in Serbia due to th mutual differences of Karageorge and Obrenovic dynasties. Serbi opposed the union of Bulgaria and Rumelia in 1885 A.D. and started war against them but she was defeated. Austria had helped Serbi significantly during the course of this war. Thus Serbia remained unde the influence of Austria from 1885 to 1907 A.D. During this perio the Obrenovic King Alexander II ruled there.

Alexander II was an autocratic ruler. People became sick of him his queen Draga Masin and his officials. The opposing dynasty kille the king and the queen in 1903 A.D. After that, Peter I of the Pete dynasty became the ruler there. The influence of the Obrenovic dynast ended for ever and it also ended the mutual conflict of both th dynasties. Peter was greatly inclined towards Russia. This decrease the influence of Austria-Hungary in Serbia. Austria-Hungary annexe Bosnia and Herzegovina into her kingdom in 1908 A.D. and this ver fact increased the enmity between Austria and Serbia. This very caus led to the First World War in 1914 A.D.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Eastern Question from 1878 to 1908 A.D.

1. **Bulgaria**—(1) Separation of Bulgaria and Rumelia by the Treaty of Berlin.
   (2) Union of Bulgaria and Rumelia in 1885 A.D.
   (3) Two opponent groups in Bulgaria.
   (4) Ferdinand became ruler in 1885 A.D. ; opposition by Russia bu recognition by other European powers.
   (5) Betterment in the relations of Russia and Bulgaria after that.
   (6) Part in the Balkan Wars.
2. **Armenian Problem**—(1) Violation of the promise to better the lot of his Christian subjects by the Sultan.
   (2). Atrocities on the Christians by Sultan Abdul Hamid.

(3) Non-interference by Russia, Germany and Austria.

(4) England alone could not do anything.

Greece—(1) Gained nothing by the Treaty of Berlin.

(2) Possession of Thessaly in 1881 A.D.

(3) Efforts to capture Crete and war with Turkey ; defeat in the war and, made tc cede Thessaly to Turkey.

(4) Union of Crete with Greece after the Balkan Wars.

Rumania—1. Establishment of the new state of Rumania in 1862 A.D.

(2) Rule of Germany's Charles 1 from 1866 to 1914 A.D.

(3) Freedom in 1878 A.D., and recognition as a state in 1881 A.D.

(4) Efforts for unification.

(5) Treaty with Austria in 1883 A.D.

(6) Increase in German influence.

Montenegro—(1) Recognition to the Serb Kingdom of Montenegro by the rlin Congress.

(2) Rule of Nicholas I from 1860 to 1918 A.D.

(3) Inclination towards Russia.

(4) Part in the Balkan Wars.

Serbia—(1) Recognition of freedom by the Berlin Congress.

(2) Unrest and lawlessness due to the enmity of Karageorge and Obrenovic nasties.

(3) Defeat in the war with Bulgaria in 1885 A.D.

(4) Austrian hold from 1884 to 1903 A.D.

(5) Peter's becoming the ruler by the revolution of 1903 A.D. and end to the nflict between the two dynasties.

(6) Enmity with Austria.

(7) Cause leading to the First World War.

Young Turk Revolution of 1908-09 A.D.

Q. Give a critical account of the Young Turk Revolution of 08-09 A.D.

Or

Give a brief description of the rise of the party of Young Turks d mention the part played by them in the history of their country.

Ans. Abdul Hamid became the Sultan of Turkey in 1873 A.D. He troduced a liberal constitution in Turkey initially, but later on he susended it after only three years. The Turkish people became sick of his tocratic rule. Unrest prevailed among the Christian subjects of urkey. It resulted in a peaceful revolution which is called "The oung Turk Revolution" in history.

1. Causes of the Young Turk Revolution. Following were the uses of this revolution :—

(1) Sultan Abdul Hamid introduced a liberal constitution in rkey in the beginning but he suspended it later on and adopted a actionary policy. People became sick of the autocratic and absolute le of the Sultan and were bent upon ending it.

(2) The youngmen of Turkey gained revolutionary ideas der the influence of western education. They wanted to establish liberal and constitutional rule in place of the autocratic and absolute

rule in Turkey so that every person could gain the freedom of press, speech and work, etc.

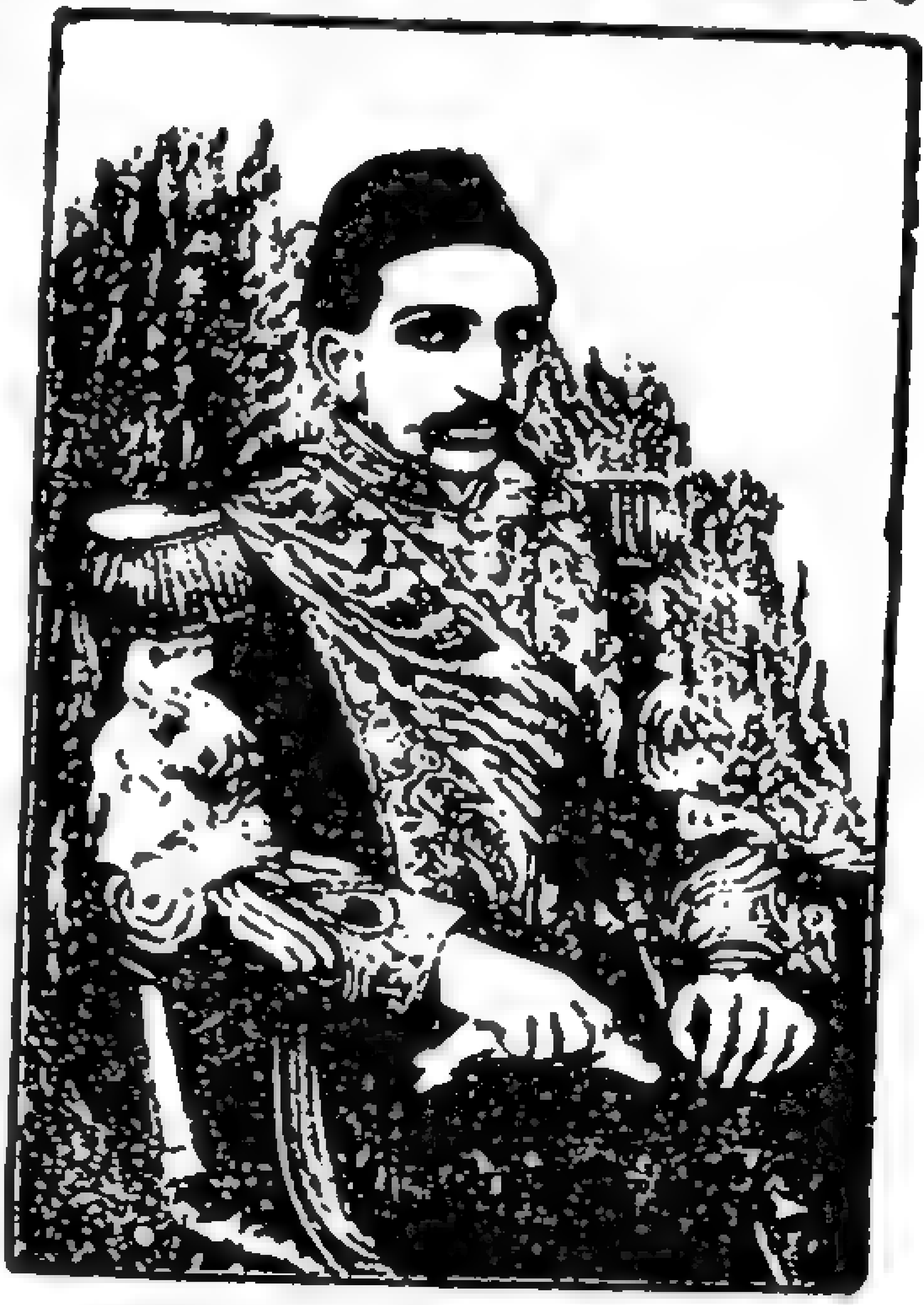
(3) The educated youth wanted to make Turkey a prosperous nation by introducing a number of reforms so that Turkey could become a powerful nation in the world and gain her right place in the international sphere.

(4) Turkey had to lose many states possessed by her according to the Treaty of Berlin and this affected her adversely in the economic sphere. The Sultan levied many taxes on the public which increased unrest among his subjects.

(5) The condition of many states in the Balkans under Turkey was very critical. The autocratic rule of the Sultan gave rise to national feeling among the peoples of Bulgaria, Rumania, Montenegro and Serbia etc. who, ultimately, declared their independence. The national movement also affected Armenia, Albania etc. and they too started efforts for becoming free.

(6) Many European powers wanted to establish their influence in Turkey following its weakness. They formed their own different groups by alliances to achieve their ends. This groupism was a great danger to the peace of the empire.

2. **Course of the Revolution**—The Turkish youth started a movement to end the autocratic and absolute rule of the Sultan by forming a constitutional monarchy in Turkey. This movement is called the 'Young Turk Revolution' in history. The members of this movement were generally those people whom the Sultan had banished from Turkey and who were living in other countries, especially in Pairs. The youth living in Turkey also started the work secretly and formed a secret union under the name of 'Party of Union and Progress' to achieve their object. Its main centre was in Macedonian town Salonica. Kamal Pasha led this union. He remained the Prime Minister from 1881 to 1887 A.D. and he was greatly opposed to the autocratic rule. The revolutionaries started conspiracies against the Sultan by forming secret committees and intensified the movement for the promulgation of the liberal constitution of 1876 A.D. The revolutionaries gained the support of both the public and the army.



Sultan Abdul Hamid II of Turkey.

On 3rd July, 1908, the leader of the revolutionaries, Niazi Bey, started the revolt against the Sultan. Many more revolutionaries, under the leadership of another leader, Enwer Bey, also joined with them. On July 23. 1908 A D, they promulgated the Constitution of 1876 A D. which had been suspended by the Sultan after its promulgation in 1876. They challenged the Sultan that either he hould surrender or they would march on Stamboul. The Sultan was orced to promulgate again the Constitution of 1876 A.D. and to ccept the control of the revolutionaries. He made a declaration for eligious freedom. He withdrew all the restrictions imposed on the press and removed the spies. **Hazen** has said—

"This revolution, completely successful and almost bloodless, was eceived with incredible enthusiasm throughout the entire breadth of Sultan's ominions."

The Sultan appointed Kamal Pasha as his Vazir or Prime Minister nd other ministers were appointed in consultation with the Young Turk Party.

3. Fall of the Sultan—Differences came up between Kamal Pasha and the revolutionary leader, Enver. The Sultan tried to take advantage of this opportunity. He reverted to the same position or tate of affairs by withdrawing the declaration of 1908 A.D. The evolutionaries attacked Constantinople and captured it and got passed from the parliament a resolution for the deposition of the Sultan. Accordingly, Sultan Abdul Hamid was deposed and his brother Mohammad V was made the Sultan of Turkey. He ruled under the guidance of the Young Turk Party from 1908 to 1918 A.D., lmost as an autocrat.

4. Policy of the Young Turk Party—The hopes created by the fall of Abdul Hamid were, however, not fulfilled. People could not live in peace and remained crushed under the dictatorship of the Young Turk Party. They followed the policy of Turkification under the garb of constitutional principles. They wanted to forcibly Turkify the non-Turks.

(1) This party declared the Turkish language as the national anguage of the empire. (2) Same system of eduaction was introduced throughout the empire and the national schools were set-up. No attention was paid to the languages and education of the non-Turks. (3) Special efforts were made to spread the Turkish culture and civiization.

This policy resulted in the flaring up of the flames of revolt in Macedonia, Armenia and Albania etc. and unrest spread there because the Christians in Europe and the Arabs in Asia did not see eye to eye with the policy of the Young Turk Party. This party repressed the revolts of the non-Turks and cruelly persecuted them. Thus, the non-Turks remained badly crushed under the dictatorial policy of the Young Turk Party in place of the Sultan's autocratic rule.

5. Results of the Young Turk Revolution—This revolution has a pecial importance in history. **Hazen has aptly said**—

"The Revolution proved to be the most fraternal movement in modern history."

Following were its chief results :—

(1) This movement gave a *new impetus to the Eastern Question.* New consciousness grew and the spirit of nationalism gained incentive. Small kingdoms started efforts to achieve their independence. Bulgaria proclaimed her independence on October 15, 1908 A.D. On October 6, 1908, Austria annexed the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina into her empire. Crete became eager to unite with Greece. **Ketelbey** has said—

"The 'Young Turk' Revolution of 1908 A.D. introduced a new factor into the Eastern Question and confounded diplomatic calculation."

(2) The Young Turk Party tried to *Turkify the non-Turkish people in Turkey.* This resulted in the flaring up of the flames of revolt in Macedonia, Armenia and Albania etc.

(3) Taking advantage of the difficulties of the Sultan, created by the Young Turk Revolution, *Italy captured the Turkish territory of Tripoli in Africa.*

(4) The condition in the Balkans further deteriorated. The increasing influence of Austria in the Balkan states due to the growing weakness of Turkey was intolerable for Serbia. Russia instigated Serbia against Austria whereas Germany took the Austrian side. The possibilities of the war receded for some time but the conditions became more serious internally and the flames of the war started blazing again. It resulted in the beginning of the Balkan Wars in 1912-13 A.D. and the Serbio-Austrian crisis, which in fact caused the First World War. **Ketelbey** has rightly said in this respect—

"The crisis passed without war, but in a triumphant Austria-Hungary and Germany intoxicated with success—for it was her victory in an alarmed Europe, in an irritated Russia, an incensed Serbia, was all the fuel heaped up for a future conflagration."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Young Turk Revolution 1908 A.D.

1. **Causes**—(1) Autocratic rule of the Sultan.
    (2) Effect of the western education on the Young Turks.
    (3) Desire among the youth.
    (4) Bad economic condition of Turkey.
    (5) Spirit of Nationalism among the Balkan states.
    (6) Groupism among the European powers.
2. **Course of the Revolution**—(1) Establishment of the 'Party of Union and Progress, by the youth ; Salonika was their centre. party A
    (2) Leadership of Kamal Pasha. [illegible]
    (3) Formation of secret committees.

(4) **Support of public and army.**

(5) **Promulgation of the liberal constitution of 1876 A.D. on July 23, 1908 A.D.**

(6) **Approval by the Sultan.**

(7) **Success and reforms of the revolutionaries.**

3. **Fall of the Sultan**—(1) Differences among the revolutionaries.

(2) Reinstatement of the old state by the Sultan.

(3) Possession of Constantinople by the revolutionaries and Mohammed V, the brother of Abdul Hamid, became the Sultan in his place.

4. **Policy of the Young Turk Party**—The spread of Turkism under cover of dictatorial administration of the party from 1909 to 1918 A.D.

(1) Turkish language as the national language.
(2) Uniform educational system.
(3) Spread of Turkish culture and civilization.
(4) Revolt by the non-Turkish nations.
(5) Repression of these revolts.

5. **Results of Young Turk Revolution**—(1) A new impetus to the Eastern Question and stimulus to nationalism, Bulgarian freedom and the possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria.

(2) Imposition of Turkish culture on the Non-Turkish people.
(3) Italian possession of Tripoli.
(4) The Balkan Wars.

The Balkan Wars

Q. 4. Give an account of the obstacles to the formation of a union among, the Christian states of the Balkan Peninsula. How, and to what extent were these obstacles overcome before the First Balkan War ?

Or

☞ Give a brief account of the First and Second Balkan War. What were the results of these wars ? (Important)

Ans. **Union of the Balkan States**—Many small states were established in the Balkan peninsula by the Treaty of Berlin. The states were formed in such a way that it gave rise to the unrest in the states. These states tried for the formation of their union but failed.

(1) *Difficulties*—Following hurdles stood in the way of forming the union :—

(*i*) *The Serbians* were greatly interested in the organisation of the Serbs as a race but Bulgaria dashed all their hopes to ground in 1885 A.D. Bulgaria and Rumelia were separated by the Treaty of Berlin. In 1885 A.D., Bulgaria annexed the Eastern Rumelia. It resulted in a war between the two. This created a great hurdle in the formation of a union.

(*ii*) *The Greeks* were greatly eager for the formation of the union. he Greek Prime Minister Trikopitch made efforts to patch up the fferences between Bulgaria and Serbia for the formation of the nion, but he failed.

(*iii*) Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria etc. *all wanted to annex the urkish possession* of Macedonia into their own territories. This reated a conflict among themselves and proved to be a hurdle in the ormation of a union.

(*iv*) The *European powers* such as Russia, Austria and Germany tc. wanted to establish their influence in the Balkan states. It gave ise to mutual conflict and opposition. Their opposition also proved o be very harmful in the formation of a union.

(2) *Circumstances leading towards Union*—The Young Turk policy f Turkification and atrocities over the Christians and the spread of western education in the Balkan States gave an incentive to the spirit f nationalism and unity over there and greatly strengthened them. In 910, the jubilee of Montenegro's ruler, Peter, was celebrated. Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia also took part in it. This provided them a good pportunity to come nearer to one another and to better their relations. The Turko-Italian War (1911-12) also created a new spirit in them. ulgaria and Serbia also solved their mutual conflicts regarding the Macedonian problem. Greece and Bulgaria also settled their problem over Crete. Under these circumstances, the Greek Prime Minister Venizelos formed the 'Balkan League' by uniting Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia and Montenegro also joined them later on.

2. The First Balkan War, 1912 A.D.

Causes—First Balkan War was fought in 1912 A.D. Following were its causes :—

(*i*) *Macedonia* was under the sway of Turkey. The Young Turk Party tried to force their culture on the Christians of Macedonia and committed many atrocities over them. This cruel persecution provoked the feeling of revenge among the people of Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia.

(*ii*) *Greece and Serbia* were not so eager to save the Macedonian Christians from the atrocious treatment meted out to them as they were interested in the division of Macedonia. Under these circumstances, there was no way out except war.

(*iii*) *Different countries* in the Balkan peninsula wanted to take advantage of the weakness of Turkey and also wanted to end the Turkish empire in Europe.

(*iv*) *Italy and Turkey* fought a war in 1911-12 A. D. The Italian victory produced a new spirit among the Balkan States. In order to achieve their ends, they formed the Balkan League and declared war against Turkey.

Events—The member countries of the Balkan League demanded the redress of the grievances of the Christians in Turkey. As Turkey did not pay any heed to it, they declared war against her. They lanuched attacks on Turkey from four sides. The Bulgarian army gained victory in many battles and reached upto Adrianople. The Greeks entered Macedonia and took possession of Salonica. The Serbian army reached upto Albania. Turkey could save only Constantinople, Adrianople, Zanina and Scutari. Her armed forces were crippled. Under these circumstances, the talks started for a treaty but it could not prove successful as Turkey did not want to part with Adrianople.

Under these circumstances, the war started again. Turkey was defeated badly and had to cede most of her territories in Europe. She was left only with Constantinople in Europe. She was compelled to beg for a treaty.

Treaty of London—The First Balkan War came to an end on May 30, 1913 A.D. by the Treaty of London. Following were the main terms of the treaty :—

(*i*) Turkey had to cede all her territories, except Constantinople in Europe.

(*ii*) The autonomous state of Albania was set-up.

(*iii*) Crete was united with Greece.

(*iv*) Turkish sovereignty over Macedonia and the Aegean Sea islands came to an end.

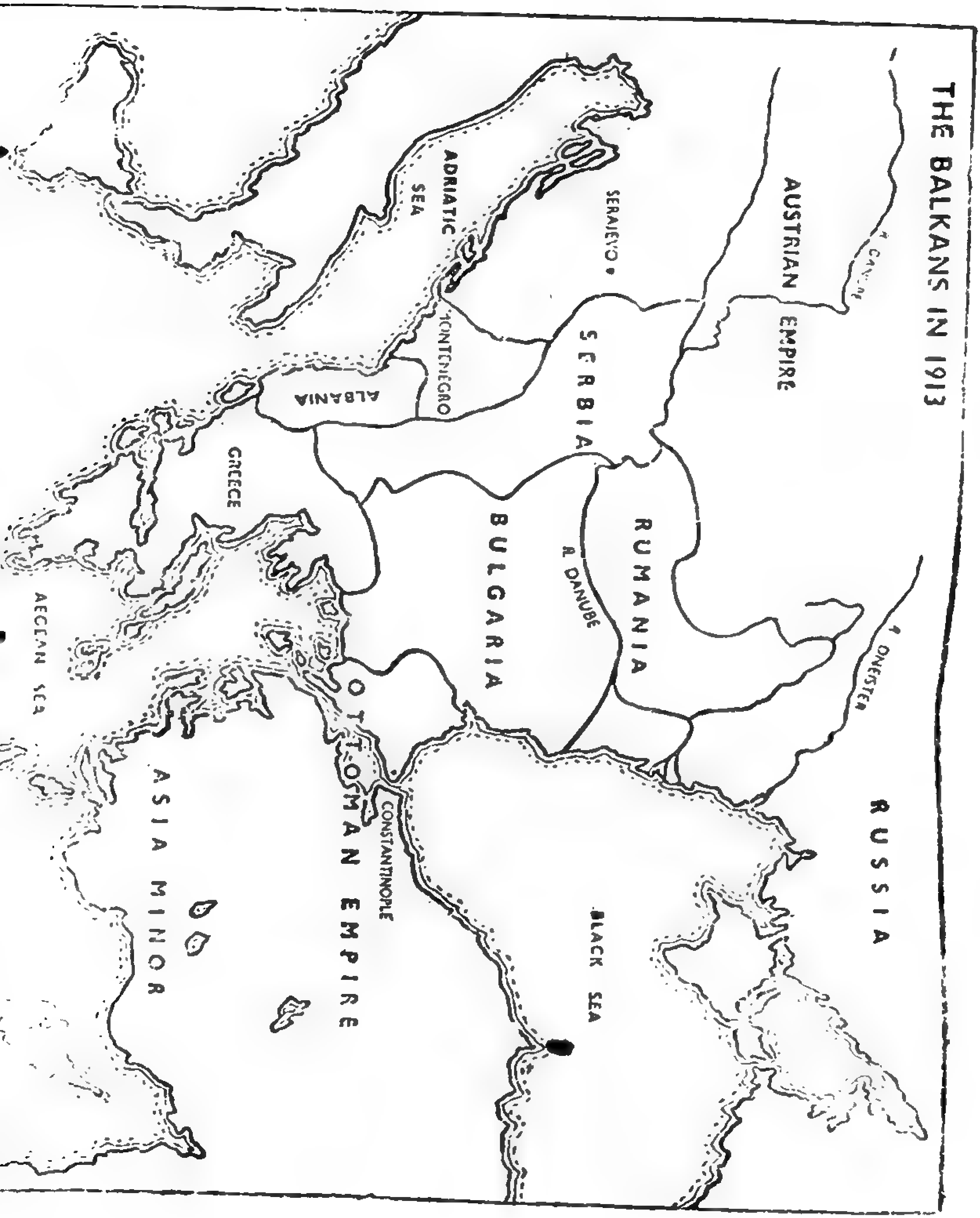
(*v*) A line from Enos in the Aegean sea to Midia in the Black Sea was drawn up to fix-up the new territorial boundaries. All the states except Albania, to the west of this line, were distributed among the Allies.

This treaty was greatly harmful and disgraceful for Turkey and her influence and dominions in Europe had shrunk almost to the vanishing point. Hazen has said in this respect—

> *"The Sultan's dominions in Europe had shrunk nearly to the vanishing point after five centuries of proud possession. He found himself almost expelled from Europe, retaining still Constantinople and only enough territory round about to protect it. The great achievement was the work of four Balkan States, united as one in the common work of liberation. Europe felt relieved, however, that so considerable a change as this in the map of the Balkan Peninsula had been affected without involving the Great Powers in War."*

3. The Second Balkan War, 1913 A.D.

Causes—The Treaty of London did not prove to be permanent and the Second Balkan War started in 1913. Differences came up between Serbia and Bulgaria on the divison of Macedonia. Rumania also demanded many parts in the North East of Bulgaria. So, Bulgaria declared war against Serbia. Finding it a good opportunity to take the revenge of her defeat, Turkey also attacked Bulgaria.



THE BALKANS IN 1913

AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
R. DANUBE
ADRIATIC SEA
SERAJEVO
MONTENEGRO
ALBANIA
SERBIA
GREECE
BULGARIA
R. DANUBE
RUMANIA
R. DNIESTER
RUSSIA
AEGEAN SEA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
CONSTANTINOPLE
ASIA MINOR
BLACK SEA

Events—Bulgaria was alone in this war and she was to fight against Turkey and other Balkan States. She alone could not continue the war for a longer period and she was compelled to go in for a treaty in 1913.

Treaty of Bucharest—By this Treaty, Serbia got the northern and middle parts of Macedonia. Greece got the southern part of Macedonia. The port of Salonica was situated in this part. Rumania got the part according to her wish. Bulgaria was left only with the Eastern Macedonia and some parts of Thrace. Turkey also recovered the greater part of her territories including Adrianople which she had lost in the First Balkan War.

Thus we find that the Second Balkan War proved greatly harmful and disgraceful for Bulgaria. According to **Hazen** —

"The year 1913 A.D. will remain a bitter memory in the the minds of all Bulgarians."

4. Results of the Balkan Wars.

(1) The Turkish dominions and population were greatly reduced as a result of the Balkan Wars. Turkey was no more a power in Europe. She was left with Constantinople, Adrianople and the territories between the two. Turkey lost 5/6 of her land and 2/3 of her population. Turkish empire was virtually dismembered. That is why it has been said—

"The Balkan wars solved the near Eastern Question. So far Turkey was concerned, her territory in Europe was virtually dismembered. But they left behind a legacy of hatred and distrust which was to have momentuous consequences. The Balkan wars produced several crisis which threatened the peace of Europe."

(2) Territorially, the final results of the Balkan Wars were the *practical extinction of the Turkish Empire in Europe* and the enlargement of the Christian kingdoms in the Balkan Peninsula.

(3) *Bulgaria gained* a few territories as a result of the First Balkan War but she had to lose them as a result of the Second Balkan War.

(4) The Second Balkan war *brought an end to the Balkan League* and it increased their mutual differences and conflicts. Bulgaria had not only to cede some parts of her empire but she was also degraded. She wanted to take revenge of her defeat and insult whenever the opportunity arose. She wanted to avenge on Greece, Rumania and Serbia etc.

(5) *Estrangement of relations also grew between Austria and Serbia.* Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina into her empire which was intolerable for Serbia. Austria could not get an approach to the Aegean Sea as a result of the victory of Serbia and Greece in the Second Balkan War. Besides, the Austrian-Serbs were also becoming very turbulent and were waiting for the day when Serbia would liberate them from Austrian clutches.

(6) The *Balkan States created crisis* not only for themselves but also for the whole of Europe. That is why the Balkan Peninsula was known as the volcano and plague of Europe. **Hayes** has rightly remarked—

> "*Indeed, the powder magazines throughout Europe were so well stocked and nationalist feelings so strong and the pursuit of prestige so eager that any untoward event was likely to produce a world-shaking explosion.*"

The Balkan Wars flared up the international crisis and paved the way for the First World War. The rivalry between Austria and Serbia divided Europe into two hostile camps. When a Serbian killed the Austrian prince in 1914 and Germany instigated Austria while Russia sided with Serbia, that was how the First World War came to be triggered off.

Grant and Temperley have rightly remarked—

> "*No single event influenced the outbreak of war in 1914 more than the Balkan Wars of 1912-13.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Balkan Wars, 1912-13 A.D.

1. **League of the Balkan States Difficulties.** (1) Annexation of Rumelia by Bulgaria.

(2) Failure of Greek efforts.

(3) Mutual differences of the Balkan states on the question of Macedonia.

(4) Competition among the European powers to increase their influence in the Balkan Peninsula.

Formation of the League or Union—(1) Regeneration of national spirit as a result of atrocious policy of Turkey.

(2) Effect of the jubilee celeberation of Peter, the ruler of Montenegro.

(3) Decision of Macedonian question.

(4) Possession of Tripoli by Italy.

(5) Establishment of the League of Balkan States by the efforts of Venizelos, the Greek Prime Minister.

2. **First Balkan War-1912 A.D.**

Causes—(1) Excitement in Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece etc. as a result of Turkish atrocities in Macedonia.

(2) Desire of division of Macedonia in the Balkan States.

(3) Desire of the Balkan States to ruin the Turkish empire.

(4) Turkish defeat in the war between Turkey and Italy.

Events—(1) Formation of the League of Balkan States.

(2) Attacks on Turkey from all sides.

(3) Turkey defeated and the treaty.

Treaty of London, 1913 A.D.—First Balkan war ended with this treaty and Turkey ceded many territories in Europe.

3. **Second Balkan War, 1913 A.D.**

Causes—(1) Rivalry between Serbia and Bulgaria increased on the division of Macedonia and the war started.

Events—Most of the Balkan states allied with Serbia and so Bulgaria was defeated and had to sign the Treaty of Bucharest.

(2) Increase in the territorial limits and population of the Balkan states.
(3) Loss to Bulgaria.
(4) End of the Balkan League and differences among these countries.
(5) Rivalry between Austria and Serbia.
(6) Balkan was were prelude to the First World War.

University and other Important Questions

1. Give a critical account of the Treaty of Berlin of 1878.
2. "The Treaty of Berlin had in it the seeds of the Great War of 1914." Examine the validity and implications of the statement.
3. "Out of Disraeli's Policy at the Congress of Berlin, arose most of the causes of the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 and of the Great War of 1914." Discuss this Statement.
4. Explain the obstacles in the formation of a union among the Christian states of Balkan Peninsula at the beginning of the present century. How and to what extent were the difficulties overcome on the eve of the First Balkan War of 1912 ?
5. What were the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin of 1878 ? Discuss their importance. (A.U. 1967)
6. Trace briefly the main phases of the Eastern Question from 1857 to 1878. (D.U. 1963)
7. Briefly review the attempts to solve the Eastern Question during the period of 1858 to 1878. (D.U. 1963)
8. "Peace with honour." Is this a proper description of the work of the Congress of Berlin (1878) ? (D.U. 1964)
9. What was the settlement arrived at the Berlin Congress, 1878 and with what results ? (D.U. 1964)
10. Assess the importance of the Treaty of Berlin in the history of Europe. (A U. 1966)
11. Describe briefly the important phases in Eastern Question in the 19th century. (D.U. 1966)
12. "The Treaty of Berlin (1878) was a compromise." Explain. (D.U. 1969)
13. What were the main provisions of the Treaty of Berlin ? Did the treaty satisfy the political aspirations of Balkan nations ? (D.U. 1970)

14. Explain the rise of the Young Turks and mention the part played by them in the history of their country. (A.U. 1963, 67)
15. What were the causes and effects of First and Second Balkan Wars ? (A.U. 1962, 68)
16. "No single event influenced the outbreak of the war in 1914 more than the Balkan wars of 1912-13." Discuss. (D.U. 1963, 68)
17. Discuss the events and diplomacy of Eastern Question 1875—1878. (Pb. B. A. 1970)
18. In what respects was the Treaty of San Stefano revised by the Congress of Berlin ? Why were the changes made and with what results ? (Pb. B. A. 1968)
19. Examine the Russian Policy towards the Eastern Question from 1875 to 1878 A.D. Also account for the Russian dissatisfaction with the Treaty of Berlin. (Pb. M. A. 1970)
20. The Treaty of Berlin (1878) marks the end of one epoch and the beginning of a new one in the History of Europe. Explain. (Pb. M. A. 1971)
21. Briefly describe the main trends of Balkan politics immediately proceeding the First World War. (Pb. M. A. 1971)
22. Discuss the causes, course and results of the Balkan Wars, 1912-13. (Pb. B. A. 1972)

27

SOCIALISM AND PARTITION OF AFRICA

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1. Socialism

Q. 1. What do you understand by Socialism or the Socialistic Movement ? What are its main principles or characteristics ? Describe the gradual development in the changing conception of Socialism.

Or

Give a brief account of the views of various exponents of socialism ?

Or

Give a brief description of the main principles and teachings of Karl Marx. What was the influence of his teachings ?

Ans. What is Socialism ? Rise of Socialism is a strange event in the history of mankind and it has a special importance in history. It is difficult to define Socialism as much has been written about it in literature and different writers have defined it differentely taking into consideration its different aspects.

Socialism wants to establish a classless society where all should be united on the basis of equality and brotherhood. Socialism wants to have such control on the means of production and capital which may provide the same and equal opportunities to all classes of the society and which may bring an end to all the existing differences between the poor and the rich. **Ramsay Macdonald** has defined it as—

"No better definition of Socialism can be given in general terms that it aims at the organisation of the material economic forces of society and their control by the human forces."

Bertrand Russel has defined 'Socialism' as follows—

"I think we come nearest to the essence of Socialism by defining it as the advocacy of communal ownership of land property."

2. **Characteristics of Socialism**—Following are the main elemen and characteristcis of Socialism :—

(1) Socialism pays more importance to society than to individua It lays more stress on the interests of society rather than of th individual. In Socialism, the interests of the society are supreme.

(2) Socialism wants to bring an end to capitalism as capitalist the foremost and the real enemy of the labour.

(3) Socialism is against competition among the producers as results in economic loss. On the other hand, the competition amon the rich and the poor means nothing.

(4) Laveleye has said that *"Every socialistic doctrine aims a introducing greater equality into social conditions. Socialism is a equaliser and leveller."*

(5) Socialism wants to end private property. It wants tha the whole society should have common control over land and othe means of production.

(6) There should be state control over all the units of productio and they should be nationalised.

(7) The national wealth should be divided in a right and jus manner so as to fill the gap between the rich and the poor.

3. **Causes of the Rise of Socialism**—The artisans had complete control over their surroundings and production before the Industrial Revolution. They had the freedom of vocation. They led an easy life. In the 19th century, large factories and many industrial towns grew up in Europe as a result of the Industrial Revolution. Many labourers were rendered unemployed and they had to go to the town for getting work.

The condition of the labourers was not satisfactory. They lived in small and dingy houses which were injurious to their health. They had to work for a longer period and were paid low wages. The women and children also began to be employed as workers. They had to work like men, but they were paid less in comparison with men. It resulted in the fall of their social and moral standards.

The labourers lost control over labour, capital and tools as a result of the Industrial Revolution. The society was divided into two classes. The capitalists were the owners of the factories. They were rich and had all the facilities of life. The other class consisted of the labourers which worked day and night so that wealth should be produced for others and they themselves remained poor. The capitalists exploited the labourers in all manners.

Many schools of thought came into being to raise the standard of living and to better the social and economic conditions of the labourers. Socialism was one of these schools of thought. The main objective of Socialism was to set-up a new form of society with social control over the means of production and distribution of wealth on the basis of equality and justice. This new movement was known as Socialism. It was a struggle against capitalism.

4. **Socialistic Parties**—The Socialists do not see an eye to eye with one another as regards the means to achieve their ends. They are divided into many parties in this respect and the Collectivists, the Syndicalists, the Anarchists and the Communists are the main parties among them.[1] The Collectivists are of the view that there should be complete control of the state over all the means of production. They also favour constitutional methods to achieve their objectives.

(2) The Syndicalists favour the control of the labour unions over the means of production. They do not hesitate indulging in strikes and violent measures to achieve their ends.

(3) The Anarchists are the followers of this principle that there should be equal hold of all over the means of production and the profit should be equally divided among all. **Hayes** has remarked regarding their principle–

"According to Anarchists, all things are to be shared equally among the whole population."

The Anarchists believed in the revolutionary means.

(4) The Communists believe in the control of all the means of production by groups of people. The Communists also believe in struggling and the revolutionary means like the Anarchists.

5. **Gradual Development of Socialism and its Exponents**—The views of the different exponents of Socialism are given below :—

(1) *Robert Owen.* (1771-1851)—Robert Owen belonged to Wales. In the beginning, he worked in a factory and after that he became the manager of a factory at the age of 19. He was the first man who worked to improve the condition of the labourers and to spread the principles of Socialism. He is known as the *"Father of the British Socialism"*. He gave his views in a book entitled "*New View of Society*". He took many important steps to improve the condition of the workers in his factory. He arranged for good and well ventilated and airy houses for them. He lessened the hours of work. He made arrangements for their education. Co-operative stores were opened and things at cheap rates were provided to them. He laid stress on this thing that all industries should have co-operative basis. He laid a high aim before the factory owners and showed the right path to the labourers. So it has been rightly said—

"The name of Owen is closely connected with all the steps towards great progress, with all social reform movements in England and all legislation in the interests of the working classes."

(2) *St. Simon (1760-1825)*—St. Simon was the 'father of Socialism' in France. He was a feudatory prince. He took part in the American war of Independence under the leadership of Washington. After that he came back to France. He left the military life after becoming sick of it and spent his remaining life in the service of the masses. He increased his knowledge in the company of philosophers and the scientists. He was of the view that the society should be organised on the co-operative principle. He held this opinion that the society and the social institutions should be reformed so that a great number of the poor should be benefitted and they should be able to progress physically and morally. He supported the view of co-operation between the capitalists and the labourers. He said that equality should not form the basis of wages. It should be the ability and competence that should count in this respect. His views gave a new impetus to the Communists. He made efforts for the formation of such a society which should provide opportunity to all the members for the development of their individuality. He used to say—

"The summary of my life's work is to give all members of society the fullest latitude for the development of their faculties."

(3) *Charles Fourier (1772-1837)*—He was another Socialist leader of France. He opposed the social, economic, political and moral vices of people. He was the supporter of the co-operative movement. He was of the view that society should be organised on the basis of co-operative committees and each committee should consist of 1,620 members He opposed groupism, religion and the mutual conflict among the people as well as among the countries. He was not in favour of abolishing the institution of private property. He was of the view that the organisation of industries should be such that the labourers should be able to select the occupation of their choice.

(4) *Louis Blanc (1811-1882)*—Louis Blanc was yet another famous socialist leader of France. His efforts helped a lot in the formation of the Socialist Party in France. He took an important part in the Revolutions of 1830 A. D. and 1848 A. D. He made the labourers of France realise that there were many defects in the economic set-up of France. He was of the view that every person had a right to work and that it was the duty of the state to provide work for him. State should own all the industries. It is the duty of the government that she should set-up her own factories, the labourers should manage them and they should distribute the profits among themselves. This will bring an end to capitalism and the labourers will get the reward of their labour. He believed in democracy and wanted to establish a new society on the basis of Socialism.

(5) *Carlyle*—Carlyle was a famous Socialist of England and a supporter of political rights of the labourers. He led the Chartist Movement of the labourers for this very purpose. He was a staunch

opponent of capitalism. He was of the view that the labourers should have the right to vote because there was no possibility of social and economic progress without political progress.

(6) *Karl Marx (1818-1883)*—Karl Marx has attained the most important place in the history of Socialism. He was born in a Jew family of Germany. He was educated in Bonn and Berlin Universities. He was a great scholar of History, Economics, Philosophy and Law. The economic conception of History of Hegel, a German scholar, had a great effect upon him. He wanted to become a teacher but circumstances made him an editor. From the beginning, he was liberal and he remained the editor of a liberal newspaper. Government imposed restrictions upon it as there was a danger of the spread of revolutionary ideas through it.

In 1844 A. D., he went to France from Germany. There he met another famous Socialist, Dr. Engels. Soon, they both joined hands to work for the spread of Socialism. Engels gave co-operation to Karl Marx upto 1883 A.D. In 1845. A.D., they made revolutionary speeches and so both of them were turned out of France and then they went to Brussels. There Karl Marx prepared a Charter of Demands or Manifesto for the German Communist League of Paris in 1847 A.D. He greatly condemned capitalism in it and put up demands for the welfare of the labourers. After that Karl Marx returned to Germany. But in 1848 A. D., he was again turned out of the country. At last, he accompanied Engels to England and spent the remaining period of life there.

Teachings of Karl Marx—Karl Marx has ascertained his principles in his famous book '*Das Kapital*'. It has been translated into many languages of the world. It has attained the same place in the history of socialism as has been attained by the Bible among the Christians. His main teachings are as follows :—

(1) *Changes take place* in the social institutions as a result of economic conditions. He further adds that those persons hold the reins of the society who have control over the means of production. They make use of social institutions as well as social principles to achieve their ends. As a result, the society is divided into two parts *i.e.*, the capitalists and the workers.

(2) The *price of a thing* should be fixed in proportion to its cost of production.

(3) *The Labourers* add to the value of a thing but they get less in wages as compared to the work rendered by them. The surplus value goes into the pockets of the capitalists and the labourers gain much less in return. This is known as the "Theory of Surplus Value".

(4) *Capitalism* divides the society into two parts and the capitalists exploit the labourers. The rich become richer and the

poor, poorer. The smaller capitalists are reduced in number and ultimately absorbed into the labourers. This leads to a conflict between the two classes. This is called class-struggle.

(5) The class-struggle leads to the classless society and all the means of production are nationalised. The *Proletariats will turn out victorious in this struggle.*

(6) Socialism, according to Karl Marx, is not a national movement but *an international one.* Its main objective is to unite all the labouring classes and to work for the welfare of the mankind. Thus, 'International Working Men's Association' was established in 1864 A.D.

(7) Karl Marx was a *staunch opponent of democracy* and a supporter of the dictatorship of the Proletariat. He laid stress on the Trade Unions for it.

Karl Marx was a first-rate writer. His famous works are '*The Holy Family*', '*Das Kapital*', '*Poverty of Philosophy*', '*Manifesto*' etc. He died in England in 1883 A.D.

Influence of his Teachings—Socialism of Karl Marx was not national but international. It was not theoretical but practical also. It affected almost all the countries of the world. All great politicians had to face it. It gave rise to the Socialist feelings among the labourers and prepared them to fight against capitalism unitedly. The exploited labour class got ready for the establishment of a classless society by revolutionary methods.

Socialism influenced greatly the backward countries of Europe such as Italy, Russia, Germany, France etc. except England and America. The Communist ideology spread very widely in these countries. The Italian writers and poets popularised the teachings and objectives of Karl Marx by the medium of literature.

Russian labourers were also deeply influenced by it and they started believing in Socialism as a sole means to get rid of capitalism and autocratic rule. The labourers started a socialist revolution by uniting under the leadership of the Marxist leader, Lenin. Their revolution gained success in 1917 A.D. They brought an end to the old reactionary and autocratic rule of Czar in Russia and set-up a Socialist Republic there. Russia is the leading communist country of the world even today.

Socialism also made a great progress in France and the Socialist Party became powerful there by and by. It also emerged powerful as a political party. Socialism gained so much strength in Germany that the reactionary Bismarck was forced to bow low before it. This party progressed greatly under the leadership of George Albert and afterwards became a powerful party in Germany.

India also could not remain aloof. Socialism is the main slogan of the Indian Government. The difference is that the Indian Socialism is based on the teachings of Gandhiji and not on Marxist teachings. It does not favour the revolutionary and violent methods. Socialism has compelled the government of each country to reform the condition of the labour class and also to make different plans for their unplift. There is no country in the world without a socialist party today. **Ketelbey** has said—

> *"In brief, the influence of Marx had been tremendous in regenerating various movements in the European countries to uphold the cause of the workers against the domination of the capitalists."*

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Socialism**—Socialism wants to set-up such a society in which all should gain from the wealth and means of production.

2. **Characteristics**—(1) Preference to society over individual.
   - (1) End of capitalism.
   - (3) Opponent of competition among the poor.
   - (4) Supporter of equality.
   - (5) Opponent of private property.
   - (6) Nationalisation of the means of production.
   - (7) Fair distribution of national wealth.

3. **Causes of the Rise**—Industrial Revolution in Europe; setting-up of large factories; Deterioration of the economic condition of the labourers; socialism as a means for their uplift.

4. **Socialist Parties**—End same but means differ (1) Collectivists,
   - (2) Syndicalists.
   - (3) Anarchists.
   - (4) Communists.

5. **Exponents of Socialism**—Robert Owen; St, Simon; Charles Fourier; Louis Blanc : Carlyle ; Karl Marx.

6. **Karl Marx**. (1) Early life of Karl Marx.
   - (2) Birth in Prussia in 1818 A. D.
   - (3) Higher Education.
   - (4) Living in France, Brussels and England.
   - (6) 'Das Kapital' famous book.
   - (6) Dr. Engel's help.

7. **Teachings of Karl Marx**—(1) Economic explanation of the history of two classes of society i.e. the capitalists and the proletariat.
   - (2) Valuation of the things.
   - (2) Theory of surplus value.
   - (4) Class conflicts.
   - (5) Establishment of class-less society after the revolution.
   - (6) Socialism, not a national but an international movement.
   - (7) Dictatorship of the Proletariat in place of democracy.

8. **Influence of teachings**—Rising among all the labourers of the world; Influence over the countries such as, Italy, Russia, Germany, France, India etc.

Partition of Africa

☞ **Q. 2. Give an account of the Partition of Africa among the European powers in the 19th century. (Impo:tant)**

Or

"The Partition of Africa is one of the most extraordinary facts of the period between 1876 to 1914." Discuss.

Ans. Upto the first half of the 19th century, Africa was called a dark continent because the European nations did not penetrate into her inner-most parts even upto 1875 A.D. They had their relations developed as a result of the trade between them. On the western coast, France had under her possession Senegal, Gabun and Ivory Coast ; English had control over Gold Coast, Lagos and Niger Delta ; Portugal had Portugese Guinea and Angola and Spain had control over Spanish Guinea etc. In the north, France had under her control Algiers and the territories around it and the English had in their possessions the South Cape Colony and Natal etc. Mozambique, situated on the eastern coast, was under the Portugese.

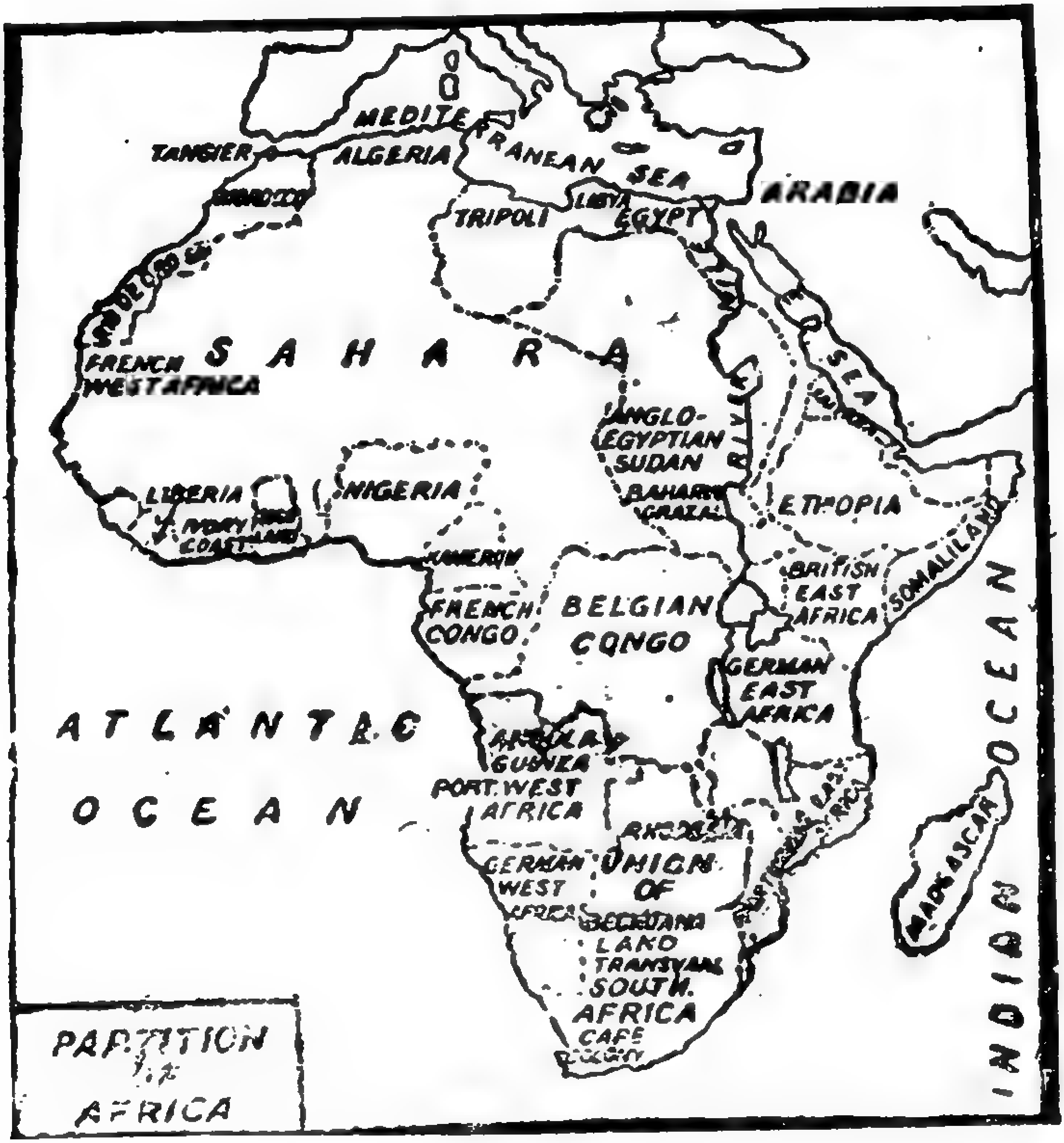
1. **Early Efforts**—In the beginning of the 19th century, there started an opposition to the trade of the slaves in Africa. So the western countries had to look after their trade. The western nations started the exploration of the internal parts of Africa with the motifs to have more gains, to establish their political influence and for the spread of Christianity. To achieve this end, the ruler of Belgium, Emperor Leopold established an International African Association in 1876 A.D. With its help, Mango Park explored the bed of river Niger. After that, Hansland was discovered. The German explorer Barth explored the mid and Western Sudan. The Christian missionaries also did a very good work in this respect in different parts of Africa. The work of David Livingstone of England is worth-mentioning in this respect. He explored the Jemji valley but was lost in the middle part of Africa and Stanley was sent to find him He succeeded in this work. Afterwards, he explored Congo with the help of Leopold II, the emperor of Belgium. His exploration gave birth to Imperialism.

2. **Partition of Africa**—The exploration of Congo by Stanley gave rise to the imperialist tendencies. Soon, a race for the establishment of their colonies and protectorates in Africa started among the western countries. **Hazen** has said—

"Europeans swept down upon this continent lying at their very door hitherto neglected and despised and carved it up among themselves."

(1) *Congo*—The early attempts of David and Stanley led to the establishment of International African Association by Leopold; the emperor of Belgium, in 1876 A. D. In 1879 A. D., he again sent Stanley to establish a colony of Belgium in Congo. But the French exploring fleet was already there before the arrival of Stanley. He

was compelled to accept the possession of the northern bank of Congo by France. This was named as French Congo. Stanley took possession


MEDITERANEAN SEA
TANGIER
ALGERIA
TRIPOLI
LIBYA
EGYPT
ARABIA
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
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ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
NILE RIVER
RED SEA
LIBERIA
IVORY COAST
NIGERIA
BAHAR EL GHAZAL
ETHIOPIA
KAMERUN
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
SOMALILAND
FRENCH CONGO
BELGIAN CONGO
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
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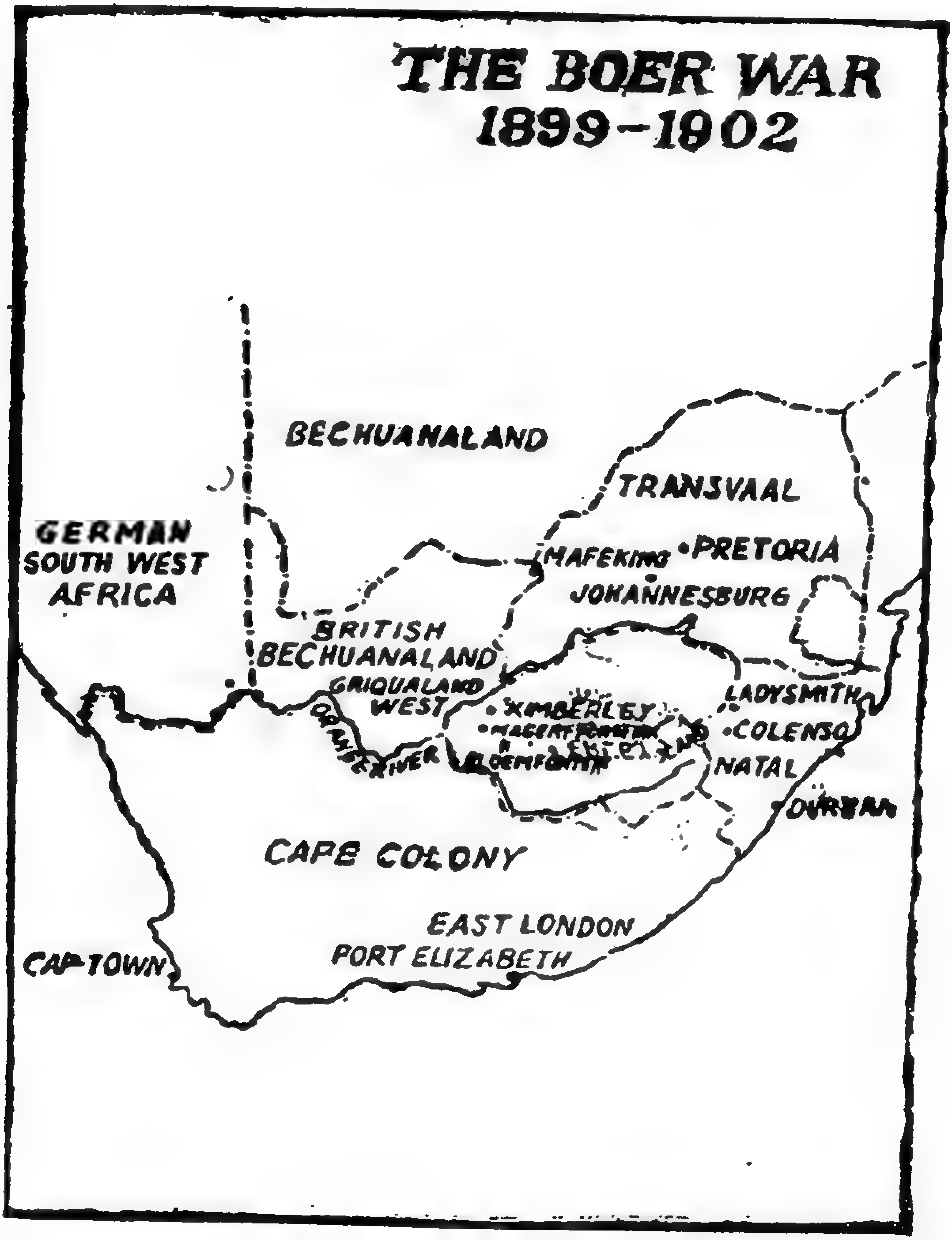
RHODESIA
UNION OF
GERMAN WEST AFRICA
BECHUANA LAND
TRANSVAAL
SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE COLONY
MADAGASCAR
INDIAN OCEAN
PARTITION OF AFRICA

of the southern Congo. This created a conflict between Portugal and Belgium. An international Congress was called in Berlin in 1885 A. D. to settle it. The Congo Free State was established in 1885 A. D. as a result of the decision taken in that Congress. Leopold, not Belgium, was given the right to rule over Congo free State. In 1908 A. D., the Belgium government took it over and this began to be called the Belgium Congo.

(2) *West Africa*—A dispute came up between the English and the French trade companies for Niger in Western Africa and

in the end, the English company succeeded in establishing her protectorate in Northern and Western Niger. Germany also took


THE BOER WAR
1899-1902
BECHUANALAND
TRANSVAAL
GERMAN SOUTH WEST AFRICA
MAFEKING
PRETORIA
JOHANNESBURG
BRITISH BECHUANALAND
GRIQUALAND WEST
KIMBERLEY
MAGERSFONTEIN
BLOEMFONTEIN
ORANGE RIVER
LADYSMITH
COLENSO
NATAL
DURBAN
CAPE COLONY
EAST LONDON
PORT ELIZABETH
CAPTOWN

possession of Togoland and Cameroon. The French had established their control over Ivory Coast, Senegal and Gabun on the Western coast before 1875 A. D. They now took possession of French Guinea in the West of Niger. In 1895 A.D., they united their colonies on the Western Coast with the upper Niger by taking Tumbuctoo in the North of Sahara. The English had under their control Lagos, Gold Coast, Western Zambia and Niger in Western Africa before 1914 A.D. Portugal held Angola and Portugese Guinea.

(3) *East Africa*—A German trading company had captured about 60,000 sq miles area in Eastern Africa. France and England also started showing their claim over this part. A joint commission of these countries was set-up to settle this matter. Consequently, England's claim over Zanzibar and Pemba was accepted. France was given the right to safeguard her interests in Madgascar and German possession of Uganda was accepted. By the Treaty of 1890 between Germany and England, Germany gave up her claim over Togoland in place of Heligoland. Portugal gained possession of Mozambique whereas Italy got control over Somaliland in the east.

(4) *South Africa*—The savage races like the Zulus, the Kafirs and the Boers etc. inhabited in South Africa. These races opposed the Western powers. The English captured Natal, in a Boer colony, in 1883 A. D. The Boers were compelled to leave it and they established their two kingdoms of Transval and Orange Free State and their freedom was accepted.

Cecil Rhodes was the 'father of English imperialism' in South Africa. In 1870 A. D., he captured the diamond mines of Kimberley. After that, he took possession of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Central Africa. Lord Disraeli wanted to set-up a union of the states of South Africa. He had to go in for a war with the Boers for this purpose and the English won the war. In 1902, both of them signed a treaty and, accordingly, Transval and Orange Free State were annexed into the British Empire. In 1910 A. D., the Union of South Africa was formed by uniting Transval, Orange Free State, Cape Colony and Natal.

(5) *North Africa*—France succeeded in taking possession of Algeria in North Africa. In 1880 A. D., she captured Tunis. Italy also wanted to capture it but she did not succeed. War was avoided thrice between France and Italy on the Morocco crisis. At last, according to the treaty of 1912 A. D., Morocco became a French protectorate. In 1911 A. D., Italy defeated Turkey in the War. As a result of it, Italy gained control over Tripoli and Cyrenaica. The kingdom of Libya was formed by uniting them.

The most important success of the English in North Africa was the possession of Egypt. Egypt was a province of Turkey and Mehmet Ali was its governor. He fought two wars against the Sultan of Turkey to establish his own free state. According to the Treaty of London of 1841 A. D., the right of Mehmet Ali and his dynasty was accepted over Egypt. The work on the Suez canal was completed during the reign of Ismail (1863 A D.—79 A.D.), the fifth ruler of this dynasty, but Egypt was greatly under debt and she was forced to sell her shares of Suez to England in 1875. The debt also increased greatly during the reign of his successor Tewfek. England and France established their dual control there to safeguard their interests in Egypt. The control worked from 1879 A. D. to 1885, but there was a rising in Egypt under the leadership of Arabi Pasha and the Europeans were killed there in large number. France remained silent and England alone suppressed this revolt and established her rule there. Cromer remained there as an Agent from 1882 to 1907 A.D. He introduced many reforms there and Egypt made a great progress during his times.

6. *Sudan*—The conflict touched its height in Sudan and Abyssinia for the establishment of colonies. Italy was very keen to capture Abyssinia. This gave rise to a conflict between Italy and Abyssinia and Italy suffered a defeat so that Abyssinia remained an independent state.

Both the French and the English wanted to take possession of Sudan. The English gained some parts of Sudan when they captured Egypt. General Gorden was appointed the Commander-in-Chief there. Under the leadership of Mehdi, the people of Sudan started a revolt to turn the foreigners out of their country. They surrounded General Gorden with his army in Khartum. Lord Kitchner was sent for his help but the revolutionaries killed General Gorden and a large number of his soldiers before his arrival. However, Kitchner gained control over Khartum in 1898 A.D. After that, the English were able to take possession of Sudan.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Partition of Africa—(1) Influence on the coastal regions in the first half of the 19th century.

(2) Influence of the explorations of Livingstone, Stanley and other explorers.

(3) Efforts to enter the central parts of Africa after the end of the slaves-trade.

(4) International African Association.

1. **Congo**—(1) Individual control of Belgium's emperor Leopold over Congo Free State first and control of Belgium government later on.

(2) French possession over North Africa.

2. **West Africa**—(1) German control over Togoland and Comeroon.

(2) North-Western} Niger, Lagos, Gold Coast, Zambia under the British control.

(3) French control over Senegal, Ivory Coast, Gabun, French Guinea, Tumbuctoo.

(4) Portugese territories of Angola, Portugese Guinea.

3. **East Africa**—(1) The English control over Zanzibar and Pemba; the French control over Madgascar; the German control over Uganda; the Portugese control over Mozambique and Italian control over Somaliland.

(2) Germany got Heligoland in exchange of Togoland according to the treaty with the English in 1890 A.D.

4. **South Africa**—(1) Savage races as the Zulus, the Kafirs, the Boers etc.
    - (2) The English control over Natal in 1843 A.D.
    - (3) Establishment of Transval and the Orange Free State by the Boers.
    - (4) The English possession of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
    - (5) War between the English and Boers for Transval.
    - (6) Victory of the English in the end.
    - (7) Establishment of Union of South Africa in 1910 A.D.
5. **North Africa**—(1) French possession of Algeria and Tunis.
    - (2) The Morocco Crisis and French success.
    - (3) Italian possession of Tripoli.
    - (4) The Egyptian crisis and the British control over Egypt in 1883 A.D.
6. **Sudan**—(1) Italian success to possess Abyssinia.
    - (2) The English possession of Sudan in 1898 A.D.

University and other Important Questions

1. Describe briefly the leading political ideas and teachings of Karl Marx. What was the influence of his teachings ?
2. Show why Africa was little known to Europe until the middle of the 19th century and why was it quickly partitioned afterwards ?
3. Trace the growth of Socialism in Europe during 1817-1917. (A.U. 1960)
4. Describe the partition of Africa in the 19th century. (A.U. 1962, 67)
5. Describe the course of partition of Africa from 1879 to 1914. (A.U. 1964)
6. Give a brief account of the partition of Africa among the great powers of Europe after 1870. (D.U. 1967, 69, 72)
7. What do you understand by the term "Scramble for Africa" and how far was it responsible for the First World War ? (P.U. 1968)
8. Trace the gradual partition of Africa by the European powers upto 1914. (Pb. B. A. 1970)
9. Trace the rise of socialism in Europe during your period. (Pb. M. A. 1970)
10. Explain the effects of the doctrines of Karl Marx on the history of Europe from 1848 to 1917. (Delhi B. A. 1970)
11. Describe priefly the leading political ideas and teachings of Karl Marx. What was the influence of his teachings ? (Delhi B. A. 1971)
12. Account for the rise of the Socialist Movement in Europe till 1870. (Pb. M. A. 1971)

28

ENGLAND IN THE 19th AND EARLY 20th CENTURY

Foreign Policy of England in the 1st Half of 19th Century

Q. 1. Discuss the Foreign Policy of England from 1812 A.D. upto the outbreak of Crimean War.

Or

Write short notes on the following :—

(*a*) **Castlereagh** (*b*) **Canning** (*c*) **Sir Robert Peel** (*d*) **Lord Palmerston.**

Ans. 1. **Castlereagh**—Castlereagh is considered to be one of the greatest and most famous British Foreign Secretaries. He served his country in the times of great need. He played a great role in the union of England and Ireland in 1800 A.D. After that, he was appointed secretary of Ireland. He worked as a Foreign Secretary of England from 1812 A.D. to 1822 A.D. He was a very brave and bold fellow. That is why it has been said by Loard Brougham—

> "*Castlereagh possessed a good deal of plain sense, not to be misled by any refinement of speculation or clouded by any fanciful notions. He went straight to his point. He was brave, politically as well as personally.*"

When Castlereagh was Foreign Secretary, the Allies were engaged in war with Napoleon. They did not get any success due to their selfish motives. Castlereagh visited the capitals of the allied nations so as to unite them. He did Yeoman's job in uniting them by bringing an end to their differences. The Allies signed the Treaty of Chaumont in 1814 A.D. They decided to face Napoleon whole heartedly. As a result of this, the Allies won the Battle of Nations in 1814 A.D. and the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 A.D. They defeated Napoleon and dashed to the ground all his hopes of winning the world.

Castlereagh played an important role in concluding a treaty with France and after that in the re-organisation of Europe in the Vienna

Congress. He did not favour a stern treatment towards France. It was primarily due to his commendable efforts that the terms of the treaty were kept soft. He used to say in this respect—

"It is not our business to collect trophies but to bring back world to peaceful habits."

Castlereagh was an ardent supporter of the policy of peace and international co-operation. He himself did not support the policy of interference into the internal affairs of their countries. He was in favour of solving the mutual conflicts of nations by diplomacy and holding conferences. He played an important part in the Vienna Congress. He elucidated his policy in his white paper of 1820 A.D. Canning also agreed with Castlereagh's principles and objectives. The difference was only in the means to attain them.

Some people are of the view that Castlereagh tied England to the tail of Holy Alliance. But this view is not correct. He always opposed the policy of interference in the internal affairs of other countries by the member countries of the Holy Alliance as is clear from the decision of the Protocol of Troppau when he opposed the policy of interference. He used to say—

"Holy Alliance is a piece of sheer mysticism, and nonsense."

Castlereagh was the supporter of peace and he enhanced the honour of his country by serving his country in times of need. He is said to be 'a good European' and 'friend of peace'. He supported the policy of non-interference. His principles proved to be the basis for the League of Nations and the U.N.O. **Seton-Watron** has said, "*He was one of the very greatest and most constructive of British Foreign Secretaries.*"

Castlereagh had learnt the great lesson that *"if we wished to avoid war he must prepare for peace."*

Even then he was Conservative in the internal affairs and reactionary and always opposed the reforms. He was not only Conservative but also a supporter of monarchy.

2. Canning—Canning is also considered to be one of the great parliamentarians of England. He remained the Foreign Secretary from 1807 to 1809 A.D. He worked as the Chairman of the Board of Control from 1816 to 1821 A.D. He was also appointed Governor-General of India in 1821 A D. But he was soon appointed as Foreign Secretary after Castlereagh had committed suicide. He remained on this post from 1822 to 1827 A.D.

Principles of his Foreign Policy—His foreign policy was based upon Castlereagh's state paper but there was difference in the means to achieve that policy. He always kept interests of England in the forefront while establishing relations with other countries. He was a supporter of peace and a great follower of the policy of non-interference[1]. He did not favour interference in the internal affairs of other countries. He interfered in the affairs of the other nations only when he was to check the unnecessary interference of other nations or to safeguard the interests of England. Like Castlereagh, his policy was not based upon internationalism but upon nationalism. He used to say, "*Every nation is for itself and God for us all.*" He said, "*Damn all foreign countries. What has England to do with foreign countries*" ?

Main Events of his Times (1822—27 A. D.)—Following were the main events of his tenure of office as Foreign Secratary :-

(1) *The Congress of Verona, 1822 A.D.*—The Congress of Verona was called in 1822 A.D. The Congress aimed at suppressing the nationalistic movements in Spain, Portugal, Italy etc. It would have certainly amounted to intervention in the internal matters of these countries. Hence, Canning opposed it and kept England away from this Congress.

(2) *Problem of Spain, 1822-23 A.D.*—The people of Spain revolted against their cruel ruler Ferdinand VII in 1822 A.D. France and Russia helped Ferdinand. Thus, his autocratic rule continued there as before.

In 1823 A.D , the Spanish Colonies in America revolted against Spain. Canning turned American President, Munroe, towards his side and made this declaration that if the European powers interfered in the affairs of these colonies then England would take side of the colonies. Canning said regarding his success—

"*I resolved that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with Indies, I called the new world into existence to redress the balance of the old.*"

(3) *The Problem of Protugal, 1823-24*—Don Miquel, the uncle of Portugese queen Infanta Maria, made efforts to establish his autocratic rule in place of her constitutional rule. But, Canning nullified his efforts by interfering in this affair.

Brazil also succeeded in gaining her freedom as a result of Canning's help.

(4) *Greek War of Independence, 1822-29 A.D.*—In 1821 A.D., Greece revolted against Turkey. Canning sympathised with Greece. Greece defeated Egypt and Turkey in this war and at last Turkey accepted Greece's freedom in 1829 A.D.

Canning was a great politician. He safeguarded England's interests by his successful foreign policy and her trade progressed a lot. Lord Acton has rightly said—

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[1] "Let us not, in the foolish spirit of romance, suppose that we alone could regenerate Europe." —(*Canning*)

"No Foreign Secretary has equalled Canning."

4. **Sir Robert Peel**—Sir Robert Peel was the most famous Prime Minister of the earlier times of Queen Victoria's reign. He was born in 1788 A.D. in a rich merchant family of Lancashire. He was elected member of the Parliament in 1809. He remained the Chief Secretary of Ireland from (1812 to 1818 A.D.) After that, he remained the Home Secretary from 1822 to 1830 A.D. He was the Prime Minister of England for some months in 1840 A.D. and then from 1841 A.D. to 1846 A.D.

Peel was the member of the Tory Party and was Conservative without being conventional. He was also the supporter of liberal policy and reforms. So his partymen took him as Liberal but Peel was not in favour of all the reforms and also he did not want to bring in the reforms at a rapid pace. So the Liberal Party took him Conservative and the Conservative took him as Liberal. It has been said—

"Sir Robert Peel was the most liberal of the conservatives and the most conservative of the liberals."

(1) *Home Policy of Peel*—As a Home Secretary, Peel introduced reforms in the penal code and London police. In 1841 A.D., when he became the Prime Minister, the economic condition of England was very bad and the government treasury was empty. He adopted a policy of laissez-faire for the progress of trade of his country. He withdrew taxes from many things and also reduced on many other items. He introduced income tax on the annual income of £ 150 to increase the national income. The Bank Charter Act was passed in 1844 A.D. This increased government control over the Banks and the banking and issue departments were separated from each other. His policy resulted in an increase in the income of the government, the trade and industries flourished and the public felt relieved.

The Mines Act of 1842 A.D. and the Factory Act of 1840 A.D. were passed to improve the condition of the labourers. The Corn Laws had adversely affected the general life and so those were repealed in 1846 A.D. to safeguard the interests of the poor.

(2) *Foreign Policy*—Peel is known for his Home Policy and not for his Foreign Policy. He favoured the peaceful policy. His Foreign Secretary, Aberdeen, adopted the policy of having amicable relations with other countries. The Treaty of Nanking brought an end to the war with China started by Lord Palmerston. The First War of Afghanistan was also ended. Friendly relations were established with France. Friendly relations were also established with America by solving the boundary disputes.

Peel is known for his internal policy and he possessed a great administrative quality. He was a true patriot and was ready to do anything for the welfare of people and the progress of his country. He made many reforms for the prosperity of his country and general.

uplift of the countrymen. **Southgate** has remarked about him. "*He was the greatest British Statesman in the first half of the 19th century.*"

4. Lord Palmerston— Lord Palmerston was also a great statesman of Queen Victoria's times. He was born in 1784 A.D. He became the Member of Parliament in 1807 A.D. He became the Foreign Secretary in 1830 A. D. and Steered the foreign policy from 1830 to 1865 A. D. except for a short period. He remained Prime Minister from 1855 to 1858 A. D. and then from 1859 to 1865 A. D. He became the Member of Parliament on a Tory ticket but later on he joined the Whig Party. In reality, he wanted to follow his own principles in place of pursuing the principles of both the parties.

Foreign Policy of Palmerston—Palmerston was conservative in the home affairs but was liberal in the foreign affairs. The basic objective of his policy was to safe-guard the British interests all-round and to bring a name and fame to England. He followed a policy of interference and progressivism. He believed in the policy of bluff which proved successful before the weak but failed with the powerful enemies like Bismarck of Germany.

Important Events of his Times—

(1) *Independence of Belgium, 1830-31 A. D.*—Belgium was under Holland in those days. In 1830 A.D., the people of Belgium revolted for their freedom. Palmerston had his sympathies with them and Belgium achieved her freedom with his aid.

(2) *Problems of Spain and Portugal*—The libral Queens were ruling with the help of the people in both the countries. The uncle of each of these queens was making efforts to establish an autocratic rule in place of the liberal one in his own country but Palmerston made their efforts futile.

(3) *War with China*—In 1840 A. D. a war broke out between China and England which is known as the "Opium War". The English won it and gained many commercial facilities according to the Treaty of Nankin.

(4) *Revolution of 1848 A.D.*—The revolutions started in many European countries such as France, Germany, Austria, Hungary etc. in 1848 A.D. Many autocratic rulers were deposed at many places. Palmerston sympathised with the revolutionaries.

(5) *Unification of Italy*— Italy was divided into many small states in those days. But many patriots such as Garibaldi and Mazzini wanted to establish a united and powerful empire by uniting them. They succeeded in achieving their aim with Palmerston's sympathies and aid.

(6) *The Eastern Question*—Mehmet Ali, the Governor of Egypt, revolted against the Sultan of Turkey in 1831 A.D. Russia helped the Sultan and in return gained many facilities in the Black Sea. In

1832 A.D, when the war again broke out then Palmerston interfered and solved this problem which resulted in ending the facilities gained by Russia in the Black Sea. In 1854 A. D. when the Crimean War broke out between Russia and Turkey, Palmerston helped Turkey. Russia was defeated in this war so Palmerston brought a check upon the increasing influence of Russia in the Black Sea.

(7) *The Indian Mutiny, 1857 A.D.*—In 1857 A. D. the Indian revolted to gain their freedom but Palmerston suppressed it.

(8) *American Civil War, 1861-64 A. D.*— Civil War broke out in 1861 A. D. between the northern and southern states of America. English fleet Alabama helped the southern states in this war and inflicted heavy losses on the northern states. America asked for compensation of the lossess incurred in the war but Palmerston totally refused that.

(9) *The Polish Rebellion, 1863 A. D.*—Poland was under the Russian rule. The Polish people revolted in 1863 A.D. Bismarck helped Russia and Palmerston aided Poland. Palmerston bluffed Russia but failed because of Bismarck's help.

(10) *Problem of Denmark*—In 1854 A.D., Bismarck captured two provinces of Denmark *i. e.*, Schleswing and Holstein. In this affair Palmerston's policy of threats did not prove successful and both the provinces came under the German control.

Conservative at Home—Palmerston was liberal abroad but was conservative at home. He always opposed the reforms. First Act of Parliamentary Reforms of 1832 A.D. had been passed before his times but Palmerston always rejected the demand for reforms during his life-time. The Second Reform Act was passed in 1867 only after his death. He also opposed the withdrawal of import duty on foreign paper. He suppressed the revolts for freedom in the British Colonies, like India. He had no sympathy for the people of Ireland. That is why it has been said—

"*Palmerston was conservative at home and liberal abroad*"— So he safeguarded the British interests and brought name and fame to England by his foreign policy.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. Castlereagh—(1) Foreign Secretary of England from 1812 to 1822.
   (2) Supporter of setting the disputes by confornces and peaceful means. He supported the policy of non-interference and co-operation.
   (3) His hand in Napoleon's defeat.
   (4) Part played in the Vienna Congress.
   (5) Against the policy of interference in the Protocol of Troppau.
   (6) Suicide in 1822 A.D.
2. Canning—(1) Foreign Secretary of England from 1822 to 1827 A.D. He come after Casterleagh.

(2) Supporter of the policy of peace and non-interference ; guardian of the interests and honour of England.
(3) Follower of the policy of non-interference in other countries.
(4) Supporter of nationalism rather than internationalism.
(5) Keeping aloof from the Verona Congress of 1822 A.D.
(6) Problem of Spain, 1822-23 A.D.
(7) The Portugese Problem of 1823-24 A.D.
(8) Sympathy with Greece in the Greek War of Independence.

3. **Sir Robert Peel**—A great politician of the Victorian Era.

Home Policy—(1) Following the free trade policy to reform the economic condition of England, introduced the policy of income tax and passed the Charter Act. ;

(2) Passing of the Mines Act and the Factory Acts for the improvement of the condition of the labourers.
(3) Repealed the Corn-Laws in 1846 A.D.

Foreign Policy—(1) War with China.

(2) End of the First Afghan War.
(3) Friendly relations with France and America.

4. **Lord Palmerston**—(1) Became M.P. in 1807 A.D.
(2) Steered the foreign policy from 1830 to 1865 A.D.

Foreign Policy—Conservative at home but liberal abroad ; guarded the honour and interests of the English. Supporter of the policy of interference, threats and rebuff.

(1) Freedom of Belgium 1830-31 A.D.
(2) Problems of Spain and Portugal.
(3) War with China 1840 A.D.
(4) European Revolution of 1848 A.D.
(5) Unification of Italy.
(6) The Eastern Question.
(7) Indian Mutiny of 1857 A.D.
(8) American Civil War, 1861-65.
(9) The Polish Rebellion.
(10) Problem of Denmark.

2. **Home Policy**—Palmerston was conservative at home.

(1) Opposed the parliamentary reforms.
(2) Did not withdraw the duty on paper.
(3) Suppression of the Indian Mutiny of 1857 A.D.
(4) Did not sympathise with Ireland.

Democracy in England

☞ **Q 2. Write a short essay on the Reform Bill of 1832 A D.**

Or

Show how Great Britain has gradually become a political democracy since 1832 A.D.

Or

What measures were taken between 1832 and 1928 to democratise the Parliament ?

Ans. Parliament gained many powers during the 18th century but the democratic form of government was established there in the

20th century after a continuous struggle of about a century, *i.e.*, 1832—1928 A. D.

1. **Reform Bill of 1832 A. D.**—First Parliamentary Reform Bill was passed in 1832 A. D. during the Prime-ministership of Lord Grey.

Causes—There were many causes which led to the passing of this Reform Bill:—(*i*) The franchise was very defective. Many new big cities had come up as a result of the Industrial Revolution, such as Manchester and Birmingham etc. but these cities had no right to send their members to the Parliament. But the Rotten Boroughs had the right to send two members each in the Parliament. (*ii*) The seats were not allotted on the basis of the population. (*iii*) The big landlords had much influence in the constituencies and they got elected the persons of their choice. Parliament was not the representative of the public but then representative of big landlords. (*iv*) Franchise was limited and unjust. The big landlords and the rich families had the right to vote. (*v*) The conditions regarding voting was not only stern but also differed in the different parts. (*vi*) Corruption and wantonness were the order of the day and the votes were purchased. (*vii*) The system of Secret Ballot did not exist. So voters could not cast their votes according to their choice. (*viii*) The women did not have the right of voting. **Pitt, the Younger**, had remarked about the defective electoral system—

"This House (House of Commons) is not the representative of the People of Great Britain ; it is the representative of nominal boroughs of ruined and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy families, of foreign potentates".

(2) *Main Provisions*—(*i*) The right of sending members to Parliament was withdrawn from all those places which had population of less than 2,000 (*ii*) Those places which had population ranging from 2,000 to 4,000 were given the right of sending one member each. (*iii*) 143 seats, which fell vacant in this way, were distributed among big towns. (*iv*) Those persons were given the right to vote who were the owners of houses or were living in such houses whose annual rent was £ 10 or more than that. In the rural areas those persons were given the right to vote who were permanent agriculturists of land with an annual revenue of £ 10 or lease holders or tenants-at-will of land worth £ 50 of annual rent.

(3) *Importance*—(1) This Reform Bill has an important place in the Constitutional History of England. **Trevelyan** has called it the '*Magna Carta*' of those days. It created a great revolution in the Constitutional History of England. (2) This Bill transferred the political power into the hands of the middle class from the big landlords and rich people. (3) Big cities got the right to send their representatives. (4) This Bill was the first step towards the democratic form of government (5) This Bill transferred the power into the hands of the House of Commons from the King and the House of Lords. (6) This Bill changed the whole atmosphere into

one of reforms and many bills were passed after 1832 A.D. for the welfare of the general public. It has been rightly said regarding the importance of this bill—

> *"Although the Reform Bill was far from being a democratic measure nevertheless it made a breach in the aristocratic wall, large enough for the middle class to enter but destined to be widened later to admit all classes of suffrage".*

2. Second Reform Act of 1867 A.D.

(1) *Reasons*—The First Reform Act gave the right of voting only to the middle classes but the labourers and the workers were ignored. So the Chartist Movement was started to get for them the right to vote. But this movement failed. Lord Palmerston was conservative at home. As long as he remained alive no reform could be introduced in the Parliament due to his opposition. But the demand for reforms became more vigorous after his death. At last in 1867 A.D., the Second Reform Act was passed by the efforts of Lord Disraeli during the times of Lord Derby.

(2) *Provisions*—(*i*) All the owners of houses, occupiers and tenants paying or receiving an annual rent of £ 10 in the cities were given the right to vote, (*ii*) The condition of annual payment of revenue was reduced from £ 50 to only £ 12 in the Counties. (*iii*) The right of sending the representatives was taken away from 11 small Boroughs and they were defranchised, and 35 Counties with population of less than 10,000 were given the right to send one member alone. The large cities were however, given the right of sending two or more representatives.

(3) *Importance*—10 lakh new voters were added by the passing of this Act and one person out of every 12 got the right to vote. This Act transferred the political power to the workers and the labourers. Lord Derby called it '*a leap in the dark*'. The following observation however, highlights the significance of the Bill—

> *"The Reform Bill of 1867 A.D. was the second instalment of democracy. It was now realized that England was on the high road to democracy and those who feared the new order characterised it as a leap in the dark and as shooting Niagara."*

3. **The Secret Ballot Act of 1872**—The Reforms Acts of 1832 and 1867 A.D. did not provide for any Secret Ballot. In 1872 A.D., Gladstone passed an act which is known as the secret ballot Act. This Act introduced the system of secret voting. The voters got the freedom to cast their vote according to their wish. This was another step towards the establishment of democracy as it brought an end to the illegitimate influence of landlords and employers.

4. **Third Reform Act, 1884 A.D.**—The Second Reform Act of 1867 A.D. completely ignored the labourers and the workmen in

the villages. Consequently, Gladstone got passed the Third Reform Act in 1884 A.D. and in this way he tried to remove the injustice done to the villagers.

Provisions. (*i*) Like the cities, the owners of the houses in the villages were also given the right to vote.

(2) In the villages those persons were also given the right to vote who were tenants of the houses with annual rent of £ 10.

Importance—This Act had the same importance for the working classes and the farmers in the villages as the Second Reform Act of 1887 A.D. had for the workmen and the labourers in the cities and towns. This Act increased the number of voters to 20,000,000. The Parliament became a national assembly in England in the real sense, by the passage of this Act.

5. **Reform Act of 1885 A.D.**—This Act was also passed during the times of Gladstone. This Act brought to an end the differences found in different constituencies.

(1) The right of sending representatives was completely withdrawn from all Boroughs with less than a population of 15,000.

(2) The country was divided into many constituencies and every constituency was given the right to elect a member to the Parliament. In this way, single member constituency system was set-up.

This Redistribution of Seats'Act was a great step towards doing away with the demerits of the parliamentary electoral system. The distribution of the seats in all parts of the country was now done on equal and proper basis.

6. **Parliament Act of 1911 A.D.**—This Act was passed during the Prime Ministership of Lord Asquith to settle the relations of both the Houses of the Parliament.

Provisions—(1) Money Bill will be introduced first of all in the House of Commons and after being passed there it will be sent to the House of Lords. This House was to return the bill after passing it without making any amendment within a period of one month. It was laid down that if this House did not do that even then the bill would be sent to the King for royal assent and there-after that bill would become an Act.

(2) The decision regarding the Money Bill waste to be made by the Chairman of the House of Commons.

(3) As regards the Ordinary or Public Bills, it was decided that if a bill is passed three times successively by the House of Commons, it would automatically go to the Crown for royal assent even if the House of Lords opposed that. After the royal assent, that would become an Act.

(4) The term of the House of Commons was reduced to 5 years from that of 7 years.

(5) The annual allowance of £ 400 was to be paid to the Members of the Parliament.

Importance—This Act made the House of Commons superior to that of the House of Lords. The House of Lords was reduced to a Secondary Chamber in place of being a Second Chamber.

7. **Franchise Act of 1918 A.D.** This Act was passed after the First World War in 1918 A.D. during the times of Lloyd George. According to it— (*i*) Every man of 21 years or above was given the right to vote. (*ii*) All women over the age of 30 were also given the right to vote.

This Act was an important step towards the establishment of democracy in England as the condition of property was removed and women also got the chance alone with men to take part in the politics of their country.

8. **Reform Act of 1928 A.D.**—This Act granted the right of vote to every male or female who was of 21 years or more except bankrupts and lunatics, etc.

This Act provided equal rights to both the males and the females. Thus England become a true democratic country.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Democracy in England

1. **Act of 1832 A.D.**—This Act was passed by the efforts of Lord Grey.
(2) The electoral system was defective before its passing.
(3) There was control of the landlords and the rich over the Parliament and the conditions for voting were hard and unequal.
(4) The rights of sending representatives was withdrawn from the Rotten Boroughs and this right was given to big cities in their place.
(5) Leniency in the conditions for voting.
(6) Transfer of political power from the rich to the middle class.

2. **Act of 1867 A.D.**—(1) The 1832 Act provided the workman in cities the right to vote.
(2) This Act liberalised the franchise and the working classes in the cities got the right of voting.
(3) This Act transferred the political power from the hands of the middle classes to the working classes.

3. **Secret Ballot Act.**—The Secret Ballot Act was introduced in 1872 A.D. and the voters got the freedom of casting votes secretly.

4. **Third Reform Act of 1884 A.D.**—(1) The Second Reform Act ignored the workmen and the farmers in the villages.
(2) This Act gave the right of voting to the workmen and the farmers in the villages.
(3) Equal conditions for voting were established everywhere.

5. **Reform Act of 1885 A.D.**—Re-distribution of seats was done on the basis of population.

6. **Act of 1911 A.D.—(1) Settlement of the rights of both the Houses.**
(2) Complete control of the House of Commons on Money Bills.
(3) House of Lords was reduced to a Secondary Chamber.

7. **Act of 1918 A.D.—This Act provided the right of voting to the males aged 21 years or more and the females aged 30 years.**

8. **Act of 1928 A.D.—This Act gave the right of voting to every male or female of 21 years of age or more.**

CHARTIST MOVEMENT AND THE CORN LAWS

Q. (*a*) 3. Give a brief account of the Chartist Movement. Why did it fail ?

(*b*) What were the Corn Laws and how were they repealed ?

Or

Write short notes on the following :—

(*a*) Charist Movement

(*b*) The Corn Laws.

Ans. (*a*) The Chartist Movement—The Chartist Movement was started by the workers, labourers and farmers with the aim of improving their social and economic conditions and to gain political rights for themselves *i.e.* the workmen, labourers and the farmers in the early part (1837—48 A.D.) of Queen Victoria's reign. Lovett and Feargus O' Conner were their leaders.

(1) *Causes*—(*i*) Many workers became unemployed in England as a result of the Industrial Revolution. They wanted to improve their condition. (*ii*) The prices got high as a result of the Corn Laws and it affected the poor greatly. (*iii*) The Poor Laws Reform Act of 1834 A.D. stopped the government aid to the poor. (*iv*) The Reform Act of 1832 A.D. did not provide to the workers, the labourers and small farmers the right of sending their representatives. They wanted to gain political rights to improve their condition.

(2) *Demands of the Chartists*—Chartists prepared their demand-paper known as the 'Peoples' Chatrer'. Their demands were as follows :—(*i*) Every person of 21 years of age should be given the right to vote. (*ii*) The secret ballot system should be introduced. (*iii*) There should be no condition of property for becoming a member of the Parliament. (*iv*) The members of the Parliament should get an allowance. (*v*) The country should be divided into constituencies with about equal size of population. (*vi*) Elections to the Parliament should be held every year.

(3) *End of the Movement*—The Chartists held meetings at every place and made exciting speeches. In the beginning, they followed the peaceful path of Lovett. In 1839 A.D., they presented a petition to the Parliament, but it was rejected. After that they

came under Feargus's influence and strikes and riots began to take place at every place, so the government suppressed this movement forcibly, for the time-being.

In 1848 A.D., when the revolutionaries started a movement everywhere, the Chartists restarted their movement. They prepared a new petition which was signed by lacs of persons. They took out a procession to present their Petition to the parliament but their procession was stopped on a way. On the scrutiny of the petition, it was found that many of those signatures were forged. Even the forged signatures of Queen Victoria were also there. This gave a great setback to the movement. The government declared it illegal. This movement thus calmed down by and by.

(4) *Causes of its Failure*—(*i*) This movement did fail but not because its objectives were improper but its failure was due to its aggressire means. People did not like strikes and riots.

(*ii*) Unemployment problem was solved by the opening of new factories.

(*iii*) The repealing of the Corn Laws removed the proverty upto a great extent.

(*iv*) Government passed many laws and acts to improve the conditions of workmen and labourers and so they separated themselves from this movement.

"But what actually killed the Chartist Movement was improvement in employment and working conditions of the labourers that followed in the wake of English reforms between 1830 A.D. to 1870 A.D."

—(Woodword)

(*v*) Chartists did not have any able leader. Their leaders were divided on certain issues. They were formed into revolutionary and evolutionary groups.

It has been said about the failure of this movement—

"The Chartist Movement failed because it was largely the reactionary movement of an economically superceded and politically powerless class".

—(Gregg)

(5) *Importance*—The Chartist Movement failed but it showed its effects in the times to come. The government later on itself accepted 5 of the 6 demands and introduced reforms in the franchise by passing various acts from time to time. Olny the demand of yearly elections to the Parliament was not accepted. Consequently, the government repealed the Corn Laws and passed many laws for the welfare of the labourers. This movement played an important part in drawing the attention of the people towards their social, economic and

political conditions. This movement gave birth to many reforms. **Hazen** has rightly said—

"It seems that some tremendous impetus of England towards democracy, which grew so markedly towards the close of the 19th century, was derived from this movement of the Chartists".

(*b*) **The Corn Laws**—These were the laws which were passed to safeguard the interests of the landlords in 1818 A.D. after the Napoleonic Wars. Duty on the imported corn was increased. This resulted in the rise of the price of the corn. The landlords gained but it adversely affected the general public. Soon people started raising voice against these laws.

The industrialists and the factory-owners also opposed these laws. They had to increase the wages of the labourers as a result of the rise in prices of the corns. This increased the prices of things so that they could not compete with the things of foreign countries. This divided the country into two groups *i.e.* the general public and the industrialists were on one side and the big land-lords were on the other side. An Anti-Corn Law League was formed under the leadership of Cobdon and John Bright. In 1839 A.D., the public and the industrialists tried to oppose these laws. They excited the generals public by making speeches and distributing pamphlets by moving from place to place. By and by, this movement gained momentum.

The potato-crop was ruined in Ireland in 1845 A D. This resulted in deaths by hunger and the general condition of the people became very sad. On seeing their condition, Peel decided to repeal these laws as there was no way out for improving the condition of the poor. His party men were against it. He, however, said—

"The removal of the impediments to imports is the only effectual remedy of checking famine, starvation and appalling mortality in Ireland!"

Thus in 1846 A.D., he repealed these laws with the help of the opposite party *i.e.*, the Liberals. After this, he had to submit his resignation as he could not maintain his majority in the Parliament. He resigned by giving preference to the interests of the public and the country over and above his own party-interests. He himself said—

"I shall leave behind a name remembered with expression of good-will in the abodes of these whose lot it is to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **The Chartist Movement**—The interests of the workmen and the labourers were neglected by the First Reform Act of 1832.
(2) Their economic condition deteriorated.
(3) They started the Chartist Movement under the leadership of Lovett and Feargus.

(4) Petition with 6 demands submitted to the government.
(5) Petition was rejected and the movement was suppressed.
(6) The movement was restarted in 1848 A.D. and a petition was prepared.
(7) It was again suppressed by the Government.
(8) Causes of its failure.
(9) Importance of this movement was that this compelled the government to introduce reforms and 5 out of 6 demands were accepted in the times to come.

2. **The Corn Laws**—(1) These laws were passed for the benefit of the landlords in 1818 A.D.
(2) Increase in duty on the imports of corn.
(3) Its adverse effect on the labourers and workmen.
(4) These laws also proved harmful to the industrialists.
(5) Formation of Anti-Corn Laws League to oppose these laws.
(6) Destruction of the potato-crops in Ireland in 1845 A.D.
(7) Peel was compelled to repeal these laws in 1846 A.D.

Reforms in England in the 19th century

Q. 4. Give an account of the main reforms in various spheres of life in England in the 19th century.

Or

"Seldom has any great society undergone within so short a time a greater change in structure and spirit." Explain this with reference to the Era of Reform in England in the 19th century.

Ans. After 1789 A.D. when the French Revolution started, England remained so much busy in fighting against France that she could not think of anything else. In 1815 A.D. these wars came to an end. Every sphere of life required some kind of reforms. George III breathed his last in the year 1820 A.D. After his death, reforms were introduced on a large scale during the reign of his successors George IV (1820—30 A.D.) and William IV (1830—37 A.D.).

1. **Reforms in the Penal Code, Police and Jail**—The Penal Code of England was very hard and tedious. There was no difference between small and great crimes. Sir Robert Peel as a Home Secretary of England (1823—30 A.D.) annulled the death sentence for about 100 crimes and made the Penal Code quite soft. It was softened more in 1837 A.D. by the efforts of great politicians like Burke, etc. and by 1861 A D. the death sentece began to be given for only three crimes *i.e.* murder, piracy and insurgence.

Robert Peel introduced many reforms in the police. He took away the police duties from the watchmen and assigned them to the police men He made the London Police a model in the world.

The condition of jails was very bad in England. There was no arrangement for light, air, etc. in them. Small children, men and women were kept together in the same small cells. This corrupted them morally. The jail-authorities used to get bribe from the jailed persons. Hard labour was exacted from the prisoners and they were given severe punishments. John Howard and Elizabeth Fry made many efforts for improvement in the conditions of the jails.

2. **End of Slavery**—Sir John Hawkins, an English sailor, started the trade of slaves during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The slavery was against humanity. The slaves were treated cruelly and in an inhumane manner. In 1807 A D., the trade in slavery was declared illegal and in 1833 A.D. the abolition of slavery act was passed and all the slaves were set free and their masters were paid compensation.

3. **Social Reforms**—Many new industrial towns came up as a result of the Industrial Revolution. The condition of the factory workers was very miserable. The capitalists exploited them. They had to work for more time and the wages paid to them were much less comparatively. The children and the women had to undergo hard work also. Efforts were made to lessen the hours of work and improve their lot by the Factory Act of 1833 A.D. by Owen, Thomas Sadler and Ashley etc. The Mines Act of 1842 A.D. prohibited the employment of children and women in the mines. The Factory Act of 1847 A.D. reduced the hours of work to 10 per day. After that, many Acts as those of 1864, 1867, 1874, 1878, 1883, 1895 A.D. were passed to improve their condition. The labourers were given the rights to form labour unions, political parties and to go on strikes peacefully.

The poor were given financial aid by the poor law during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. In 1834 A.D., this law was amended and only disabled poor persons were to get the financial aid from the government. The sound and stout poor persons were given work to earn their living.

The Public Health Act was passed in 1842 A.D. for the well-being of the health of the general public. Disraeli's Home Minister, Cross passed many acts in 1875 A.D. for the public health and many rules and regulations were formed regarding the health and sanitation. Local bodies were also given the powers to get the badly sanitated houses demolished and to get new houses built up in their place.

4. **Educational Reforms**—Upto the end of the 18th century, educational facilities were limited to the religious institutions or the individual agencies. The government accepted to grant an aid of £ 20,000 to educational institutions in 1833 A.D. This sum was increased to £ 30,000 in 1839 A.D. The tax on news-papers was also withdrawn in 1836 A.D. Education was given impetus by withdrawing duty on paper in 1861 A.D. The management of the elementary education was handed over to the School Boards by the Elementary Education Act of 1880 A.D. and the expenses on them were met by the local taxes. The elementary education was made

compulsory by the Education Act of 1880 A.D. and it was made free in 1891 A.D. Many schools and colleges were opened for the expansion of education after 1881 A.D.

5. **Economic Reforms**—The production of many things started in the factories of England as a result of the Industrial Revolution. For the progress of the trade of the country, thinkers like Adom Smith supported the principle of Free trade. Robert Peel was also a supporter of this policy. So he reduced taxes on many things during his Prime-Ministership and also completely withdrew it on many items. The Corn Laws were repealed in 1846 A.D. for the benefit of the poor. Navigation laws were passed to facilitate the free trade. Gladstone also followed the policy of the free-trade to give impetus to the trade.

6. **Reforms in the Local Government**—The local administration was in name only as it was completely under the control of the government. The condition of the Local Bodies was not satisfactory. The Municipal Corporation Act was passed in 1835. Every tax-payer was given the right to elect members to the Municipal Committee of his city. So the Municipal Committees became the true representative of the people and they started paying attention to improve the condition of the cities as also to provide social services there. These improvements cleared the way for the reforms of 1884 A.D. and 1894 A.D. in the local administration.

7. **Religious Reforms**—In the beginning of the 19th century, most of the people of England had religious freedom but there were still many restrictions imposed upon the Catholics, Dissenters and the Jews. The Test Act and the Corporation Act had been passed during the reign of the Charles II. Those persons, who did not follow the Church of England, could not get an employment. Both these acts were however, repealed in 1828 A.D. Even then the Catholics did not have the right to become the Members of Parliament in England and specially in Ireland. The Catholic Emancipation Act was passed in 1820 A.D. by the efforts of Daniel O' Concell and they got the right to become Members of the Parliament. The restrictions imposed upon the Jews were also removed in 1858 A.D.

8. **Political Reforms**—Many acts were passed to reform the Parliament in England. They have been described in detail in the last question.

Thus, we see that many important acts were passed for the improvement of social, economic, religious and political life in England in the 19th century.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Reforms in England in the 19th Century—(1) Reforms in the Penal Code, police and jail.
(2) End of Slavery.
(3) Social reforms—different factory acts, amendment in the Poor Act

in 1834 A.D. ; rules regarding health and employment.
(4) Education reform Act of 1836, 1861, 1870 and 1880 A.D.
(5) Economic reforms—Following the free trade policy.
(6) Reforms in the local administration—Act of 1835, 1884 and 1894 A.D.
(7) Religious Reforms—Repealing of the Test Act and Corporation Act in 1828 A.D., the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1828 A.D., removal of restrictions from the Jews in 1858 A.D.
(8) Political reforms.

Achievements of Gladstone, Disraeli and Salisbury.

Q, 5. Give an account of the work and achievements of Gladstone, Disraeli and Salisbury.

1, Gladstone

Ans. 1. Gladstone was the most famous Prime Minister and a great politician of Queen Victoria's reign. He was born in 1809 A.D. His father was a rich merchant. In 1832 A.D., he became the Member of Parliament. In 1843 A.D., he became the member of the Board of Trade under Peel. In 1852 A.D., he became the Chancellor of Exchequer. He became the Prime Minister of England four times, *i.e.*, from 1868 to 1874, from 1880 to 1885, for some months in 1886 and lastly in 1892 A.D.

1. **His Home Policy and Reforms**—Gladstone was a great reformist and is known for his internal policy in the history of England.

(1) *Parliamentary Reforms*—The secret franchise started in England by the Secret Ballot Act of 1872 A.D. (2) Third Reform Act of 1884 A.D. provided equal rights of voting to the cities and the villages. (3) The re-distribution of the seats on the basis of population was done by the Act of 1885 A.D.

(2) *Educational Reforms*—Gladstone gave much importance to education He used to say, "*We educate our masses.*" The School Boards were set up for the management of the elementary education by the Elementary Education Act of 1870 A.D. In 1889 A.D, the elementary education became compulsory and in 1890 A.D., it was made free. The number of schools and colleges was also increased.

(3) *Army Reforms*—(1) The Commander-in-Chief was relieved of the administrative duties. (2) The selling of the army ranks was stopped. (3) The reserve force system was introduced. (4) Regiments were divided into two divisions by the Linked Battalion System. Each one of the divisions had to remain in the foreign lands turn by turn.

(4) *Social and Economic Reforms*— The labourers were given the right to form unions and to strike by the Trade Union Act of 1871 A. D. The Licensing Act of 1872 A. D. brought the breweries

under control. The payment of compensation to the labourers in cases of accidents was decided upon by Employer's Liability Act of 1880 A.D. The payment of compensation to the farmers on eviction for the purpose of permanent reforms in land was introduced by the Agricultural Holding Act of 1883 A.D. Gladstone followed the policy of free trade to improve the commerce and trade of the country.

2. **Foreign Policy**—Gladstone was not an imperiatist. He was peace-loving and an ardent supporter of the settlement of inter national disputes by conferences. He did not favour the policy of interference into the internal affairs of other contries. His policy of this type could not succeed in the era of nationalism. (1) He remained neutral in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 A.D. and this strengthened Prussia. (2) Russia abrogated the Paris Treaty of 1856 and started increasing her influence in the Black Sea. Gladstone did not attempt to stop her. He believed that the Russian economic interests had better claims than the political interests of England. (3) He settled the 'Alabama Case' by paying a large sum (£ 30 Lakhs) to America. (4) Gladstone did not like to suppress the Boers and keep the colony of Transval under British control ; he gave freedom to Transval. (5) England and France had joint control over Egypt. In 1832 A.D., the people of Egypt revolted under the leadership of Arabi Pasha. England alone suppressed this revolt. Thus England brought Egypt under her sole control. (6) Mehdi also revolted in Sudan. General Gorden with many of his soldiers was killed there but the English succeeded in suppressing this revolt finally.

3. **The Irish Problem**—England and Ireland formed a union in 1800 A.D. but the people of Ireland opposed it from the very beginning. Gladstone was the first man who decided to solve this problem. He used to say—"*My mission is to pacify Ireland.*"

This was a many-sided problem :—(1) Irish people were Catholics but the Church of England was forced upon them and they were also to pay many ecclessiastical levies. (2) The Protestants of England were the landlords of Irish land and their agents oppressed the Irish tenants greatly. (3) Many political restrictions were also imposed on the Irish people.

Gladstone separated the church from the state by the Dis-establishment and Dis-endowment Act of 1869 A.D. The agrarian problem was also successfully solved by the First and Second Irish Land Acts. But this did not satisfy the Irish people who wanted the Home Rule. He tried to give Home Rule to the people of Ireland by the First Home Rule Bill of 1886 A.D. and the Second Home Rule Bill of 1893 A. D. but he failed in his attempt. The Irish people continued their efforts and an Irish Free State was established in 1922 A. D.

Critics have criticised Gladstone's foreign policy and have remarked that "*His foreign policy was pacific and unexciting and he did* *not play a leading part in the European affairs like the days of Palmerston."* —(*Ramsay Muir*)

Even then one cannot ignore the fact that Gladstone was really a great man. It has been rightly said—'*We see no Parliamentarian equal to him and no public financer superior : nor any man in the high places of state who possessed a rich culture of mind and soul.*"

2. Disraeli

Disraeli was also another great politician of Queen Victoria's reign. He was born in a 1804 in a Jewish family. He became Member of the Parliament in 1837 A.D. After the repealing of the Corn Laws, he left the party of Peel and organised 'Young England' group in opposition to Peel. He greatly strengthened and consolidated the Conservative Party. He became the Prime Minister of England twice. He held this office of Prime Minister for some months in 1868 A. D. and then from 1874 A. D. to 1880 A. D.

1. **Home Policy**—In order to make his party powerful, Disraeli followed the policy of reforms though he was a Conservative. He was of the view—"*The palace is not safe when the cottage is unhappy.*"

In 1867 A.D., when he was the Home Secretary, he passed the Second Reform Act and this gave the right of voting to labourers living in towns. (2) Arrangements were made for building good houses for the labourers by the Artisan's Dwelling Act of 1875 A. D. (3) His Home Secretary Cross passed many acts for the safety of health and sanitation of the people. (4) The workers got the right to form unions and to go on strikes by the Employers and Workmen Act of 1876 A. D. (5) The traders and merchants were saved by the Merchants' Shipping Act. (6) Common land was demarcated for the benefit of the poor and the agriculturists by 'The Enclosures of Common Land Act (7) By the Factory and Workshop Act of 1876 A. D. restrictions were imposed on the employment of children below the age of 10. The working hours for the children and women were also reduced. Thus, Disraeli launched an ambitious programme of enacting social reforms for political reconstruction.

2. **Foreign Policy**—Disraeli was a great imperialist. He was always ready to preserve and consolidate the British Empire. He wanted to bring name and fame to England and to establish her superiority in Europe. Therefore, he adopted the policy of interference, aggressiveness and imperialism. To quote—H. A. L Fisher—"*His (Disraeli's) liberal opponents were right in the fearing that his passion for prestige might bad the country into danger.*"

(1) Disraeli purchased the shares of *Suez Canal* for £ 40,000 from Egypt's ruler Ismail Pasha. The English were able to save their interests in Egypt and Indian Empire in a better way by this deal. (2) *Germany* was making a great progress under the leadership of Bismarck. He was keeping an eye over certain parts of France but Disraeli

checked his imperialistic intensions by declaring his help for France and preserved the balance of power in Europe. (3) He made *Queen Victoria to assume the title of "Empress of India"* so that the Indians should remain faithful to England. In 1875 A. D., *Bosnia and Herzegovina* revolted against the Sultan of Turkey. Russia took side with these states and defeated the Sultan with the result that the Sultan was compelled to sign the Treaty of San Stefano and gained many facilities in the Black Sea. But Disraeli opposed it and called a conference of the European powers under the leadership of Bismarck in Berlin and was able to check the Russian influence by the Concluding Treaty of Berlin in 1878 A. D. (5) The English defeated the *Boers of Transvaal* and captured Transval again.

Fisher observes—"*While Gladstone was always a religious preacher, Disraeli was an incurable romantic.*" Disraeli was an able politician, a great imperialist, self-determined and far-sighted person. He organised the Tory Party and greatly strengthened the British Empire by his effective foreign policy and raised the prestige of England in the European countries, **Marriot** has rightly remarked—

"*Instead of political reconstruction, Disraeli gave a prestige to his foreign glory and imperial consolidation to his countrymen.*"

3. Salisbury

Salisbury was born in 1830 A.D., He entered into the Parliament in 1854 A. D. He worked as Disraeli's Foreign Secretary from 1868 to 1874 A. D. He thrice held the office of Prime Minister of England *i.e.*, for some months in 1883 A.D.; from 1886 to 1892 A.D. and from 1895 to 1902 A. D. Though he was a conservative yet he was a great politician and a versatile genius.

1. **Home Policy**— Though he was a Conservative yet he introduced some reforms:— (1) He passed a law which made the *payments of tithes* compulsory for the landlords in place of the tenants. (2) The *Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria* was celebrated during his times. This raised the prestige of the queen and England both. (3) He introduced may reforms in the *local administration* by passing the Local Government Act of 1890 A. D. (4) Attention was paid towards the public *health and sanitation* by the *Housing Act of 1890 A.D. which was* passed to safeguard the interests of the labourers. (6) The *elementary Education* was made free by the Education Act of 1891 A. D. and a unified educational system was introduced in 1898 A. D. An Education Board was also established. (7) The system of *selling and buying of the military ranks* was ended. Many ships were built up to increase the naval power. (8) Land Purchase Acts were passed to solve the Irish problem but he was, however, not in favour of giving them the Home Rule.

2. **Foreign Policy**—Salisbury favoured the policy of peace. He was in favour of solving different conflicts by mutual understanding

and conferences. He did not favour England's joining any camp in Europe. He tried to have friendly relations with other European countries and kept the war away for a long time. **Trevelyan** has said:—

"Salisbury's policy of prudent bargain and constant concessions prevented European war on account of African territory."

(1) He maintained the British influence in *Egypt*. (2) There was possibility of a conflict with *France* due to the Fashoda incident. England could never tolerate the French influence over Sudan. At last this conflict was settled by negotiations. (3) In 1896 A. D. *Crete* revolted against Turkey's rule over there and as a result of it Greco-Turkish War broke out in 1897 A. D. Greece was defeated but Turkey had to withdraw from Crete as a result of Salisbury's efforts. So he was able to save Crete and Greece from the Turks. (4) He also solved the *Indian and Afghan* problems with Russia by peaceful means. (5) *Germany* made many efforts to have an alliance with England. Salisbury established friendly relations but he did not enter into any treaty with Germany as he did not favour groupism. (6) He supported the policy of *colonial expansion* and expanded the British Colonial empire in Africa and Australia. He set up the Federation of Australian Commonwealth in 1901 A. D. in order to bring the Australian colonies nearer to England.

So by his foreign policy Salisbury safeguarded the British interests, raised her prestige and kept her aloof from the wars. **Ramsay Muir** has said:—

"On the whole, his success both as a Prime Minister as well as Foreign Minister of England was great and enviable."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Gladstone.** (1) Born in 1809 A.D.

(2) Entry into Parliament in 1832 A.D. and became Prime Minister of England four times.

(3) He was a great reformer—parliamentry reforms, military reforms, social and economic reforms.

(4) Foreign Policy—He was not an imperialist and favoured peace. Non-interference in the Farnco-Punssian War in 1870 A.D. ; abrogation of the treaty of Paris by Russia, end of the Albama case ; freedom of Transvaal ; Egyptian and Sudanese problems.

(5) Irish Problem.

2. **Disraeli.** (1) Born in 1804 A.D. Entry into Parliament in 1849 A.D. and became Prime Minister twice.

(2) He made many reforms to strengthen his party.

(3) He was an imperialist and supporter of the policy of interference and aggression ; purchase of the shares of the Suez canal ; to check the German power ; declaring Queen Victoria as Empress of India ; Eastern Question ; capture of Transvaal ; raised the prestige of the country.

3. **Salisbury.** (1) Born in 1830 A.D. ; entry into Parliament in 1854 A.D., became Prime Minister three times.

(2) Reforms made under his Home Policy.

(3) Foreign Policy—supporter of the policy of non-interference and alliances favoured the policy of peace.
(4) Maintenance of control over Egypt and Sudan.
(5) Maintenance of friendly relations with other countries.
(6) Expansion of Colonial Empire.
(7) Kept away the wars by his diplomacy.

COLONIAL POLICY OF ENGLAND IN THE 19th CENTURY

Q. 6. Describe briefly the colonial Policy of England during the 19th century.

Or

Give an account of the colonial expansion of England, France and Russia during the 19th century.

Or

"The 19th century was a century of empire-building on a colossal scale." Amplify.

Ans. In the 19th century, the European countries especially England, France and Russia captured many weak countries and set up their colonies there. **Hazen** has said in this connection :—

> *"One of the most remarkable features of the 19th century was the reaching out of Europe for the conquest of the world. It was not only a century of nation-building but also of empire-building on a colossal scale, a century of European emigration and colonization, a century during which the white race seized whatever regions of the earth remained still unappropriated."*

1. **Causes of Colonial Expansion**—Following were the causes of the colonial expansion in the 19th century:—

(1) The *population* of the European countries increased at a great speed during the 19th century. People of these countries discovered many new countries and set up their colonies there.

(2) The *industries* in these countries also developed rapidly, so these countries required markets to sell their products. Consequently they paid special attention towards setting up their new colonies.

(3) These countries set up their own colonies to get *raw material* for their factories.

(4) There was an increase in the wealth of the European nations as a result of the Industrial Revolution. They could not make use of it in their own countries. So they set-up their colonies to *make a proper use of their wealth.*

(5) The Christian missionaries also gave a great co-operation in setting up these colonies for the *spread of Christianity.*

(6) England was the first nation that paid attention towards the setting-up of her colonies. This resulted in an increase in her power and prosperity. *Other European countries followed her* in this direction.

(7) The desire to set-up their colonies was the result of an effort for *gainingin-ternational prestige* as the international prestige of a country was, to a great extent, based upon her colonial empire.

(8) The *gold mines* were discovered in America, Australia and Africa. This added a lot to the expansion of the colonial empire by different countries of Europe.

(9) The *developments of the means of transport* and communication helped greatly the sales as well as eased the work of setting-up of colonies.

2. **Colonies of England**—

(1) **Colonies in America**—In 1865 A. D., the English had six colonies in North America—U pperCanada, Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, New Foundland and Prince Edward Island. The English captured Canada after defeating France in the Seven Years War (1756—63 A D.). The English largely inhabited the Upper Canada and the French the Lower Canada. There was often conflicts between the two. So separate Legislative Assemblies were set-up there by separating them. This did not solve the problem and there occured a revolt in 1837 A.D. The British Government, sent Lord Durham there and both the parts were united againon the basis of his report, A Union Government was set-up there and Canada was given the Dominion Status in 1867 A. D.

(2) **Colonies in Africa**—The British defeated the Dutch of Holland in 1815 A D. and established a colony named Cape Coloney. After that their conflict with the Boers started. The English came out victorious in the end and captured Transvaal, Natal and Orange Free State. They established the Union of South Africa by uniting them.

Egypt in North Africa, remained under the joint control of the English and the French upto 1882 A. D. But France did not join with England in suppressing the revolt of Afabi Pasha in 1882 A. D. So the English had alone to supress the revolt and they took over the control of Egypt all alone. In 1914 A. D , the English included Egypt into the British Empire. They were also entangled in the revolt of Mehdi in Sudan and in the end they captured Sudan.

(3) **Australia and New Zealand**—In the 18th century, Captain Cook discovered Australia and established a colony there. In the beginning it was used as a transportation centre and both the thieves and the exiled were transported there. By and by, the agricultural land was found and gold mines were discovered there in 1851 and consequently the work of colonial expansion started there with a greater speed. The English established the colonies of New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, West Australia and Tasmania. Gradually, all these Australian colonies were given autonomy and the Commonwealth of Australia was established in 1900 A.D. by uniting them all.

In 1839 A D., the English captured New-Zealand which was given internal autonomy in 1854 A.D. She was separated from New South Wales in 1865 A.D. and was made a Dominion with the name of the 'Dominion of New Zealand' in 1907 A D.

(4) **Colonies in Asia**—The English entered into India as traders in the 17th century. The East India Company took advantage of the deteriorating political condition of India and established its own rule by crushing the power of the Marathas, the Sikhs and other rulers of North and South India. In 18›7 A.D., Indians started a struggle for freedom but they failed in their efforts. After that the British Government took over the control of India in her hands. The British Government also captured Burma, Ceylon and Baluchistan. They also tried to establish their protectorate over Afganistan but with little success.

Thus, the English established their colonial empire in almost all parts of world. Therefore, it was said, *"The sun never sets on the British Empire"*. **Hazen** has said—

"At the opening of the 20th century, Great Britain possessed an empire far more extensive and far more popular than any other which the world had ever seen".

(3) **Colonies of France**—In the 18th century, France also joined England in the race of vindicating imperialistic designs and ambitions. She established many colonies, however, she lost many of her colonies after the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 A D But after that she again followed the same policy and rapidly expanded her colonial empire by establishing her colonies in other countries.

(1) *In Africa*—In 1830 A.D., France captured Algeria (in Africa). She also took Tunis in her protection in 1837 A.D., She already had control over Senegal in western Africa. After 1847 A.D., she conquered the whole of territory situated between Senegal and Algeria. She captured Upper Nigeria in 1882 A.D. and Timbuctoo in 1894 A.D. After that, she captured the French Congo, the French Guinea, Ivory Coast and Madgascar in Africa.

She was entangled with Germany over the question of Morocco. France was able to gain control over Morocco after three crises. There was also the possibility of a war between the French and the English on the Fashoda issue in Sudan but it was averted as France accepted the English control over Sudan. The English on their part recognised the French control over Morocco.

(2) *In Asia*—France laid the foundation of her colony in Asia after capturing Annam in 1830 A.D. during the reign of Napoleon III. After that, she brought Cambodia, Cochin-China and Tonkin under her empire. All these were given the name of Indo-China. In 1907 A.D., the French captured some parts of Siam as well as those of India such as Chander Nagar, Pondicherry, Mahe, Karikal, etc.

4. **Colonies of Russia.** Russia also entered this field, on seeing the expansion of the British and the French colonial Empires. Russia extended her limits upto the Black Sea by defeating the Cacus Tribe in Siberia. She gained the territory, named Kars from the Sultan of Turkey in 1878 A.D In 1860 A.D., she captured the part of Vladivostak ; in 1869 A.D she expanded her colonial empire by conquering Tashkend and Samarkand. In 1885 A.D., she reached upto Afganistan. This created tension between England and Russia but it was later on resolved by her withdrawing from there in the end.

In addition to these countries, Germany, too, had under her many parts of the Eastern and Western Africa. Belgium had under her the territory of Congo Free State.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Expansion of Colonial Empire. The European nations established their colonies in different parts of the world in the 19th Century.

1. **Causes.** (1) Increase in population.
(2) Need of markets.
(3) Desire to get raw material.
(4) The use of wealth.
(5) Efforts of the Christian Missionaries.
(6) Competition with England.
(7) Enhancement of the international prestige.
(8) Discovery of gold-mines.
(9) Development of the Means of Transport.

2. **Colonies of England.** (1) England established the colonies of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, New Foundland etc. in America.

(2) Establishment of Dominion in 1867 A.D. by uniting all these and granting them autonomy.
(3) Discovery of Australia by Captain Cook.
(4) Setting up the Colonies of New South Wales, Queensland ; Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania etc. in Australia.
(5) Establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1900 A.D. by uniting them.
(6) Conquering New-Zealand in 1839 A.D. and establishment of the Dominion of NewZealand in 1907 A.D.
(7) Conquering India, Ceylon, Burma, Baluchistan etc. in Asia.

3. **Colonies of France**—(1) France counquered Algeria, Tunis, Senegal, Nigeria, Timbuctoo, the French Congo, the French Guinea, Madgascar, Morocco in Africa.
(2) She captured Annam, Cambodia, Cochin, China, Tonkin, Chander Nagar, Pondicherry, Mahe etc. in Asia.

4. **Colonies of Russia.** (1) Russia captured Cacus and Kars in Siberia.
(2) Conquered the parts of Vladivostok in 1860 A.D., captured Tashkent, Samarkand etc. in 1864 A.D.
Belgium and Germany too had their own colonies.

Causes of England's Participation in the First World War

Q. 7. Why did Great Britain go to War against Germany in 1914 A.D. ?

Or

Show how England became involved in the diplomacy which resulted in the Great War of 1914 A.D. ?

Ans. Europe was divided into two hostile camps in 1907 A. D. Even then the British Foreign Secretary Lord Grey tried his level best to keep England away from the war but he failed and England was compelled to take part in the First World War (1914-18 A.D.) Following were the causes of England's participation in the War :—

(1) *Anglo-German Naval Rivalry*— The British Naval power was first-rate in the beginning of the 20th Century and she had no rival. But the German Emperor Kaiser William II, wanted to make Germany a first-rate power in the world, whereby he started increasing her power. It was a sort of challenge to England who was never prepared to forego her superiority in the naval field. German navai commander Tirpitz started the expansion of the Naval fleet at a very rapid pace. It resulted in competition between the two. If Germany built one war ship then England would build two. Germany also started widening the Keel Canal Lord Grey sent his War Minister to Germany so that the competition could be avoided but he failed. The Brittsh Parliament at last passed a resolution for the preparation of twice the number of warships prepared by Germany. This competition increased the rivalry between the two.

(2) *Rivalry between England and Germany over Colonies*— Germany made a rapid progress in the industrial sphere and she needed markets for her industrial products. But in many countries of the world, England had already established her colonies, protectorates and dominions. Germany wanted to carve out her own colonies. This embittered their relations to such an extent that war became inevitable.

(3) *Commercial Rivalry*—England's prosperity was based upon her trade. As a result of her industrial development. Germany started sending such things to those countries to which England used to send before. Thus, there arose a rivalry between the two. England started the espansion of her colonies for the development of her commerce and trade. This commercial rivalry resulted in the war.

(4) *Berlin-Baghdad Railway*—The European powers started increasing their influence in the Balkan states as well in the Near East by taking advantage of the weakness of Turkey. England could not tolerate the increasing influence of any country in the Near East. But, when Germany started laying the railway line from Berlin to Baghdad, England began to suspact the German objectives. She could not tolerate that there should be any danger to her Indian Empire from any power.

(5) *Hostile Groups*—Europe was divided into two hostile camps. When Germany established the Triple Alliance with Austria and Italy, France formed the Triple Entente with Russia and England as her

partners. Under these circumstances, when Germany attacked France in 1914 A D. then England had to come to the help of his ally, France.

(6) *Germany's Refusal to ensure Belgium's Neutrality*—Lord Grey's all efforts proved useless to avert the hostilities when war actually broke out on 24th July, 1914 A.D. between Austria and Serbia. Germany asked England to remain neutral in the war between Germany and France and gave this word that Germany would not keep any part of France under her control after the war. But England was more worried about Belgium's neutrality. England got a promise from France about the neutrality of Belgium but Germany did not give any assurance of Belgium's neutrality.

(7) *Violation of Belgium's Neutrality by Germany*—When the war broke out between Austria and Serbia, then Russia and France sided with Serbia, and Germany with Austria. Germany was trying to conquer France as early as possible. She demanded a route through Belgium for attacking France, thus Belgium was forced to demand help from England. The European powers had recognised the neutrality of Belgium by an International Treaty of 1839 A D. The breach of Belgium's neutrality was a great danger for England also as it was easier for Germany to attack England after conquering Belgium. The British ambassador in Berlin tried his best to get a word for the maintenance of Belgium's neutrality from Germany. But he could not get any satisfactory reply from Germany. When Germany attacked France by sending her forces through Belgium, England had to declare war against Germany in order to save her prestige,

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Causes of England's Participation in the First World War.

(1) Anglo-German Naval Rivalry.
(2) Rivalry between England and Germany over Colonies.
(3) Commercial Rivalry.
(4) Berlin-Baghdad Railway.
(5) Hostile Groups.
(6) Germany's Refusal to ensure Belgium's neutrality.
(7) Violation of Belgium's neutrality by Germany.

University and other Important Questions

1. Give an account of the foreign policy of England in the 19th Century.

2. "Gladstone's foreign policy had been too mild and that of Disraeli too adventurous." Discuss.

3. Describe the principal changes in the social and economic life of England in the 19th century. Estimate their political and constitutional reforms.

4. "The era between 1820 to 1850 A. D. is known as the era of reforms in the History of England." Discuss.

5. Write a short essay on the Reform Bill of 1832 A.D,

6. Give an account of the various acts that converted England into a modern democracy in the 19th and 20th Century.

7. Carefully examine the foreign policy of England from the Treaty of Berlin (1878 A.D.) to the beginning of the Great War of 1914 A.D.

8. How and why did England abandon the policy of "Splendid Isolation" at the beginning of 20th Century ?

9. Explain the rise of colonial imperialism after 1870 A. D. (*A.U. 1966*)

10. Explain the causes of Anglo-German rivalry from 1890 to 1914 A.D. What were its results ? (*A.U. 1966*)

11. Give an account of the Anglo-German relations between 1890 and 1914 A.D. (*D.U. 1965*)

12. Write short notes on—
    (*a*) The Chartist Movement.
    (*b*) Corn Laws.
    (*c*) Reform Act of 1867 A.D.
    (*d*) Secret Ballet Act.

28-A

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

MEANING AND CAUSES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Q. 1. What do mean by the Industrial Revolution ? What were its chief causes ?

1. Meaning and Nature of the Industrial Revolution. During the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, many changes took place in the field of industry. The term 'Industrial Revolution' has been used to denote all those changes. Formerly the things used to be manufactured at home with hand. Industries, if any, were small scale industries based on the domestic system. Under this system a small capitalist brought the raw-material and gave it to his employees who did their work in their own home in the spare time. The capitalist gave material and tools and paid wages to the employees. Gradually the employees began to work with the help of machines in the factories started by the capitalists. All these changes taken together are known as the Industrial Revolution. *It was a change from hand work to mnchine work and domestic system to factory system.* According to **H.A. Davies**, "*The Industrial Revolution is a term which is used to express the change which was responsible for the adoption of the system of making things on a large scale in large factories with the aid of steam power, as opposed to the old system, which was generally followed up to the middle of the 18th century, of making goods in cottages or shops of workers.*" To quote **Charles Beard**, "*By the Industrial Revolution, we mean that great transformation, which has been brought about during the past 150 years, by discoveries and inventions, which have altered fundamentally, all the methods of production and distribution, of means of life and consequently revolutionized all the economic functions of the society*".

Its essence was the adoption of large scale production by means of power-driven machinery in big factories, which could be established and maintained only by a large expenditure of capital and worked by orgnised groups of labourers.

Unlike other revolutions, the Industrial Revolution was completely economic in nature. All revolutions such as the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, etc., were accompanied by bloodshed but the Industrial Revolution, was mainly peaceful. It was a silent but mighty upheaval, while all other revolutions had a definite beginning and a definite end the Industrial Revolution had no end. It was a continnous process and is still going on. Unlike other revolutions, the Industrial Revolution caused great sufferings to the workers and produce many sources of happiness for the capitalists.

2. Causes of the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial volution began first of all in England. There were many factors sponsible for it :—

(1) *Increase in the Demand of English Goods.* England manu-ctured cheap and very useful goods such as woollen and linen th and iron and wooden articles. The demand for English goods nt on increasing. In order to meet this demand and produce ods in large quantities, the Englishmen made new machines and vented new techniques of production. On the other hand France anufactured luxury goods for the rich and naturally the demand r them was limited.

(2) *Character of the English.* The Engiishmen possessed an ventive genius and were very enthusiastic and courageous. They njoyed the freedom of thought and expression. There was free ope for experimentation and the government did not interfere in eir daily life. It was in this atmosphere that Englishmen thought f new methods of production in the different fields. As a result a arge number of inventions were made by the English scientists and ngineers which brought about a revolution in industry in England.

(3) *Ample Capital.* England had ample capital for large nterprises. England's supremacy over seas anh her naval power greatly encouraged sea-trade and commerce. As a result the English-en had amassed a great wealth through their trade and industry. There was a lot of surplus capital availaule in the country and that could be used for investment in different industries and installing new factories.

(4) *Peaceful Atmosphere.* The political and social stability also helped in the growth of industries. The Englishmen are patriotic and have a great love for peace and order. Naval supermacy of England also kept her safe from external attacks. The Wing leaders, like Walpole, followed a policy of peace and kept away from European wars and thus saved England from the burden of costly wars. This peaceful atmosphere and political stability enabled England to develop her industries on a large scale.

(5) *Naval Supremacy.* The English naval supremacy was also helpful in development of industries. The articles manufactured in the English factories could be easily transported to the various parts of the world and sold profitably. Her navy at the same time, helped her to prevent her European rivals from exploiting over seas markets.

(6) *Colonial Empire.* England had a large colonial empire. From her colonies she could get different raw materials at cheaper rates for her factories. These colonies also served as markets for English manufactured goods. On the other hand France, Spain and Holland had to depend on their own home markets for the disposal

of their manufactured goods. Hence they could not compete successfully with England.

(7) *Availability of Coal and Iron.* Iron and coal were available in England in large quantity and again there, the iron and coal mines were situated near to each other. Iron was used in making machines and coal provided cheap fuel for running machines and factories. Both these factors helped in the development of industries.

(8) *Availability of Cheap Labour.* The feudal system broke down in England earlier than any other country of Europe. The agrarian revolution preceded the industrial revolution in England. As a result a large number of peasants were thrown out of employment. Such persons shifted to industrial cities. So a large number of labourers were easily available in England who could be employed in the factories. Moreover, they were freemen and could move to any place they liked. On the other hand, France was still an agricultural country. The peasants were bound to their masters and could not shift to cities easily.

(9) *Rivers for Producing Electricity.* The rivers in England run very swiftly and that too all the year round. So it is quite easy to produce electricity from them cheaply and in large quantity. The availability of cheap power for factories went a long way in the development of industries in England.

(10) *Immigration of Artisans.* Many Protestant artisans of Spain and France not only migrated to England due to religious persecution but also they settled there permanently. The English government on her part provided them shelter and rendered the monetary help and in return made full use of their skill. It gave a great impetus to industry in England.

(11) *Napoleonic Wars.* The Napoleonic war complete disrupted the peace and prosperity of the different European countries. England, however, remained aloof from the rest of the continent and carried on her economic activities undisturbed. Napoleon enforced the Continental System to check the export of English goods to European countries but it proved an utter failure. England brought raw material from her colonies and sold her manufactured goods there. Moreover, different European countries were dependent on English goods. They were forced to smuggle the English goods by one way or the other. Instead to ruining the English commerce and industry, toe Napoleonic wars gave a great impetus to them.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Meaning and Causes of the Industrial Revolution

(1) The Meaning and Nature. It was a change from the domestic system to the factory system ; It resulted in mass production ; It was completely economic in character ; It was a peaceful revolution.

(2) **Causes of the Industrial Revolution.** (1) Increase in the demand of English goods ; (2) Character of the English ; (3) Ample capital ; (4) Peaceful atmosphere ; (5) Naval supremacy ; (6) Colonial Empire ; (7) Availability of coal and iron ; (8) Availability of Labourers ; (9) Rivers for producing Electricity ; (10) Immigration of Artisans ; (11) Napolonic Wars.

COURSE OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION OR IMPORTANT INVENTIONS

Q. 2. Write a short note on the course of the Industrial Revolution. What different inventions led to the industrialization of Europe.

Ans. Course of the Industrial Revolution particularly in England, The English scientists and engineers in particular, made a number of inventions and invented new machines, which revolutionized the industrial system in England.

1. **Industrial Revolution in the Cloth Industry—**

(1) **John Key,** a weaver of Lancashire, invented *'The Flying Shuttle'* in 1733 A.D. It greatly increased the speed of weaving. It also made the weaving of broad cloth by one man possible.

(2) In 1765 A.D. **James Hargreaves** of Lancashire invented *'The Spinning Jenny'*. It was a wheel which helped the spinner to turn eight spindles at a time. Thus one spinner was able to do the work of eight spinners.

(3) In 1769 A.D., another Lancashire weaver **Arkwright** invented the *'Water Frame'*. It produced harder and stronger yarn than the Spinning Jenny, but it was run by water-power and could not be installed in houces. In a way it, however, ushered in the factory system.

(4) In 1779 A.D. **Samuel Crompton** invented *'The Mule'*. It combined the advantages of the Spinning Jenny and the Water-Frame. The yarn was both hard and fine.

(5) In 1785 A.D. a clergyman named **Cartwright** invented the *'Power Loom.'* It revolutionized the weaving industry. With its help one spinner could operate about 100 spindles.

(6) An American school teacher named **Whitney** invented a machine called the *'Cotton Gin'*. It helped in separating seads from the fibres of raw cotton.

(7) Various methods were invented for printing, bleaching and dyeing purposes. **Elias Home** invented the *'Sewing Machine'* in 1846 A.D.

2. **Use of Steam as a Motive Power.** So far, all machines were run by water-power, wind-power or horse-power. The invention of *'Steam Engine'* by **New Comen** was an important step in the field of industrialisation. It was used for pumping water out of the coal-

mines. **James Watt** made improvements in it and perfected it. His steam engine was called '*Beelzebub*'. It could be used not only for pumping water out of the coal-mines but also in the spinning and weaving machines in the textile industry. To quote **Prof. Hazen**, *"The steam-engine became the centre of the modern factory system of production, the throbbing heart of every industry."*

Later on *electricity* came to be used in industry. An English man named **Michael Faraday** invented the '*Dynamo*'.

3. **Revolution in the Art of Smelting Iron.** Iron is indispensable for manufacturing machines. The iron ore, which is obtained from the mines, had to be purified and strengthened before use. Formerly wood charcoal was used for smelting iron. It was a very costly affair. In 1709 A.D,. however, **Abraham Derby** made a discovery of smelting iron with coke **Henry Court** invented new methods of rolling iron. In 1790 A D. blasting was done with steam power. In 1856 A.D. **Bersemer** invented a new method of removing imputities and making steel, The invention of steel helped the manufacture of strong and accurate tools and machines.

Extracting of iron ore from the mines involved two risks. The mines were often filled with water and it was quite difficult to work in them. At the same time the mines used to burst when the coal gases caught fire. In 1705 A.D., however, **Thomas Lucoman** invenred an engine to pump water out of mines. In 1815 A.D., **Humphery Davy** invented the '*Safety Lamp*' which enabled the miners to do their work with safety.

4. **Revolution in the Means of Transport—**

(1) *Roads.* Better means of transport are necessary for the development of industries because the raw material had to be brought into the factories and the manufactured goods had to be carried away from the factories. Roads in England were in a very hopeless condition. **John Macadam**, an engineer of Scotland, made strong roads in England with the help of small stones. Soon a large number of roads were constructed all over the country.

(2) *Canals.* Water was also used to carry heavy goods to distant places. Transportation of goods by canals was cheaper than carrying them by roads. **James Brindley** constructed a net-work of canals and important towns like Birmingham, London, Liverpool, Manchester, etc., were soon linked by canals.

(3) *Railway Engine.* After the invention of steam engine by James Watt, an engineer, named **Trevithick** invented the first steam locomotive in 1802 A.D. to carry goods. **George Stephenson** is, however, called the father of the steam locomotive. He invented an improved form of steam engine known as '*Rocker*' in 1814 A.D. to carry coal. In 1830 A D. the first passenger railway, between Liverpool and Manchester, was opened, and Stephenson's engine, 'The

Rocket', attained a speed of over 30 miles an hour. By the middle of the 19th century, a large number of railways were built up throughout the country.

(4) *Steam Ships.* An American scientist, **Robert Fulton** (1807 A.D.) was the pioneer in the field of steam navigation. He invented a stream-boat which completed the trip of 150 miles on the River Hudson at the speeed of five miles per hour. In 1825 A D. the first steam-ship sailed from Glasgow to Liverpool. The era of steam navigation on the seas and oceans began in 1833 A.D. when the Great Western, (a ship) crossed the Atlantic Ocean in 15 days.

(5) *Motor Cars.* The invention of the motor car run by petrol was made by a German Engineer, **Daimler** at the end of the 19th century.

5. **Revolution in the Means of Communication. Morse** invented the method of sending messages through telegraph wires first of all. In 1835 A. D. the first electric telegraph came into existence and 16 years later the first underseas cable was laid between England and France. In a few years the *telegraph system* spread throughout the civilized world. *Postal service* started in 1840 A. D. **Bell** invented the '*telegraph*' in 1876 A. D. As a result of these inventions the news which used to travel slowly from one place to the other could be flashed quickly from one end of the earth to the other.

6. **Industrial Revolution in other Countries.** According to **John Conard Appel**, "*The Industrial Revolution began in England but it was not confined there. It spread to other countries as well. They also developed their industries because inventive genius is not the monopoly of one nation. The knowledge of industrial methods spread to other parts of the world, and other nations also made their contribution to it.*

After the restoration of peace in 1815 A. D. the European countries and even the U.S.A. borrowed English ideas, tools, machines and even English money. Many Englishmen helped European countries in the process of industrialization. **Cockevill** helped to found the machine industry of *Belgium.* **Douglas** made textile machines in *France* during the Consulate, while **Nottingham** introduced another important machine there. After 1830 A. D. France made tremendous progress in industry. During 1871—to 1914 A.D., *Germany* made notable progress in the industrial field and became one of the leading industrial nations of the world. This was due to her rich material resources, helpful government efficient labour and large colonial empire. Industrial Revolution took place in *Russia* in the latter half of the 19th century. In the 19th century *U. S. A.* completele adopted the factory system of production and developed textile, iron, pottery, ship-building, automobile industries etc.

$\frac{600}{281} \times 100$ 43 $\frac{281}{500} \times 100$

Though the continental countries borrowed much from England yet in some fields they went ahead of England. Germany surpassed England in the manufacture of metals and France in the beauty and design of her textiles. *U. S. A.* led in the field of automobiles. To quote **Conard Appel**, "*The Industriai Revolution spread untill most of the people of the earth knew and experienced in their daily lives the fruits of that great upheaval, probably the greatest revolution the world had ever known.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Course of the Industrtal Revolution or Important Inventions

(1) **Industrial Revolution in the Cloth Industry.** (1) John Key's Flying Shuttle ; (2) Hargreaves' Spinning Jenny ; (3) Arkwright's Water-Frame ; (4) Crompton's Mule ; (5) Cartwright's Powerloom ; (6) Whitney's Cotton Gin ; (7) New methods for bleaching, dyeing aud printing cloth.

(2) **Use of Steam as Motive Power.** (1) New Cormen's Steam Engine ; (2) Improved Steam Engine Beelzebub by James Watt ; (3) Use of Electricity.

(3) **Kevolution in the Act of Smelting Iron.** (1) Use of Charcoal ; (2) Use of coke by Derby ; (3) Henry Cort's invention ; (4) Beisemer's method of making steel ; (5) Lucoman's machine to pump water out of Mines ; (6) Davy's Safety Lamp.

(4) **Revolution in the Means of Transport.** (1) Strong roads by Macadam ; (2) Canals ; (3) Railway Engine by Stephenson ; (4) Steam boats and Ships ; (5) Motor Cars.

(5) **Revolution in the Means of Communication.** (1) Telegraph System ; (2) Postal Service ; (3) Under-sea Cables : (4) Telephone.

(6) **Industrial Revolution in Other Countries.** England was followed by U.S.A., France, Russia, Germany and other European countries.

EFFECTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Q. 3. "The Industrial Revolution is rightly regarded as an epoch making event in the history of human race". Discuss the effects and importance of the Industrial Revolution.

(B. U. 1956 : A. U. 1958)

Or

Write a brief note on the effects of industrialization on the social, economic and political life in Europe during the 19th and early 20th century. (P. U. 1968)

Ans. The Industrial Revolution was a great landmark in the history of the world. It Revolutionized the industries and deeply affected the economic, social, political and cultural life of the people. **Ramsay Muir** has called it "*a mighty but silent upheaval.*"

1. **Economic Effects—**

(1) *Large Scale Production.* The use of machinery and division of labour helped to produce goods on a large scale. Goods were

now manufacturad more rapidly and on a much larger scale than under the domestic system. At the same time the cost of production was very low per unit. Production of goods was standardized also. Now the consumers could get quality goods at cheaper rates.

(2) *Increase in the National Income.* The Industrial production led to the mass production of goods which began to be sold in other countries. It increased the national wealth of the industrialized countries, particuularly that of England. It increased her national wealth and enabled her to stand the strain of the French wars of 1793-1815 A.D. It has been rightly remarked, "*The rock upon which the Napoleonic Empire was founded were the factory chimnies of Yorkshire and Lancashive.*"

(3) *Improvement in the Standard of Living.* People became rich due to the Indurtrial Revolution. Good quality of goods were now made available at cheaper rates. It raised the standard of living. It greatly in creased the comforts of the people. Now means of transport, communication, railway. ships, automobiles etc. proved a boon to the mankind and made man's life richer, more comfortable and happier. It not only improved the food, drets and dwellings of the people but also improved their way of thinking and intellectual standards.

(4) *Increase in Population.* The Industrial Revolution in creased the national wealth, raised the standard of living, made life more convenient and luxurious. All this helped in checking the various diseases and ultimately it led to an increase in population. The population of England rose from 70 lakhs in 1750 A.D. to 210 lakhs in 1825 A.D.

(5) *Big Factories and Industrial Towns.* The introduction of machinery destroyed the domestic sysrem of production. The growth of industries and the use of huge machines led to the establishment of factories. The people of village shifted to towns and cities to get employment in the factories. This in turn led to the growth of new towns and cities in England such as Manchester, Birmingham, the Sheffield and Leeds. It made modern civilization essentially urban in character and the city-life broadened the outlook of man.

(6) *Growth of Agriculture.* Introduction of machinery, better seeds, new crops. the drainage of waterland, the use of fertilizers and improvement in stock-breeding led to growth in agriculture. The farmers produced not only corns but also cash crops on a large scale and became very rich.

(7) *Development of Banking.* Progress in industry and commerce was responsible for the growth of Joint Stock and Trading Companies which carried on their business with the help of banks. The agriculturists also required loans for the improvement of agriculture. This led to the dedevelopment of the Banking System.

(8) *National and International Markets.* The Industrial Revolution led to the development, first of national markets and then of international markets. The different governments began to levy heavy taxes on imported goods in order to sategaurd their national industries. The Industrial Revolution also led to the production of goods on mass scale which necessitated their export to their countries. Thus, the import-export business led to development of international markets.

2. Social Effect—

(*1*) *Disappearance of small Farmers.* The small farmers who worked on land and manufactured goods in their spare time in their homes shifted to new industrial towns and they were forced to seek employment in factories because they were replaced by big landlords.

(2) *Unsatisfactory Condition of Factory Workers.* In order to make huge profits the employers exploited the workers to the maximum. Workman had to work in factories which were poorly ventilated, poorly lighted and were extremely unhealthy. They had to work for 16 hours without any break. Most of the factories were lacated in dirty and unhealthy places so the cavsed many disease and led to premature deaths of the workers. The workers were very low-paid and they found it very difficult to make their both ends meet.

(3) *Exploitation of Women and Children.* Women and children were employed in large numbers in factories as they were cheaper and easy to manage. They had to work for long hours in dirty, insanitary and ill-ventilated factories. But it had an adverse effect on their health and general well-being. Even the youngest children worked from 3 A.M. to 10 P.M. with only four or five hours for sleep ; as such they had very little time for meal and for play. They had also no time and no provision for their education. Children were often employed in the factories at the age of six or seven. Deformed bodies, twisted legs, sunken chests and savage appearance were the results of these circumstances. Later on, the government was forced to pass a number of factory laws to improve their condition.

(4) *Insanitary Conditions in the Towns.* As large number of people shifted from villages to industrial towns and as such the latter became over-crowded. There was no arrangement for sanitation, drainage, ventilation, etc. The workers lived a miserable life in dark, dingy and dirty and congested houses. As the population increased, the number of slums also went on increasing. It has been rightly remarked, "*The workers too often lived in miserable little houses that looked for all the world like cheese-boxes set in a row, without space for gardens, lawns or trees and without proper ventilation. Many a damp and dark cellars served as home for an entire family. Fevers and other diseases played havoc in towns like Manchester and Birmingham.*"

(5) *Moral Downfall of the Society.* Women had also to work for long hours in the factories in order to supplement their family's income. As a result they had no Time and energy to look after their children and house-hold duties. It was difficult for them to maintain their modesty and virtue under such circumstances. Vices like drinking, gambling, etc were common among them. It led to degradation and immorality. To quote **Hayes**, "*Chilldren werking in the factories, from before dawn until after dark, quickly learned to imitate the vices of grown-ups. What family life was like under these circumstances, in one of the cellar or cheese-box homes of an industrial city, with ignorance, poverty, hunger, dirt, diseose, and vice as enemirs, may be left to the reader's imagination.*"

(6) *The ~~Calsses~~ Classes of Society.* As a result of the Industrial Revolution the society was divided into two distinct classes—the capitalists and the labourers. Because of their selfish interests the capitalists began to exploit the workers. They paid them low wages and made them work for longer hours. They amassed great wealth and began to lead a luxurious life at the cost of the workers. The rich were becoming richer and the poor still poorer. This gulf went on widening and created social disharmony and ultimately led to struggle between the two classes.

(7) *Unemployment.* Unemployment, especially in the initial stages, was another social effect of the Industrial Revolution, which raised a serious problem for the industrialized countries. As the work was now done by machines many workers were thrown out of employment. Consequently the first *'Unemployed March'* was organised in England in 1817 A.D.

3. **Political Effects —**

(1) *England became a Dominant Power.* Because of the Industrial Revolution, England became a leading country in industry, commerce and finance. She amassed great wealth and became a dominant power. One of the factors, that helped England to defeat Napoleon and bear the loss of the American colonies, was the Industrial Revolution. It helped England to become the strongest power in the world.

(2) *Nationalism and Internationalism.* New means of transport and communication such as the railway, steam-boats, automobiles, telegraph and telephone, etc. brought the different parts of the countries nearer to each other and as such deepened the sense of national unity. They also linked up the whole world and made its various parts inter-dependent. Without the Industrial Revolution the international linking of the world would have been quite impossible.

(3) *The Capitalists become the Political Leaders.* The capitalists became so rich that they began to dominate the political life and use

their wealth in seizing the political power. In England the capitalists dominated the Parliament for a very long time. Similar was and is the case with many of the modern capitalist countries.

(4) *Need for Factory Reforms.* The Industrial Revolution created many problems. The capitalists exploited the workers, who were not only paid low but also had to work for longer hours in unhealthy places. Consequently many factory laws had to be passed to remove these evils. As the Industrial Revolution resulted in the growth of crowded towns and smoky factories, so many laws had to be passed to tackle the problem of public health. The masses became poor and the government had to undertake various schemes to improve their miserable lot.

(5) *Need for Parliamentary Reforms in England* As a result of the Industrial Revolulion many people from the South and East of England shifted to the North and West of England and many industrial towns sprang up in these parts.) It upset the whole system of representation to the English Parliament and the people of the new cities began to clamour for representations in the Parliament. This led to many parliamentary reforms in the 19th century.

(6) *The Chartist Movement in England.* The Industrial Revolution, besides bringing poverty created many problems for the workers. Forced by circumstances, they clamoured for the improvement of their lot. The distress of the workers under the factory system led to the Chartist Movement in England.

(7) *Search for New Colonies.* As industries developed in many of the European countries including. England, America, France, Russia and Prussia, etc. they were forced to set up their colonies in other continents to get raw material and to capture new markets to sell their goods. This search for colonies led to colonical imperialism. To quote **Prof. Moon**, "*The industrialcountries amassed huge wealth and became very rich. They had surplus capital. They were in search of politically and economically backward countries where they could invest their surplus capital and make huge profits. The need to get raw material, search for markets to dispose of manufactured goods and desire to invest surplus capital led to colonial imperialism.*" There was a race among the industrial countries to establish colonies in Asia and Africa.

(8) *Political Ideas.* The Industrial Revolution led to a perpetual struggle between the capitalists and the workers, thereby providing new horizons for the writers to fly. Various writers propounded various new theories and political ideas to improve the conditions of the workers and to solve the problems created by the Industrial Revolution. Thus various Isms, such as Socialism, Communism, Guild Socialism, Syndicalism, etc. came into being.

4. **Cultural Effects.** The Industrial Revolution also gave impetus to literary activities and deeply influenced the contemporary

literature. It gave new inspiration to the poets and writers. They made the deplorable-and miserable conditions of the workers in the factories, as the subject-matter of their poems and writings. They placed a touching pen-portrait of their wretched life before the people. The artists made cartoons depicting the miserable conditions of the women and children working in the factories. *'The Deserted Village'* and *'The Village School Master'* are the chief literary productions of this period.

Inspite of its evils it cannot be denied that the Industrial Revolution had done plenty of good to mankind. It has increased the national wealth and raised the standard of the people and made their lives more comfortable. To quote **John Conard Appel**, *"The Industrial Revolution in the latter half of the 18th century ushered in a new world. The 19th and 20th centuries have developed and improved upon these inventions and discoveries. Now mankind may have a more comfortable and in many respects richer life."*

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Effects of the Industrial Revolution

(1) **Economic Effects.** (1) Large Scale Production ; (2) Increase in the National Income ; (3) Improvement in the standard of living ; (4) Increase in Population ; (5) Big Factories and Industrial Towns ; (6) Growth in Agriculture ; (7) Development of Banking ; (8) National and International Markets.

(2) **Social Effects.** (1) Disappearance of small Farmers ; (2) Unsatisfactory Condition of Factory Workers ; (3) Exploitation of Women and Children ; (4) Insanitary conditions in Towns ; (5) Moral Downfall of the Society ; (6) Two Classes of Society ; (7) Unemployment.

(3) **Political Effects.** (1) England became a dominant Power ; (2) Nationalism and Internationalism ; (3) Rise of Capitalism ; (4) Need for Factory Reforms ; (5) Need for Parliamentary Reforms ; (6) The Chartist Movement ; (7) Search for New Colonies ; (8) Political Ideas.

(4) **Cultural Effects.** It gave impetus to cultural activities.

29

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Dual Alliance of 1879 A. D. and Triple Alliance of 1882 A. D.

Q. 1. Describe briefly the Dual Alliance of 1879 and the Triple Alliance of 1882. *(D.U. 1963, 64) Important*

Or

Give an account of the circumstances leading towards the formation of Dual Alliance of 1879 and Triple Alliance of 1882. What was their significance ?

Ans.—The Dual Alliance of 1879 A.D.

Circumstances leading to the Dual Alliance—Germany became one of the leading powers in the world after defeating France in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870—71 A.D. Bismarck became the architect of the European politics and Berlin became the pivot of the European politics Bismarck followed the policy of 'Blood and Iron' before 1870 A.D. After the defeat of France, he feared that France might wage a war to gain her lost territories. In addition to that, it became necessary to avert war so as to make the unification of Germany a permanent feature. So, she followed a policy of peace after the war and tried to maintain the *status quo* in Europe. With this end in view, Bismarck tried to enter into allianee with other European countries and also to keep France completely isolated so as to achieve his objectives. He used to say—

> "*As long as France has no alliance, she is not dangerous to Germany.*"

Bismarck tried to attract Austria and Russia to his side so as to make France friendless and keep her completely isolated. In 1873 A.D., the emperors of Russia, Austria and Germany met in Berlin and the Three Emperors' League was set-up. It was not a written alliance but they decided to work unitedly to solve the Balkan crisis, to maintain peace, to stengthen the autocratic governments and to check the socialistic revolutions. It has been rightly said—

> "*It was a personal alliance of the sovereigns, nominally directed against the 'Red International' and the advance of socialism but it was of deep political significance.*"
>
> **—(Ketelbey)**

Three Emperors' League was shattered in 1878 A. D. when the Treaty of Berlin was made. In the Congress of Berlin of 1878 Bismarck took Austria's side thereby displeasing Russia. This resulted in the estrangement of Russia from Germany. **Gooch** has rightly remarked—

"The outstanding results of the Congress of Berlin in the realms of high politics was the estrangement of Russia from Germany."

The Czar of Russia even declared that war could break out between the two countries at any moment.

Its Provisions—Under these circumstances, Germany ran after Austria and concluded an alliance with her in 1879 A. D. This alliance is known the as the *"Dual Alliance"*. It was decided therein that (1) If Russia attacks any of the two, the other will come for help. (2) If France attacks any of the two, other will remain neutral. (3) If Russia and France unitedly attack any of the two then both will help each other. (4) This treaty will be valid for [illegible] years and its term can be extended by three years more by mutual agreement. It was thus a defencive alliance.

Criticism—This alliance had its special importance.. This brought Austria nearer to Germany and her position was strengthened and safeguarded. This alliance was greatly beneficial to Austria also. This made the Russian attack on Austria difficult if not impossible.

Bismarck leaned more towards Austria but he did not like to have estrangement with Russia. So the Three Emperors' League was revived again in 1881 A. D. It was also decided if any of the three powers was attacked by a fourth one, then the other two would maintain benevolent neutrality. Austrian right over Bosnia and Herzegovina and Russian seizure of Eastern Rumania were also accepted.

Even then it cannot be denied that this alliance created bitterness among many countries. Bismarck's policy displeased Russia [illegible] little latter she formed an alliance with France to strengthen her position. This gave rise to alliances and within no time Europe was divided into two hostile camps. These alliances proved [illegible] the cause of the First World War of 1914 A. D. In this connection **Taylor** has remarked—

"Bismarck had indeed, prepared strange fate for himself, he had become the prisoner of his own act."

2. The Triple Alliance of 1882 A.D.

Bismarck wanted France to be completely isolated wanted to increase his own influence in Europe. He got this opportunity in 1882 A. D. when the differences between Italy and France touched their climax. France and Italy both wanted to have control over Tunis in Africa to appease their hunger of colonial expansion. In 1881 A. D., France seized Tunis which Italy could never tolerate. In addition, to that France wanted to restore the temporal power of Pope in Italy. Italy wanted to have an alliance with England but she refused in pursuance of her policy of neutrality. Under these circumstances, Italy inclined to have friendly relations with Germany and discarded her old hostile attitude towards Austria. Bismarck took advantage of the state of affairs and made Italy join the Dual Alliance in 1882 A. D. so as to form the "*Triple Alliance*".

The representatives of Austria, Italy and Germany held a conference at Vienna and the three signed a treaty on May 20, 1882 A. D. whereby the Triple Alliance was formed. Following were the terms of this alliance—

(1) If France attacks Italy then both Germany and Austria will help her.

(2) If France attacks Germany then Austria and Italy will help her.

(3) If France and Russia unitedly attack one or two countries of this alliance, then the three will unitedly fight against them.

This alliance was kept a secret. Its term was 5 years. It was made clear that this alliance will not be directed against England. This was a defensive alliance, its terms represented that all the three countries were to help one-another in case of a common attack.

Significance—This alliance proved a boon for Italy. She beame one of the great European powers and her international influence increased. This removed the Austrian danger to Italy and she an assurance of help from Germany and Austria at the times sian or French attack on her. But in case of the Russian ack on Germany or Austria, it was not obligatory for her to come heir help.

Austria came under German pressure but she had a secret e with Rumania in 1883 A. D. where it was decided that both m will help each other in case of Russian attack on any one of Italy and Germany gave assent to this alliance. Thus, Austrian ion greatly improved.

Bismarck was able to achieve his objective of isolating France. gained Italian co-operation and made France isolated. So in case of any war France was not to face Germany and Austria alone but Italy also. It also acted as a sort of check upon Italian and Austrian aspirations. The establishment of peace became an easier thing in Europe.

However, by this alliance Germany set up a powerful defence line in Europe and thereby spoiled the balance of power there. This alliance checked the war for some time but proved to be one of the great causes of the First World War. Germany could not keep France isolated for a long time. This alliance gave rise to the desire for alliances. **Ketelbey** has rightly remarked—

"*......Though Bismarck had temporarily isolated France, he had neither conciliated nor disarmed her. He had, in fact, built up a combination against her that compelled her to look for allies.*"

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. The Dual Alliance of 1879 A.D.—(1) After 1870 A.D. Bismarck gave up the policy of 'Blood and Iron' and followed the policy of peace and keeping France isolated.

(2) Three Emperors, League in 1873 A.D.

(3) Ruffling of the Three Emperors, League as a result of the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 A.D. and estrangement of Russia and Germany.

(4) Formation of Dual Alliance between Germany and Austria in 1879 A.D.

(5) Benefit to Germany and Austria.

(6) Revival of the Three Emperors' League in 1881 A.D.

(7) The alliance of 1879 A.D. increased the power of both Germany and Austria.

2. The Triple Alliance of 1882 A.D.—(1) Bismarck wanted to keep France completely isolated.

(2) Formation of the Triple Alliance among Germany, Italy and Austria on 20th May, 1882 A.D. after taking an advantage of the estrangement of Italy and France.

(3) This alliance proved beneficial to these three countries but it proved to be an important cause of the First World War.

Reinsurance Treaty of 1887 A.D.

Q. 2. Give a brief account of the Reinsurance Treaty of 887 A.D.

Ans. After the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 A.D., the relations between Germany and Russia worsened as Bismarck sided more with Austria and ignored the Russian interests. In 1881 A.D., the *'Three Emperors' League'* was again revived but it again broke down in 1887 A D Cermany had, no doubt formed the Triple Alliance in 1882 A.D. Even then Bismarck made great efforts to see that Russia should not get estranged and might be checked from having an alliance with France. There was the possibility of a war in the Balkans because of rival interests of Austria and Russia : Czar tried to make a treaty with France in 1886. Under these circumstances, Bismarck made a secret treaty with Russia in 1887, which is called as the Reinsurance Treaty. It conditions were as follows :—

(1) If any of the two powers should become involved in war with a third power then the other would remain neutral so that the war should be limited.

(2) It was decided to maintain *'status quo'* in the Balkans. Germany recognized the Russian interests in Bulgaria

(3) The principle of closing the Strait was also recognised.

(4) Germany gave a word that she would help Russia in checking Batenburg's Prince Alexander from sitting on the throne of Bulgaria.

Criticism—This treaty is considered to be one of the great political achievements of Bismarck. It has been said—

"The new friendship of Germany and Russia prevented an Austro-Russian War and Franco-Russian coalition."

Some critics are of the opinion that there was no co-ordination between the Dual Alliance and this treaty. Bismarck's policy to have friendship both with Austria and Russia could not prove successful. As a matter of fact, Bismarck could not have friendship with Russia because he always looked at her suspiciously. The German News papers criticizedthis alliance greatly. **Ike** remarked—' *The treaty was artificial, meaningless and far too weak to be of any real importance.*"

There were great differences between Russia and Austria on Prince Ferdinand's sitting on the Bulgarian throne. Russia was against the prince. Germany had given a word of helping Russia according to the treaty of 1887. England and Italy sided with Austria. Under these circumstances, there was the possibility of a war. The war could be averted only on Russia's acceptance of Ferdinand's claim to the throne which was a very tough task for Bismarck to achieve.

There was no connection between the treaties of 1879 A D. and 1887 A D. This treaty did not succeed in checking Russia's inclination towards France. Failure of this treaty led to the rise of many military pacts and the establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and France.

POINTS' TO REMEMBER

Reinsurance Treaty of 1887 A.D.—(1) Treaty of Berlin of 1878 A.D. and formation of the Triple Alliance in 1882 A.D. created bitterness between Germany and Russia.

(2) The Three Emperors' League was revived in 1881 A.D. which however broke down in 1887 A.D.

(3) In 1887 A.D. Germany made the Reinsurance Treaty with Russis to establish friendly relations with her and to keep her away from France. If any of the two was attacked by a third power then the other was to remain neutral ; the vast interests of Russia were recongnised in Bulgaria and the Straits were closed.

Criticism. (1) Success of Bismarck's diplomacy.

(2) A check upon the possibility of war between Austria and Russia and the friendship of Russia and France.

(3) This treaty proved to be meaningless and weak and could not prevent Russia's close to France.

Dual Alliance between France and Russia, in 1894

Q 5. Narrate the circumstances leading to the formation of the Dual Alliance between France and Russia and point out its consequences. *(D.U. 1962, 63) Important*

Ans. Circumstances leading to the Franco Russian Alliance—

Bismarck kept France isolated by his diplomacy and prevented France-Russian coalition. France made strenuous efforts to find her allies in the political sphere. It was difficult to establish friendly ties with England because of long standing enmity between the two. Italy and Austria were the members of the Triple Alliance. So Russia was a country with which she could establish her friendly relations. On the other hand, Russia also did not have much faith on Germany. Russia needed money for her industrial development. France Reinsurance had much wealth and she could easily advance loans to Russia. The Reins-nurance Treaty also come than end with the fall of Bismarck. So the political and economical interests of Russia and France brought them nearer to each other.

In 1883 A D., to Grand Duke of Russia visited France. France agreed to supply the arms and ammunition to Russia on the condition that it would not be used against her. In 1888 A.D., France advanced a large sum as a loan to Russia. In 1890 A.D., the French Commander-in-Chief went to Russia for conclud a treaty but he did not succeed much.

In 1891 A.D., the Triple Alliance was revived and its term was extended for a further period of 6 years more. These circumstances brought Russia and France quite neaer to each other and both of them started efforts to have friendly relations with each other. In 1891 A D. French naval fleet entered the Russian port of Constadt. It was given a warm welcome. The Russian band played upon the French National Anthem by Czar's orders. This prepared a foreground for the treaty between the two. France also agreed to advance a loan at the low rate of three percent.

In 1891 A.D., both of them entered into Entente Cordiale. It was decided between the two that both the countries would consult each other on all matters which threatened peace. Both also agreed upon helping each other in times of need. However, the Russian Czar did not sign a military pact.

In 1893 A.D. the Russian fleet reached France and it was given a warm welcome by the French This created a formal way for the alliance. Consequently, they formed an alliance in 1894 A.D. which is known as the Dual Alliance. Following were its terms—

(1) If Germany or Italy or both attack France then Russia will give her military aid.

(2) If Germany or Austria or both attack Russia then France will lend full support to Russia.

(3) Both the countries will not make separate treaties with other countries.

This treaty was signed by the Czar Nicholas II in 1894 A.D. after the death of Alexander II. This treaty remained in force upto 1917 A D. When the German Emperor Willian II came to know of this treaty he got greatly alarmed and became very angry and he wrote a letter to the *Czar* of Russia. He wrote :—

"I perfectly know that you do not dream of attacking us, but you cannot be astonished that the powers get alarmed seeing how the presence of your officers and high official in an official way in France fan inflammable Frenchmen into a white heat passion. If you are allied for better

or worse with the French, well then, keep those damned rascals in order and make them sit still".

2. **Significance of the Treaty**—This treaty has a special importance in the European history.

(1) Germany failed to isolate France in the European politics. France came to have a powerful nation like Russia as her supporter.

(2) This alliance was against the Triple Alliance. Europe was divided into rival camps and this treaty proved helpful in the maintenance of balance of power in Europe. The French Prime Minister **Rebot** had remarked—

"France has associated her interests with those of another nation in interest of peace and equilibrium. This alliance which was ratified by the universal sentiment of the country, constitutes to-day our dignity and our strength.

(3) This treaty pulled Germany into a dangerous state as she was surrounded by enemies on both the sides. On one side she had Russia and on the other France as her enemis.

(4) This treaty has an important place not only in the History of France and Russia alone but also in the History of Europe. **Gooch** has remarked—"*The conclusion of the Dual Alliance was an event of capital importance not only for France and Russia, but for Europe*".

There was the possibility of maintaining the balance of power by it but, after some time, it divided Europe into two hostile groups. These groups started the race for armament and thus started the preparations for war. With the passage of time, their rivalry became so much acute that the First World War broke out in 1914 A D.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Dual Alliance between France and Russia in 1894 A.D.

(1) Bismarck made France an isolated Country.

(2) Bismarck created friendly relations with Russia but Russia did not have faith on him.

(3 Russia needed money.

(4) Under these circumstances France and Russia were drawn nearer.

(5) The efforts of Grand Duke in 1883 A.D. failed.

(6) Welcome to the French fleet in Russia in 1891 A.D. and French loan to Russia.

(7) Entente Cordiale between the two in 1891 A.D.

(8) Welcome to the Russian fleet in France in 1893 A.D.

(9) Alliance between the two countries in 1894 A.D. Both decided to help each other at the time of an attack.

Importance. (1) Isolation of France come to an end.

(2) Helpful in the maintenance of balance of power.

(3) Enemies on both sides of Germany.

(4) Division of Europe into two rival camps and preparation for the First World War.

Anglo-German Relations between 1871—1914 A.D.

Q. 4. Describe briefly the relations between England and Germany between 1871 and 1914.

Ans. Anglo-German Relations between 1871-1914 A.D. Better relations existed between Germany and England upto 1890 A. D. To have friendly relations with England was the cardinal principle of Bismarck's policy. Therefore, he did not compete with England in the expansion of naval force and the colonial empire. Many a time he put a proposal of alliance between the two countries before Disraeli and Salisbury but they refused. Bismarck appointed his son Herbert as an Ambassador in England and got Frederick, William I's son, married to Queen Victoria's daughter.

In 1890 A.D., Chamberlain got Zanzibar in exchange for Heligoland from Germany. Salisbury was of the view that it would strengthen the relations between the two countries. He said—

"We have made an agreement which removed all dangers of conflict and strengthens the good relat ions of nations".

William II (1888-1918) also made great efforts to keep friendly relations. In 1890 A D. Prince of Wales visited Berlin and in 1891 A.D. William II visited England, The boundary disputes regarding Togoland, Kilimanjaro and Kameroons were also settled peacefully.

But bitterness in the relations of both the countries cropped by after 1894 A.D. **Dr. Gooch** has remarked—

"The sky began to darken in 1894 aud Anglo-German relations were never to regain the confidence and intimacy of the opening years of the reign of William II."

England wanted to establish her influence in South Africa. Germany also wanted to expand her colonial empire in Africa. In 1894 A D. England and Congo Free State signed a treaty. According to it the province of Baher-el-Ghazel was given to Belgium's ruler Leopold on lease for the whole of his life. The English gained some portion in the south of Tanganyika in exchange. Germany opposed it and so England he had return the so-gained territory. This created bitterness between the two countries.

The English wanted to establish their hold over Transvaal. In the times of Bismarck, Kruger, the President of Transvaal, demanded help against England from Bismarck in 1865 A.D. but he refused. But the conditions changed after the fall of Bismarck. Both England and Germany thought of bringing an end to the influence of each other in South Africa. Transvaal gained some victory in the war between England and Transvaal in 1895 A.D. So William sent a telegram congratulating Kruger. This also added to the rivalry between the two. Salisbury remarked in this respect—

"The raid was a folly, but the telegram was even more foolish."

Even then the relations remained good between the two countries. The Fashoda Incident in 895 A. D. created the fear of breaking out of war between France and England. In addition, England was displeased with the increasing influence of Russia in China. In 1900 A.D. Russia and France proposed to Germany for common action in the Boer War but William refused to do so. In 1901 A. D. William II went to England to participate in the last rites of Queen Victoria. After that, Chamberlain tried his level best for an alliance between England and Germany but he could not succeed. He said in this respect—

"*If the people in Berlin are short-sighted, there is no help.*"

Under these circumstances, England signed a treaty with Japan in 1902 A. D. When Germany started laying the Berlin-Baghdad railway, England found it a danger for her Indian Empire. It resulted in a treaty between England and France in 1904 A.D. After that England entered into and alliance with Russia and the Triple Entente was formed among England, France and Russia. England took the side of France against Germany in the Morocco Crisis in 1905, 1908 and again in 1911 A.D.

In addition, there started a race between the two countries for the expansion of naval forces. Germany started organising her naval forces very quickly so as to become a first-rate power in the world. It was a challenge to England. She wanted to maintain her supremacy over the ocean at all costs. This rivalry also proved an important factor in determining the relations between the two.

In 1914 A. D. the people of Serbia murdered the Austrian Prince and the war started between the two countries. The Foreign Secretary of England tried to stop this war but he remained unsuccessful due to the non-co-operative and adamant attitude of Germany. Russia, taking Serbia's side, declared war against Austria on 31st July, 1914 and then Germany took the side of Austria. England wanted to keep away from the war but she could not do so. When Germany attacked Belgium then England had to take part in the war against Germany for the safety of her political rights, as well as for Belgium's freedom and neutrality.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Anglo-German Relations from 1814-1871 A.D. Bismarck tried to maintain friendly relations with England upto 1890 A.D.

2. Exchange of Zanzibar with eligoland in 1890 A.D.
3. Prince of Wales' visit to Germany in 1890 A.D.
4. Settlement of territorial disputes in Africa.
5. Estrangement after 1894 A.D.
6. Disputn over division of Africa.
7. Telegram to Kruger on Transvaal affair.
8. Chamberlain's efforts for alliances failed.
9. In 1902 A.D. England and Japan, in 1904 A. D. England and France and in 1907 A.D. England, France and Russia's formed of alliances Entente ;

10. Rivalry between the two on the point of laying the Berlin-Baghdad Railway and organisation of Naval forces ;

11. England was compelled to take part in the war against Germany in 1914 A.D.

Anglo Japanese Convention of 1902 A D.

Q. 5. Write a short note on Anglo-Japanese Convention of 1902 A.D. (P.U. 1964, 65)

Ans. Anglo-Japanese Convention of 1902 A.D.—Upto the end of the 19th Century, England followed the policy of aloofness but she had to give up this policy because of alliances among the various European Powers and she was thus forced to find her allies. On the other hand, Russia captured many parts of Asia and it created a danger to her Indian empire. England wanted to check the increasing influence of Russia in the East. She tried to check the Russian influence by concluding an alliance with Germany in 1900 but there being no permanent alliance between the two. England was forced to establish friendly relations with Japan. On the other hand, Japan had also started expanding her colonial empire in Asia by defeating China in 1895 A.D. She wanted to check the imperialistic policy of the European nations with the help of England.

Under these circumstances, England and Japan entered into a Convention or an alliance in 1902 A. D.

Conditions—Following were the conditions or main provisions of the Convention :—

(1) Both the countries will look after the interests of each other in China and Korea. (2) England will remain neutral in case a war breaks out between Japan and Ruissa and Japan will remain neutral if a war breaks out between England and Russia. (3) If England or Japan are entangled with two or more countries then they would help each other. The term of this Convention will be 5 years.

Criticism—(1) This Convention enhanced Japan's power and prestige and she became one of the great powers of the world. **Hazen** remarks in this respect—

"For the first time in history, an Asiatic power had entered into an alliance with an European power on a plan of entire equality. Japan had entered the family of nations and it was a remarkable evidence of her importance that Great Britain saw an advantage in an alliance with her."

(2) Japan gained help from English navy.

(3) England checked the Russian influence in Asia. She withdrew her naval fleet from the Pacific Ocean and took that to the North Sea against Germany.

(4) Japan got an opportunity to expand her empire in Asia and to organise her forces.

In 1904 A. D. when a war broke between Russia and Japan, Japan won this war. Russia had to withdraw her forces from China and Japan gained control of Port Arthur. The old treaty of 1905 A.D. was revived in 1911 A.D. as a result of this victory.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Anglo-Japanese Convention of 1902 A.D. (1) England left her policy of aloofness at the end of the 19th century ;

(2) Unsuccessful in concluding a treaty with Germany in 1901 A.D.

(3) Convention with Japan in 1902 A.D. to check the Russian influence in Asia.

(4) Enhancement of the prestige and power of Japan and she gained the English naval help.

(5) Check on the Russian influence in Asia.

(6) England could not pay much intention towards Germany.

(7) Revival of Treaty of this 1905 A.D. and in 1911.

Anglo-French Entente or Entente Cordiale of 1904 A.D.

☞ Q 6. Give a brief account of Anglo French Convention or Entente Cordiale or Dual Entente of 1904 A.D. (*Important*)

Or

Account for the reconcilliation between England and France in 1904 A. D. (D.U. 1963)

Or

What were the circumstances leading to the Anglo-French Entente of 1904 and how far did it constitute a Diplomatic Revolution ? (P.U. 1967)

Ans. 1. Anglo-French Entente—The commercial and colonial rivalry between France and England was a long standing feature. It reached its climax in the second half of the 19th century on the question of the partition of Africa, France wanted to capture the largest part of Africa. England was also thinking to establish her sole-right in North and South Africa. So bitterness between the two was the natural result of the colonial race.

They differed over the Egyptian and Sudanese problems as well. Egypt built up the Suez Canal with the help of the French engineers. Consequently, the French influence increased there. In 1873 A.D. England purchased the shares of the Egyptian ruler for £ 4,000,000. The extravagance of Ismail Pasha, the ruler of Egypt, increased his debt greatly. Consequently. England and France both established a joint control over Egypt upto 1882 A.D. In 1882, an Egyptian leader Arabi Pasha revolted against this joint control. France did not take any step to suppress it. England alone suppressed it and the dual control was abolished and England continued her sole domination and political control over Egypt. The English had to intervene in the Sudanese uprising. They gained success in the end but France could not tolerate the English influence over Sudan and Egypt. This increased their rivalry.

The Anglo-French rivalry touched all-time height with the Fashoda Incident in 1898 A.D. In 1898 A.D., the French Captain Marchand hoisted the French flag over the Fort of Fashoda by capturing Fashoda situated in the upper part of river Nile. But this place was under the British control, so there was the possibility of breaking out of war between the two on this point. However, the French withdrew and the war was averted. The Anglo-French relations deteriorated much more during the Boer-War. England was inclined more towards Germany and she put a proposal of an alliance before the German Emperor William II in 1901 A D. which he rejected by saying : "*The Road to Berlin lies trough Vienna*".

On the other hand, England and France were both afraid of the increasing power of Germany. This fear was the element that proved helpful to draw both France and England nearer to each other and in 1904 A.D. both of them entered into an alliance.

1. **Causes**—Following were the main causes responsible for the establishment of the Entente Cordiale between the two countries :—

(1) The increasing power of Germany impelled the two to forget their old rivalry and compelled them to unite against a common foe.

(2) England was afraid of the increasing naval forces and military preparations of Germany. She thought of having friendly relations with France discarding her policy of isolation.

(3) The policy of Pan-Germanism also helped in bringing England and France nearer to each other.

(4) The rivalry between Germany and England was increasing everyday and it reached the critical stage. Germany took the side of the Boers against the English in 'the Boer War'. The Berlin-Baghdad railway created a danger to the Indian Empire of the English. The increase in the naval forces Germany was also a factor leading to the increase in their rivalry.

(5) England wanted to move her fleet from the Mediterranean Sea to the North Sea so as to check the increasing naval force of Germany. She wanted to have friendly relations with France in order to achieve this objective.

(6) The English ruler Edward VII also hated Germany and he was more inclined towards France. His visit to France in 1903 A.D. and the visit of the French President and the Foreign Minister to England also helped to bring the two countries nearer to each other.

Conditions—So England and France established the Entente Cordiale with following main conditions :—

(1) Both of them agreed to settle their commercial as well as colonial disputes peacefully.

(2) Both of them agreed to give economic and military aid to each other.

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(2) Both of them agreed to give economic and military aid to each other.

(3) France recognised the English position in Egypt and Sudan. In return, the English recognised the French interests in Madgascar, Nigeria, Morocco, Newfoundland and Siam. This Entente remained a secret upto 1911 A.D.

Importance :—According to Ketelbey *"The Anglo-French entente was a revolution both in French and English politics...laid the foundation of a general Anglo French co-operation in enternational affoirs..."* England's policy of Splendid Isolation met its end and she had her one ally in the political sphere. This Entente diminished the importance of the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy. France also had a separate alliances with Russia and England but these were useless, unless England and Russia were not brought nearer. France made efforts in this respect and at last she succeeded in 1907 A.D. when the three entered into Triple Entente. Consequently, Europe was divided into two rival camps and this rivalry proved to be one of the main causes of the First World War.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Anglo-French Entente 1904 A.D. (1) The commercial and imperialistic rivalry between the two was at a critical stage in the 19th century.

(2) Differences over Egypt and Sudan.

(3) Fashoda incident of 1898 A.D. added to the rivalry.

(4) The increasing power of Germany and estrangement between Germany and England brought the two countries nearer and both had an Entente in 1904 A.D..

(5) The commercial as well as colonial disputes were settled and both gave a word to give financial as well as military aid to each other.

(6) This resulted in the friendship in of the two place of rivalry.

(7) Europe was divided into two hostile camps.

Triple Entente of 1907 A.D.

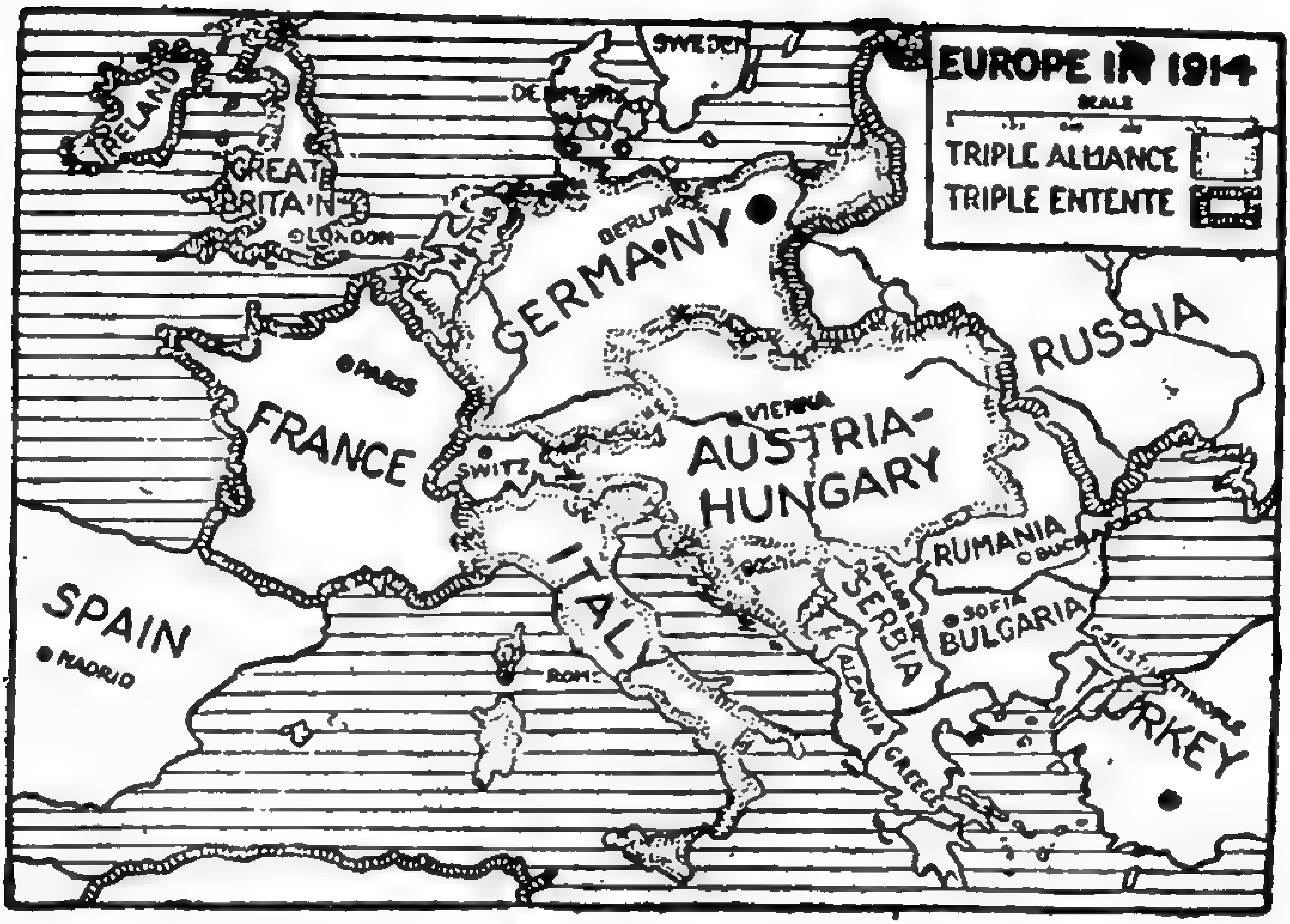
Q. 7. Why was there an alliance between Britain and Russia in 1907 A.D. (A.U. 1961)

Or

Discuss the circumstances leading to the formation of Triple Entente of 1907 A.D.

Ans. Anglo-Russian Convention in 1907 A.D. :—The English followed a policy of Splendid Isolation upto the first half of the 19th century. In 1882. A.D., Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy was formed. France signed the Dual Alliance with Russia in 1891 A.D. and again in 1894 A.D. Now the English realised that the policy of isolation can prove harmful, but their efforts to have an alliance with Germany proved useless.

During the 19th century, the relations between Russia and England were not good. England always opposed the Russian policy in the Balkans. Their interests clashed in China, Persia, Tibet and Far East. Russia captured Port Arthur in 1898 A.D. The


EUROPE IN 1914
SCALE
TRIPLE ALLIANCE
TRIPLE ENTENTE
IRELAND
GREAT BRITAIN
LONDON
SWEDEN
DENMARK
BERLIN
GERMANY
RUSSIA
PARIS
FRANCE
SWITZ
VIENNA
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
RUMANIA
BUCHAREST
SPAIN
MADRID
ITALY
ROME
SERBIA
SOFIA
BULGARIA
ALBANIA
GREECE
CONSTANTINOPLE
TURKEY

English started a search for friends or Allies under these circumstances and they entered into an alliance with Japan in 1902 A.D. so that the Russian influence could be checked in the East. There was even a possibility of war between the two on the Dagger Bank incident but with the French intervention the war was averted.

France also had an alliance with the English in 1904 A.D. and had already entered into an alliance with Russia. So she was feeling a bit afraid that if the war broke out between Russia and England, her position would be very false. Russia too had suffered a great setback in the Russo-Japanese War. She wanted to gain back her lost prestige. In addition to it, there was little possibility of having friendship with Germany as she could not tolerate the German influence over the Balkans. Russia started feeling that if her relations with England became good then she would be able to enhance her influence in the Balkans and the Far East. On the other hand, England was also fearing the increasing power of Germany. Under these circumstances, England and Russia were drawn nearer and concluded an alliance in 1907 A.D. Following were its terms :—

Conditions of the Alliance :—(1) The position of both was clarified in Persia. England recognised the Russian position in Northern Persia and Russia recognised the English interests in the Southern Persia.

(2) Both the countries will not intervene in the Tibetan affairs.

(3) Russia will give up her interests in Afghanistan.

Russia, England and France had the Triple Entente in 1907 A.D. on the basis of the Dual Alliance of 1907. By this alliance the three couutries decided to consult one another on the international problems.

Criticism :—This Entente created friendly relations among the three and their position became stronger. France geared up her efforts to get back her provinces of Alsace and Lorraine from Germany. Russia also started opposing the Austrian influence in the Balkans. England's fear of Germany was also removed.

Thus, Triple Entente was a reply to the Triple Alliance. This divided Europe into two rival and armed camps. Both started looking at each other suspiciously and a race for armaments started between the two. The bitterness between the two camps increased day by day. This Entente organised the nations into two hostile groups but provided no bridge between them. The equilibrium was so delicate that a puff of wind might destory it.

This groupism created an explosive situation and prepared the ground for the First World War. These alliances had in them the seeds of future conflict and fear. **Grant and Temperley** have rightly remarked—

"This remarkable arrangement of international checks and balances for a long time preserved peace among the people, but by the very fact of its existence ultimately engendered strife, for the system was one of competing alliances, not of universal league. It was a balance, not a concert of power. As no combination strengthened or developed, its growth alarmed other states outside its orbit and mechanically produced a counter-combination. Competing alliance produced competing arrangements and the rivalry of hatred and fear ended into two groups carrying their competition to the battlefield."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Triple Entente 1907 of A.D. :—(1) England left the policy of isolation at the end of 19th century.

(2) The relations of England and Russia were not good during the 19th century.

(3) The position of England and Russia was not strong in the face of Triple Alliance.

(4) France had alliances both with England and Russia.

(5) The interests of England and Russia compelled them to have an alliance in 1907 A.D. which was soon converted into Triple Entente.

(6) This Entente resulted in strengthening the position of the three countries.

(7) This Entente created two rival camps which were the cause of the First World War iu 1904 A.D.

The Morocco Crisis

Q. 8. Write a short note on the Morocco Crisis.

Ans. Morocco was a small free state in North Africa and that was under the Turkish rule in those days. The European powers tried to capture it taking advantage of its weakness as also because of its commercial importance. After establishing her influence over Tunis and Algeria, France tried to capture Morocco. Germany was also keeping an eye upon it. Thus, it gave rise to the conflict between the two which is known as the Morocco Crisis.

1. First Morocco Crisis of 1905 A D.—France had an alliance with England in 1904 A.D. After that, she also had an alliance with Spain and accordingly Spain recognised French right over Morocco. After that France sent a mission to Morocco whose main purpose was to have a control over that state. The Sultan agreed to rule under French influence and France made a declaration that the aim of the mission was to help the Sulptan in reforming the administration and also an all-round development of Morocco.

However, Germany could not tolerate the French influence over the Sultan of Morocco. The German Emperor himself paid a visit to Morocco's Capital Tangier. He compelled the Sultan to sever his relations with France. After that Germany made a declaration that no other country would be allowed to have control over Morocco. This created an explosive situation between France and ~~Germany~~. But America intervened and an international conference was called in in Algeciras 1905 A.D. to settle this crisis. All other countries except Austria-Hungary took the French side. This conference granted political freedom to Moroccp and France was given the right of reconstruction but she could not annex her into her empire. Germany could not get any right of interference into the Morocco affairs. Consequently, the rivalry and bitterness between the two countries increased a lot.

2. The Second Morocco Crisis, 1908 A.D.—In 1908 A.D., the estrangement developed between the two countries on the Casablanca Case. At the same time the situction became very serious in the Balkans also. So both the countries were compelled to solve this Morocco problem by adjustments. Germany recognised the French right over Morocco and gave a word not to interfere in her integral affairs. In exchange for it, France agreed to safeguard the economic interests of Germany. Thus, the crisis was over.

3. The Third Morocco Crisis, 1911 A.D.—In 1911 A.D. the Morocco problem again became serious. The French debt over the Sultan increased greatly. The patriots of Morocco could not tolerate this. They started a revolt in the capital of Morocco in 1911 A.D. France sent her forces there and also made a declaration that she would withdraw the army after the establishment of peace. Germany also sent her fleet in the Port of Agadir and declared that she had taken that step as a safety measure for the defence of the Germans there.

The condition became very serious but, at last, both the countries came to terms. Germany recognised the French special position in Morocco while France ceded to Germany some parts of French Congo with an assurance to safeguard the commercial interests of Germany and the other European countries in Morocco. Thus, the crisis was averted but this gave rise to the estrangement between the two and they both stood against each other in the First World War in 1914 A.D.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Morocco Crisis :—(1) Conflict between Germany and France for their control over Morocco,

2. The First Morocco Crisis in 1905 A.D. and its solution in the Algeciras Conference.
3. The Second Morocco Crisis in 1908 A.D. and the Casablanca Case. Solution by agreement.
4. The Third Morocco crisis and Agadir problem in 1911 A.D.
5. Solution by agreement ; Germany recognised the French position in Morocco and France gave her some portions of the French Congo.
6. But estrangement greatly developed between the two countries.

University and Other Important Questions

1. What led to the Dual Alliance of 1879 A. D. between Germany and Austria ? What was its influence on the German Foreign policy in the subsequent period ? (D. U. 1963)
2. Describe the circumstances responsible for the Triple Alliance of 1882 A. D. What were its results ? (A. U. 1966)
3. Account for the importance of Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. (D. U. 1965,. P. U. 1964)
4. Account for the reconciliation between England and France in 1904 A. D. (D. U. 1963, 68)
5. What were the circumstances leading to Anglo-French Entente of 1904 A. D. and how did it constitute a diplomatic revolution ? (P. U. 1967)
6. With what aims the Entente Cordiale of 1904 A. D. was formed ? What were its results ? (A. U. 1962)
7. Give an account of the circumstances that led to the formation of the Triple Entente. (D. U. 1955)
8. In what circumstance did Russia enter into an alliance with France in 1894 A. D. ? (D. U. 1963)
9. Why was there an alliance between Britain and Russia in 1907 A. D. ? (A. U. 1961)

10. Discuss the circumstances leading to the formation of Triple Entente of 1907 A. D. (A. U. 1965, 68)
11. Write short notes on :—
    (*a*) Reinsurance Treaty of 1887 A. D.
    (*b*) Anglo-German relations between 1871 A. D. and 1914 A. D.
    (*c*) The Morocco Crisis.
12. How far was Europe divided into two armed camps just before the outbreak of World War I ? (P. U. 1968)

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THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 1914–18 A. D.

The German Chancellor Bismarck made every effort to keep France isolated. With a view to achieve this end, he formed the Triple Alliance in 1882 A. D. in collaboration with Austria and Italy. On the other hand, France also started a search for allies, finding herself in a precarious condition. Bitterness also cropped up between Russia and Germany as a result of German inclination towards Austria. So France entered into an alliance with Russia in 1894 A.D. and again in 1894 A D. Under these circumstances, England also had to establish friendly relations with other countries. When she failed to establish friendly relations with Germany, she had an alliance with Japan in 1902 A.D. After that, she had an alliance with France in 1904 A D. and with Russia in 1907 A.D. This resulted in the Triple Entente of England, Russia and France. Thus, Europe was divided into two rival camps where the feelings of rivalry and hatred were supreme. In addition to this, the European powers had the commercial and colonial rivalry. They were trying to increase the influence in the East. The German Emperor Kaiser William II was a very ambitious fellow. He wanted to make Germany a first-rate power of the world. These conditions prepared a ground for the World War which broke out in 1914 A. D. This war continued for four years (1914–18 A. D.) and almost all the countries of the world took part in it. Such a fierce war had never been fought before.

Causes of the First World War

☞ Q. 1. What were the causes of the First World War of 1914 ? (*V. Important*)

Or

What were the factors that led to the First World War ?

(P. U. 1966)

Or

To what principal causes would you attribute the outbreak of the First World War of 1914 - 18.

(D. U. 1961 ; A. U. 1356)

Or

"It was the Bismarckian System of Alliances which was responsible for the Great War." Elucidate.

Ans. Causes of the First World War—Following were the causes of the First World War of 1914 A.D. :—

1. Franco-German Rivalry—The Franco-Germany Rivalry proved a main cause of this war. France was defeated by Germany in 1870-71 and her two important provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were taken away from her. Both these places were famous for the iron deposits and France could not prosper without these two provinces. Germany was not ready to return them at any cost. The French Government, writers and poets created a spirit of revenge in their people so as to get back those provinces. In addition, the Morocco Crisis also created enmity between the two countries. Thus, a conflict between the two became unavoidable.

2. Division of Europe into two Hostile Groups—After 1871 A. D., Bismarck adopted such a policy as to make France isolated and prevented her from creating friendly relations with any other European country. On the o ther hand, she formed Triple Alliance in 1882 A. D. with Austria and Italy. As long as Bismarck remained alive, he did not allow any country to have friendship with France by his diplomacy. But after his fall, France established friendly relations with Russia and England and the three countries entered into Triple Entente. This agreement was a reply to the '*Triple Allіqnce*'. Thus, Europe was divided into two hostile groups, and tension and anarchy prevailed in the international sphere. **Benns** has rightly remarked in this respect :—

"The State of Eu ope lived in condition of anarchy in the sense that each recognised no authority itself".

These groups were busy preparing for the war internally though outwardly there appeared silence and peace. The alliances divided Europe into two rival armed groups whose mutual enmity proved to be a great cause of the war. That is why it has been remarked —

"It all came from this d–d system of alliances which was the cause of modern times."

3. Militarism—Germany started increasing her naval force and army with a great speed and also started manufacturing arms and ammunition. This resulted in a race for armaments between the rival groups. **Marriot** has rightly remarked—

"A determined effort was made by the European Government to teach the people the glory and necessity af war."

Who could ignore the fact that this race for armament would result in war any day. Each country in Europe was declaring this that she was manufacturing arms and ammunition for her own sefety but how could all-round preparations for arms and ammunitions check the breaking out of war. Am historian has rightly remarked—

"After all bombs are nor prepared to shoot pigeons on Holidays."

The European countries started spending lavishly on their defence services. At that time Germany had 9, 90,000 soldiers, France 6,50,000 soldiers and Russia 12,00,000 soldiers.

4. **Poisoning the Public Opinion by Newspapers**—The newspapers also played a great role in poisoning the public opinion. They presented the news in such a manner so as to increase their sale. They criticised the matters in their own manner and created an atmosphere of doubt, distrust and tension which proved greatly harmful and also prepared the ground for the our-break of the war. **Bismarck** himself once remarked :—

"Every country is held at sometime to account for the windows broken by its press ; the bill is presented some day or other, in the shape of hostile sentiments in the other country."

5. **Narrow Nationalism**—This was an era of narrow and fanatical nationalism. *"Nationalism was a new religion that roused the deepest emotions of mind."* The human feeling almost disappeared. Each nation thought about her own national interests. This element created bitterness among the nations. France was ready to get back her provinces of Alsace and Lorraine from Germany. The competition between Germany and England regarding the commercial and colonial expansion touched its greatest heights. The conflict between Austria and Serbia in the Balkans was pushing them towards conflict. The Austrian and Russian interests clashed in the Balkans. That is why it has been remarked—*"The spirit of fanatical nationalism proved ill for the peace of mankind."*

6. **Clash of Imperialistic Interests**—Almost all the European nations, especially Germay, were in favour of expanding their empires and consequently the conflict among them was but natural. Germany started producing different things on large scale as a rusult of Industrial Revolution. She needed colonies and markets for the sale of these products. But many colonies were already in the hold of England and France. So Germany was to go against France and England in order to achieve her objective of getting new colonies and making progress in the commerical sphere.

7. **Germany's Attempt to become a First-Rate Power in the World**—Germany became a powerful country under the leadership of Bismarck. She defeated the powerful nations like France and Austria and also made a great progress in the sphere of trade and commerce. German Emperor Kaiser William II was a very ambitious person. He wanted to make Germany a first-rate power in the world. He started increasing his military power at a rapid speed. He believed in *"World Power or Downfall."* Under these circumstances, his clash with other powers was quite unavoidable.

In addition, Germany was fired by the Prussian spirit. The Germans believed that the German culture known as '*Kulfur Kampf*' was the best one and it could lead to the betterment of the world and he who succeeds is never in the wrong.

The Germans believed that Victory was a moral thing. They were taught this lesson that war was reasonable. They believed that a war fought for a good thing could not be bad. In this commection **Prof. Lamprачht** said—

"*After bloody victories, the world will be healed by being Germanist.*"

Such thoughts gave birth to war-like setiments.

8. Character of Kaiser William II—The German Emperor Kaiser William II was ambitious, arrogant and hot-headed. He started opposing every country openly. On becoming an emperor he made many of his friends and allies his opponents. His interference in the Balkan states made Russia his opponent and England became his enemy as a result of Germany's increasing naval power. Thus, he was greatly responsible for the formation of the Triple Entente of England, France and Russia. His emotional speeches largely despoiled the atmosphere.

9. Anglo-German Rivalry—The English were the first-rate naval power in the world upto the first half of the 19th century and there was none to oppose her. But Germany started increasing her naval power at a rapid pace in the second half of the 19th Century as otherwise it was not possible for her to compete with the English. The Germans constructed huge ships and started widening the Kiel Canal. It was a sort of challenge to the English naval power. England wanted to maintain her supermacy over the seas. This resulted in a race between the two for increasing the naval power. There already existed a rivalry between the two because of colonial expansion and commercial interests. This rivalry sent them to the hostile camps.

10. Enmity between Russia and Austria—Enmity arose between Russia and Austria on the Balkan issue. Austria always opposed Serbia. Mony Serbs lived in Austria and she always feared a revolt from them. In 1908 A. D., Austria annexed the provices of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbia strongly opposed it and Russia also joined Serbia. The Kingdom of Albania was established after the defeat of Serbia in these Balkan Wars which made Serbian approach to the Aegean Sea quite difficult. Thus, the enmity between Austria and Serbia and also that of Russia also corrupted the atmosphere.

11. Policy of Italy—Trientino near the Port of Triest, was under the control of Austria but it was greatly inhabited by the Italians. So, Italy wanted to capture it. This also was a cause of the conflict.

12. Near-Eastern Problem—The Near-Eastern Problem also helped in poisoning the Europan atmosphere. Turkey was a powerful nation during the 15th and 16th centuries. She had control over the Balkan States but the Turkish power started declining in the 18th and 19th centuries and it made Austria, Russia, Bulgaria and Serbia strive for the enhancement of their influence at her cost. This very fact created a rivalry and enmity among these nations.) Again, when Germany started laying the Berlin-Baghdad Railway line, it created a danger to the English Empire in India. Thus the Near Eastern Problem became very complicated one and proved a sort of gun-powder for the First World War. In 1891 A.D , **Bismarck** had said rightly to one of his friends—*"I shall not see the World War, but you will and it will start in the East."*

13. Lack of International Organisation—This was a period of fanatical nationalism. Every nation thought about her own interests. There was no organisation to control the mutual interests and to introduce the international laws. The resolutions of the Hague Conferences of 1899 A. D. and 1907 A. D. were also not useful in this respect. The international laws were distoretd for national interests. Italy entered into separate alliances with Russia and France to grind her own axe even when she was the member of the Triple Alliance. These things led to bitterness and tension among the various nations.

14. Secret Diplomacy—Lawlessness spread widely in the international sphere and there was no organisation to look after the international relations. Secret diplomacy was at its climax. The alliances between the countries were kept secret and people did not know about them. The foreign offices in most of the European countries were places of falsehood, thefts and wantonness. In 1904 A. D., Lord Grey the British Foreign Secretary, had an agreement with France. The Cabinet came to know of it in 1912 A. D. and the Parliament in 1914 A.D. This secret diplomacy gave rise to the feelings of mutual distrust and hatred and created tension and bitterness among the nations after spoiling their mutual relations. **Benns** has rightly remarked—

> *"The brief glimpses of the diplomatic situation in Europe in 1913 and 1914 somewhat resemble the pieces of jig saw picture none of which alone give a complete or true idea of the picture as a whole."*

15. Immediate Cause—The gun powder of the war was getting ready since long in Europe but the murder of the Austrian Archduke was the spark which set the whole Europe ablaze. The Archduke Ferdinand was murdered in the Bosnian capital of Serajevo on June 28, 1914. The murderer was a Serbian. Austria put the blame on the Serbian government for this crime and she sent a drastic ultimatum but Serbia refused to comply with some of the conditions at the instigation of Russia. So Austria declared a war against Serbia on July 28, 1914.

England and Germany tried to make this war a local affair but they could not succeed. France also gave a word of help to Russia. The French President declared—

"Serbia has many warm friends in the Russian people and Russia has an ally in France."

When Russia made a declaration of general mobilization on July 23, 1914, Germany gave her an ultimatum to stop that within 24 hours. So Germany made a declaration of war, on Russia's refusal to stop the general mobilization. **Prof Fay** has remarked in this respect—

"It was primarily Russia's general mobilization, which, when Germany was trying to bring Austria to a settlement, precipitated the final catastrophe, causing Germany to mobilize and declare war."

England wanted to keep aloof but, when Germany attacked Belgium, then England was compelled to join the war in order to safeguard the Belgian neutrality and her own political interests.

There were two sides in the war. On the one side, were Serbia, Russia, France, England, Japan, America, Italy etc. which were called the 'Allies'. On the other side, were Germany, Austria Turkey, Bulgaria etc. which were known as 'The Central Powers.'

2. **Responsibility of the War**—It is very difficult to fix the responsibility of the war on any one country. Each country tried to shift the responsibility on the other. In fact, the responsibility cannot be fixed on any one nation ; each nation was responsible for it to some extent. That is why it has been said—

"No nation brought the war and the statesmen blundered into it rather than sought it."

Austria was ready to crush Serbia and she was quite hopeful to gain help from Germany. The German Emperor **Kaiser William** had said—*"Germany enters upon the war with a pure conscience. We are fighting for the fruit of our peaceful labour, for the inheritance bequeathed to us by a great past and for our future. The great hour of trial for our nation has now struck......our army is in the field, our fleet is ready for action and behind them, the entire German nation."*

Whatever may be the reason, the German instigation of Austria ignited the war.

Russia also cannot be spared from the responsiblity of the war. Russia was greatly concerned with the problem of Serbia and she ordered general mobilization. France also supported her action and as such it was difficult to avert the war. Serbia would have been ready to agree to many conditions of Austria but Russian help instigated her for the conflict.

England held this view that she joined the war so as to honour the international alliance by safeguarding the Belgian neutrality. **Lord Asquith**, in this connection said—

"If I am asked what we are fighting for, I can reply in two sentences. In the first place, we are fighting to fulfil a solemn international obligation...Secondly, we are fighting to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed, in defiance of international good faith by the arbitrary will of a strong and over-mastering power."

However, it cannot be denied that England tried her best to maintain peace. If England would have challenged Germany in the beginning or had refused to ally with Russia and France, then the war might have been stopped, but she did not do so.

So we can conclude that the great war was the result of the mutual rivalry, distrust and hatred among the Great Powers of Europe and each nation was responsible for it to some extent. That is why it has been said—

"The ambitions, the fears and the hatreds of the two groups had plunged the world in darkness."

Benns has said in this respect—

"Nationalism, imperialism, militarism and entangling alliances ale played a part in the final denouncement, and the development of a great war and the crisis was made more easy and inevitable because the countries of the world lived in a state of international anarchy."

According to Hazen—*"The situation was created by the authorised heads of various states."*

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Causes of the First World War—(1) Franco-German Rivalry ; (2) Division of Europe into two hostile groups : (3) Militarism ; (4) Poisoning the public opinion by newspapers ; (5) Narrow nationalism ; (6) Clash of Imperialistic interests ; (7) German attempt to become the first-rate power of the world : (8) Character of Kaiser William II ; (9) Anglo-German rivalry. (10) Enmity between Russia and Austria ; (11) Policy of Italy (12) Near Eastern problem ; (13) Lack of international ogranisation ; (14) Secret diplomacy ; (15) Immediate cause—murder of the Austrian prince.

Responsibility of the War—The responsibility of the war falls not on any particular nation but on all the great powers of Europe ; Mutual rivalry, hatred and distrust caused the out-break of the war.

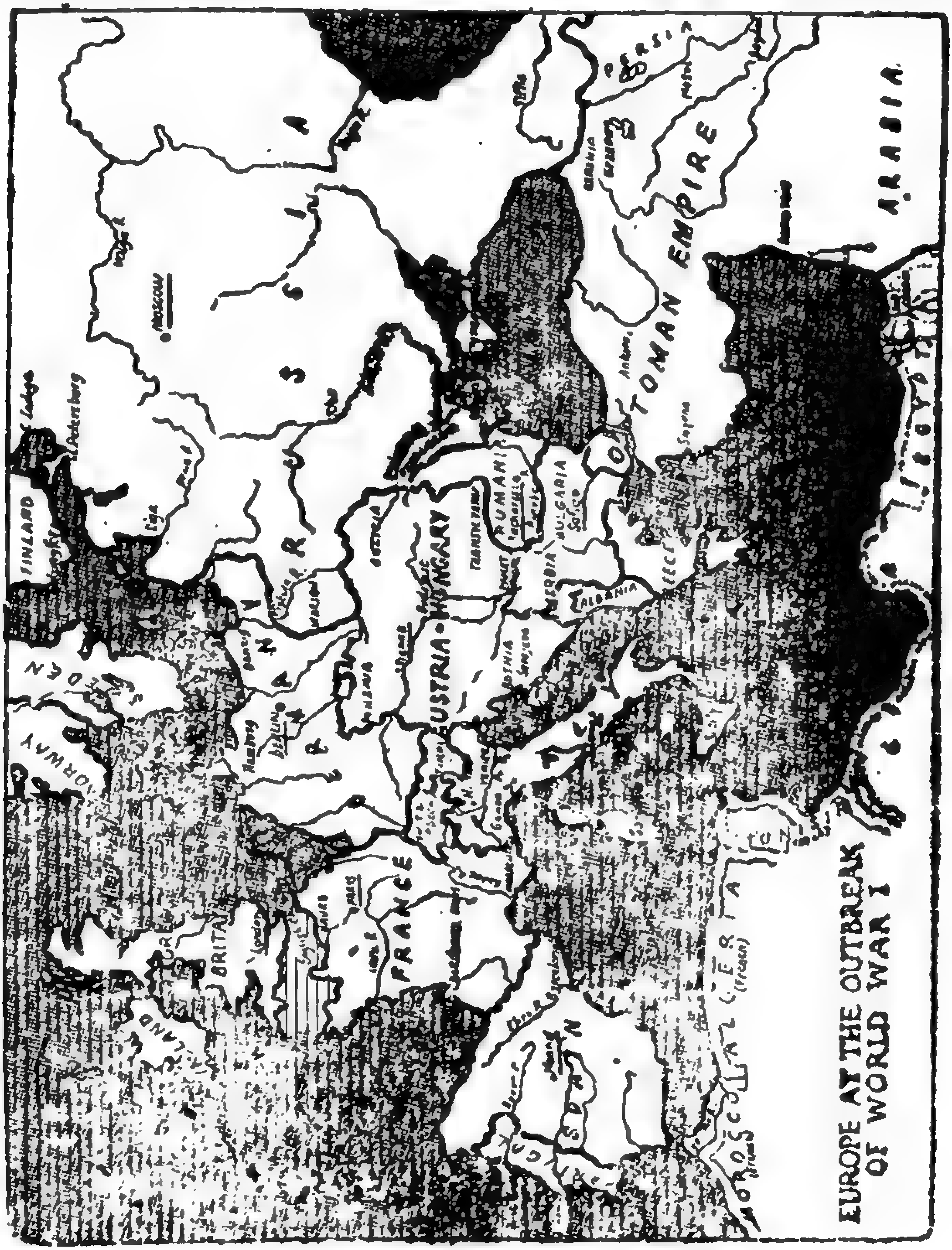
Events of the War

Q. 2. Give an account of the main events of the First World War.

Ans. Main Events—This war was fought from 1914 to 1918 A. D. at many fronts at a time.

1. War in 1914 A.D.—

War on the Western Front—Germany had a plan to capture France before the full fledged entry of Russia into the war. So, she kept only a little force on the eastern front and invaded Belgium with a great force. After conquering Beligum very quickly, she launched an attack on France with a force of 15 Lakh soldiers. Soon, the German forces reached about a distance of 20 miles from Paris. A fierce battle took place near the river Marne in September, 1914. Both sides suffered heavy losses but it checked the advance of the German forces and they could not capture Paris. After that, both the sides dug trenches and the war continued for four years in this manner. In


PERSIA
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RUMANIA
BULGARIA
Sofia
SERBIA
ALBANIA
GREECE
Smyrna
ITALY
FRANCE
Paris
BRITAIN
IRELAND
SPAIN
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
(French)

EUROPE AT THE OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR I

October, Germany captured Antwerp but she was beaten back in the fierce battle of Ypres.

The Eastern Front—Germany gained much success on the eastern front. Russia was attacked by both Germany and Austria. The German commander Hindenburg inflicted a crushing defeat on the Russians at Tannenbrg. Though Russia suffered a defeat but, to the Allies, it proved a blessing in disguise. The German pressure over France decreased. In the meantime, Russia captured Galicia by defeating Austria.

Turkey also joined the war in October. She joined the Central Forces and declared war against Russia. The Allies tried to capture the Gallipoli Pennisula but they failed in their attempts. The English commander General Allenby gained success in Mesopotamia and Palestine.

2. **War in 1915 A. D.**—Italy made the declaration of war against the Central Forces by joining the Allies in 1915 A. D. Russia won Poland by capturing Warsaw but, later on she was uprooted from there. The Gallipoli expedition of the Allies failed miserably. In September, 1915, Bulgaria joined the Central Forces and she crushed Serbia very badly. Italian attack was also repulsed but the Italian forces engaged the German forces for a long time and it decreased the German pressure on the Western front. The Allies captured Salonica but England did not gain any important success in Mesopotamia. They failed to capture Baghdad and also suffered a defeat in Kutel A mara.

Now, Germany started the submarine warfare. The English declared the blockade of the German coasts and captured many of the German colonies.

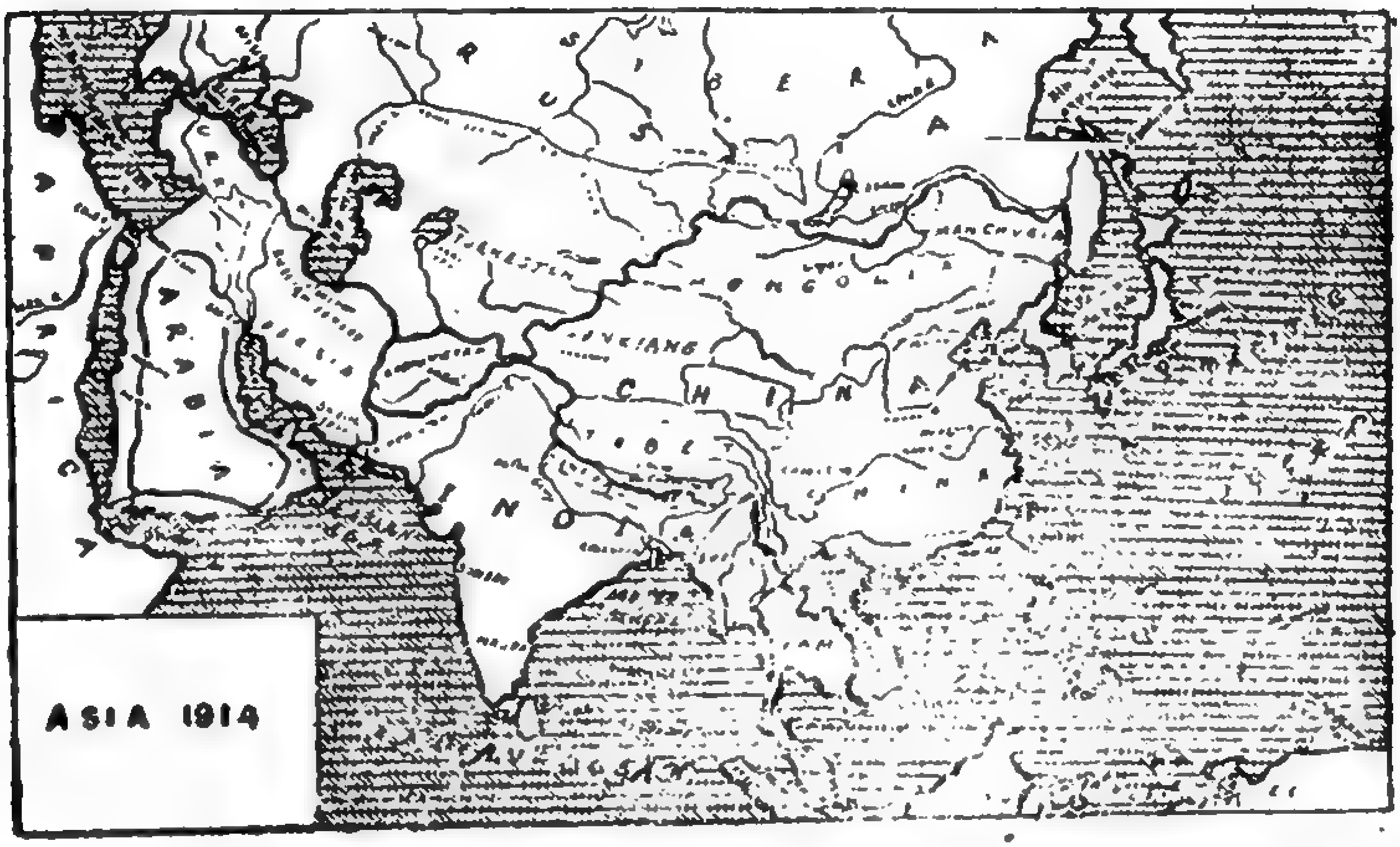
3. **War in 1916 A.D.**—

The Western Front—Germany sunk many British Warships by adopting the submarine warfare and launched a full-fledged attack on the Western front but the French defeated her badly in the Battle of Verdun. In the same year, in July, England and France conducted an offensive operation in reply to the German attack near the river Somme. The English used the tanks for the first time in this battle. This battle continued upto November without any decisive result.

War on the Sea—The English tightened the blockade of the German coast in order to meet the German submarine-warfare. The Germans suffered a great defeat in the Battle of Dagger-Bank and the English sunk the German ship 'Blucher'. The German fleet was compelled to come out of the Kiel for fighting. In May, 1916, the naval engagement took place in the Battle of Jutland. It was a drawn battle but the Germans suffered heavy losses and the German fleet withdrew to its base.

The Easter Front—In 1916 A.D., Rumania also declared war on Germany and Austria but faced a crushing defeat at the hands of

Germany. The Germans captured her capital. The peace efforts made at this time did not prove helpful as Germany was not ready to leave Belgium and North France from her hold.



4. War in 1917 A.D.—The English continued the blockade of the German coast. The internal condition of Germany was deteriorating due to the shortage of food stuffs. At the same time, Germany sunk some American ships. Consequently, America declared war on Germany and joined the Allies. This made their position more sound.

The Western Front—Germany had to retreat upto Hindenburg line and the battle of trenches continued.

The Eastern Front—Egypt also joined the Allies and declared war on Turkey. The English gained a great success against Turkey when they captured Baghdad and Jerusalem.

On the other hand, the revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trostky took place in Russia in 1917 A. D. This brought an end to the autocratic rule of the Czar as well as to his family and a Republic was set up in Russia. Russia entered into the Treaty of Brest Litovsk with Germany in February, 1918 and thus stopped the war. Now Germany put all her forces on the Western Front.

5. War in 1918 A.D.—The German position became strong after the Russian withdrawal from the battle-field. So her commander Ludendorff, launched a great attack on France. The Allied forces were under the command of the French General Foch who was an able general. In the beginning, Germany gained success and she reached up to Marne. The Allies started the repulsive offence and Germany was beaten back. The fresh forces of U.S.A. played a major role in turning the tables. Germany suffered a defeat in the Second Battle of Marne. On the other hand, the internal condition of Germany greatly deteriorated for want of food stuffs.

One by one, her allies left Germany after this defeat. Bulgaria gave in on September 22, 1918. Austria and Turkey also surrendered in October. Germany made an overture for peace to the American President, Wilson, but that was rejected. It was repeated and an armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, and the war came to an end. During this period the German emperor, Kaiser William II, left the throne of Germany and fled to Holland.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Main Events of the War :—

(1) **War in 1914**—(1) Germany captured Belgium on the western front ; (2) Germany advanced upto river Marne but was checked there ; (3) On the eastern front, Germany defeated Russia at Tannenburg but Russia conquered Galicia by defeating Austria ; (4) Turkey declared war on the Allies. The Gallipoli attempt of the Allies proved a great failure.

(2) **War in 1915**—(1) Italy started war by joining hands with the Allies ; (2) Russia captured Poland but was uprooted from there later on ; (3) Bulgaria joined the Central Powers and crushed Serbia ; (4) The English failed in Baghdad and Kutel Amara ; (5) Germany started the submarine warfare and England blocked the German coasts.

(3) **War in 1916**—(1) Germany's defeat in the Battle of Verdun in the western front : (2) Battle of River Somme was not decisive (3) German defeat in the sea-battle of Dagger Bank but the battle of Jutland also remained indecisive ; (4) Rumania declared war on the eastern front but was defeated.

(4) **War in 1917**—(1) America declared war on Germany ; (2) The battle of trenches continued on the western front ; (3) On the eastern front the English defeated Turkey and captured Baghdad and Jerusalem ; (4) Revolution of 1917 A.D. took place in Russia and brought an end to the Czar's rule and she entered into a treaty with Germany and ended the war.

(5) **War in 1918**—(1) Germany launced a severe attack and she again reached Marne but she had to retreat ; (2) Bulgaria surrendered in September and Turkey and Austria surrendered in October ; (3) Germany also signed an armistice on November 11, 1918 A.D. and the war came to an end.

Treaty of Versailles or Peace Settlement of 1919

☞ **Q. Give a critical account of the Treaty of Versailles.**

(V. Important)

Or

Discuss critically the European Settlement of 1919.

(D.U. 1951)

Or

Critically examine the terms of the Peace Settlement of Versailles of 1919.

(P.U. 1954, 56)

Or

Give an account of the territorial re-adjustment after the First World War.

Or

What were the moral and practical defects of the Peace Settlement of 1919 ? (D. U. 1956, P. U. 51, 54, 55, A. U. 1961)

Or

How far was the Peace Settlement of 1919 responsible for the Second World War ?

Ans. The War of 1914 A. D. was an unusually terrible and heavily destructive war. About 80 lakh people were killed in it and about 2 crore 80 lakh people were wounded. No estimates could be made regarding the loss of property and wealth. When Germany signed an armistice on November 11, 1918 A. D., the world really heaved a sigh of relief.

1. **Peace Conference in Paris**—A Conference was held in Paris to arrange the terms of treaty to end the war. Critics are of the opinion that—"*In this inflamed atmosphere of Paris, the ideals of appeasement fought an unequal battle with those of retribution*".

About 70 representatives of different countries took part in this Conference. President Wilson of America, Loyal George Prime Minister of England, French Prime Minister, Clemenceau and the Italian Prime Minister Orlando were most prominent among them. These 'Big Four' had a hold over the Conference. The opening ceremony of this Conference was conducted by the President of France on January 18, 1918 A. D. and Clemenceau was elected the chairman of this Conference.

Lloyd George, Orlando, Clemencean, President Wilson

A committee of 9 members was elected to fix the terms of the treaty. The 'Big Four' also had an influence over this committee. They would decide all the things secretely first and after that these were placed before the general assembly This Conference did not take note of the 14 points of Wilson which brought an end to this war but the conquerors stuck to the fulfilment of their aspirations.

The draft of the treaty was prepared on May 9, 1919 and was handed over to the German representatives which was to be returned by them after 6 weeks. After considering that, Germany demanded some amendments in the draft but only few of these demands were accepted. But Mueller and Bell, the representatives of Germany had to sign the treaty on June 28, 1919 A. D. in the Palace of Versailles. This was the same palace where sometime ago Bismarck established the German empire under the Prussian Emperor after defeating France. So France avenged her old defeat. It has been rightly said—

> "*It was an irony of fate that in that very room where royalist Germany had recorded her victory, republican Germany had to record her defeat.*"

After this, the representatives of other countries also signed the treaty. In addition, some the treaties such as the Treaty of St. Germaine with Austria in September, 1919 A. D. ; the Treaty of Neuilly in November, 1919 A. D. ; the Treaty of Trianon with Hungary in June, 1920 A. D. and the Treaty of Serves with Turkey in August 1920 A. D. were also made. Jointly, all these are given the name of the Treaty of Versailles or the Peace Settlement of 1919-20 in the world History.

2. Problems before the Peace Conference:—The main objective of this peace conference was to stop war in the future and to establish peace, in place of autocracy in the world so that democracy might prosper in the world. The conference was to settle the following problems :—

(1) To reorganise the man of Europe.

(2) To decide the future of German Colonies and the territorial limit of Turkey.

(3) To decide the war—indemnity that Germany and her friendly countries had to pay.

(4) Reduction of armaments.

(5) To establish an international organisation for the settlement of international disputes and to stop wars in the future.

3. Terms of the Treaty:—

(*a*) *Treaty with Germany* :—Following were the terms settled with Germany :—

(1) *France got* the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, Belgium got the districtc of Marsenet, Malmedy and Eupen. The port of Memel was handed over to Lithuania and the whole of the western Prussia was given to Poland.

(2) *France also got* the right to exploit the Coal-mines in the Valley of Saar The Valley of Saar was placed under an International Commission for 15 years under the League of Nations. A plebiscite took place there in 1935 A. D. and the Valley of Saar was amalgamated with Germany.

(3) *Rhineland* was made a de-militarized zone and all fortifications in this zone were dismantled. Germany was prohibited from doing any fortifications in this area in future.

(4) *Danzig* was made a free city under the control of the League of Nations but special rights of Poland were also recognised there.

(5) The fortification of the *Ports of Heligoland and Dune* were also to be done away with.

(6) Germany had to recognise the *free Kingdoms of Belgium Poland and Czchoslovakia.* Poland also got a corridor through Germany to reach the sea.

(7) *Germany had also to lose her colonial empire.* All her colonies were in the charge of different Allied Powers under the League of Nations. Cameroons and Togoland were divided among France and England. New Zealand gained the Somoa Island and Japan gained Shantung and Kiau-Chow.

(8) *Germany ceded her special rights* over China, Thailand, Egypt, Morocco and Liberia.

(9) The *military strength of Germany* was also reduced so as to check her offensive policy as well as her capability of starting the war again. General mobilization and compulsory military training or conscription were also prohibited in Germany. Her army was reduced to 100,000 men. Restrictions were also imposed upon production of war-material and its import and export. So the military power of Germany was restricted. Rhineland and the Kiel Canal area were declared as de-militarised zones.

(10) The *naval force of Germany* was also greatly reduced. She was prohibited from keeping the sub.marines. She was permitted to keep only 6 warships, 6 light cruisers and 12 Torpedo boats.

(11) *Germany had to accept the war-guilt* and she was compelled to pay a sum of, 500,000,000 dollars as war-indemnity to the Allies.

(12) *Germany agreed to give 10 lakh tonnes of coal* to France and 80 lakh tonnes to Belgium and Italy annually.

(13) The *German Emperor Kaisev Willian* was declared as war guilty, and it was decided to try him by an International court. But he fled to Holland so no step could be taken in this respect.

Thus, Germany was disarmed and humiliated, and this treaty proved very fatal for her prestige.

(*b*) **Treaty of St. Germaine with Austria** :—Following were the conditions of this treaty :—

(1) The empire of Austria-Hungary was dismembered and two separate Kingdoms of Austria and Hungary were set-up.

(2) A new state of Czechoslvakia was formed by joining Bohemia and Morasia.

(3) Bosnia, Herzegovina and Croatia etc. were combined with Serbia to form a new state of Yugoslavia.

(4) Italy gained Tyrol from Austria.

(5) Rumania was enlarged by joining some portions of Austria, Hungary aad Russia.

(6) Austrian army was reduced to 30,000 men.

(7) Austria agreed to pay the war-indemnity.

Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria :—By this treaty, Bulgaria had to give back the territories which she had won during the Balkan Wars. She ceded some parts of Macedonia to Yogoslavia ; the coast of the Aegean Sea to Greece and Dobrudja to Rumania. The Bulgarian army was reduced to 33,000 men and she was to pay $ 5,000,000 as war indemnity.

(*d*) **Treaty of Trianon with Hungary** :—By this treaty, the new state of Hungary was formed with much less area than the former. Her area was reduced to 35,000 sq. miles from 1,25,000 sq. miles and population from 20,000,000 to 8,000,000. She ceded Slovakia and Southern Carpethia to Czechoslovakia. Her army was reduced and fixed at 35,000 men and she was to pay the war indemnity.

(*e*) **Treaty of Serves with Turkey** :—The Treaty of Sevres was made with Turkey. Following were its terms—

(1) Constantinople remained with Turkey.

(2) Straits were to form a neutral zone and the territories surrounding them were to be made de-militarised zones.

(3) Under the League of Nations, the control of Syria was given to France and that of Palestine and Mesopotamia to England.

(4) Turkey lost to Greece many portions of Macedonia, Thrace, Asia Minor and the Dedecanese islands.

(5) England gained Egypt in Africa from Turkey.

The Treaty of Sevres could not be put into practice as Turkey did not accept it. The Turks under Mustafa Kamal started a war against Greece and drove away the Greeks from her territories. After that a public was established in Turkey buder Kamal Pasha. So a new treaty under the name of Treaty of Lausanne was concluded in 1923 A. D.

(*f*) **Treaty of Lausanne** :—Following were the terms of this treaty:—

(1) Eastern Thrace and Adrianople were taken back from Greece.

(2) Turkey lost her rights over Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Cyprus, Hebjaz, Palestine and Mesopotamia.

(3) The straits were declared a neutral zone and the ships of all the nations were allowed to pass through them and the coasts on both the sides were declared as de-militarised zones.

4. The Mandate System :—Outside Europe, the territories of Germany and Turkey were taken away from them. Under the Mandate System, these were transferred to some other countries. These were handed over to them not as owners but as governors to look after their administration. Their main duty was to raise the economic, social and political standard of the people. The League of Nations set up a Mandate Commission for this purpose.

Under the Mandate System, Palestine, Mesopotamia, East Africa, Togoland and Cameroons were given to England. France got Syria and a part of German colonies in Africa. German Colonies in south west of Africa went to the Union of South Africa. Japan got the German holding Kiau-Chow and Shantung in China. Australia as well as New Zealand got some islands in the Pacific.

5. League of Nations :—The First World War proved to be very destructive. So the proposal of establishing the League of Nations was passed to stop wars in the future, to settle the international disputes, to maintain peace in the world and to settle mutual difference. amicably without resorting to violent steps.

Criticism of the Treety—As described above, the First World War ended with the Treaty of Varsailles. Critics are to the opinion that this treaty was unjust and very severe. Therefore it could not achieve its aim. The British Prime Minister Lloyd George, however, called it just. He said—"*I do not think any one can claim the terms imposed constitute injustice to Germany unless he believes justice in war was on the side of Germany. The terms of the treaty in some respects were terrible. But, terrible were the deeds which justified them and still more terrible would have been the consequences had Germany triumphed. The world is rocking and rolling under the blow that failed. If the blow had succeeded, the liberty of Europe would have vanishep.*"

It cannot be denied that the terms of the treaty were severe and humiliating and instead of solving the problems, they made them more complicated and resulted in the Second World War.

It was forced upon Germany and her allies. It was a dictated treaty. The representatives of Germany were not given any time to give their views while framing its terms They were brought like prisoners to sign. They were treated very harshiy. **Carr** has rightly remarked—

"*It was imposed by the Victors on the vanquisded, not negotiated by a process of give and take between them In the Treaty of Versailles the element of dictation was more apparent than in any previous peace treaty of modern times.*"

This treaty was very disgracieg for Germany and its terms were very severe. Her territories and overseas domain were taken way from her and she was crippled and rendered very weak. She did not lose her colonies alone but she had to suffer a heavy lose in food-stuffs also which adversely affected her economy. She had to pay the heaviest indemnity. It has been rightly remarked—

"Economically crippled, politically segregated, militarilly humbled, nationally humiliated, physically exhausted Germany stood like a pale person, just out of the game."

This treaty proved a death-below the honour and presige of Germany. It was not only severe but it was based upon selfish motives and vindictive spirit. The principle of this treaty was—*"To the Victors belong the spoils and Allies are the victors"*

Had the terms of the treaty been soft and not based upon vindictiveness, perhaps the international peace would have been maintained. The Allies did not learn a lesson from the history that the spirit of vindictiveness leads to war. The British Prime Minister, Pitt the Younger wanted to crush the French Revolution. But his reactionary policy led to the rise of Napoleon and Europe had to suffer for quite a long time in the Napoleonic Wars. In the same manner the Treaty of Versailles proved to be an important cause of the World War II. It was very difficult for the patriots of Germany to bear the hard, degrading and vindictive treaty. Soon, Hitler tore it into pieces after taking the reins of Germany in his hands. He increased his military power and invented destructive armaments. He paid no heed to disarmament. By and by, he conquered Poland Danzing, Czechoslovakia and all these actions led to the breaking out of the Second World War in 1939 A. D. which proved to be the most destructive. Thus, it is quite clear that the Treaty of Versailles paved the way for the Second World War.

It is no exaggeration to say that this treaty was quite unjust and it lacked the spirit of give and take. The 14 Points of Wilson were disregarded in it. The disarmament was imposed upon Germany alone and not on any other country. Consequently, a race for armaments started among the various European countries which caused the Second World War. **Marshal Foch** had rightly said—

"This is not peace, it is an armistice for twenty years"

The principle of self-determination was completely ignored at the time of deciding the limits of Germany, Austria, Hungary and Turkey. The people of these defeated countries were not given opportunity to plead their case. **Smuts** has said in this resyect—

"The great human ideas are not written in this treaty There are territorial settlements which in my humble judgement, will need revision."

The treaty gave rise to Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy, and the world was thrown in to the flame of the Second World War.

Under the Mandate System, the colonies of Germany and Turkey were handed over to the Allies under the League of Nations.

The Allies tried to usurp them which resulted in the conflict and the declaration of war.

In addition, Germany and Austria were deprived of their many parts and divided to form many new states which were not able to either save their freedom and territorial jurisdictions or to progress economically. They fell a prey to the imperialistic notions and created many complicated problems which could be solved by war alone.

Like Germany, her allies—Austria, Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria etc. were also treated harshly. Many portions were taken away from them. Their military power was reduced and they were compelled to pay the war indemnity. Italy was not satisfied with what she gained. This type of treatment and hardships invited the war.

It is clear from the above description that the Treaty of Versailles was thrust upon the Central Powers. It was devoid of liberality, forgiveness and humbleness. Fourteen Points of Wilson were ignored in it. This treaty was unjust and based upon vindictiveness. This treaty was very severe and degrading. It held the germs of another war. That is why it has been said—

"The Statesmen had not been equal to the grandeur of events ; they made a peace which was no peace and the treaty held the germs of another great war".

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Peace Conference of Paris :—(1) A conference was held at Paris to settle the terms of the treaty after the war ; (2) Representatives of different countries took part it ; (3) Representatives of the defeated countries were not consulted : (4) England, France, America and Italy had great influeuce and hold over the Peace Conference ; (5) Germany was directed to sign the Treaty on June 28, 1919 A.D.

Treaty of Versailles :—Treaty of Versailles with Germany ; St, Germaine Treaty with Austria, Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria ; (2) Treaty of Versailles was very severe and degarding ; the defeated countries had to lose many parts and colonies according to its terms ; (3) Military powers were reduced and a large indeamity was forced on them.

Criticism of Treaty :—(1) Brittish Prime Minister declared it to be hard but just ; (2) Other critics severely criticised it ; (3) This treaty was severe and humiliating and forcibly thrust upon them ; (4) This treaty was vindictive in nature ; (5) It was without the policy of give and take and Wilson's Points were ignored while framing it ; (6) it was without the spirit of self-determination ; (7) Germany and her allies were treated unjusty ; (7) This treaty had the germs of the Second World War.

Fourteen Points of Wilson

Q. 4. Give a critical account of the Fourteen Points of Wilson.

or

What were the Feurteen points of Wilson ?

(Delhi B. A. 1966)

which adversely affected her economy. She had to pay the heaviest indemnity. It has been rightly remarked—

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Poles, Czechs, and Fins etc. It was a very good idea to have an international agency to settte the international disputes and problems. Wilson's points of nationality were adopted to some extent and many slave-races gained freedom from foreign rules. According to these, the League of Nations was established to maintain the international peace. He used to say :—

"The war must not be ended by any peace of ordinary type. It must be peace with gurranteeing and preserving a peace without victory".

However, it is a point of great regret that the victor did not leave their self-interest and ignored many points of Wilson. His point of self-determination and disarmament was not put to practice. England did not agree to leave her claim over the seas Victors especially France and her certain other allies were not prepared to reeognise these points. Consequently, the Treaty of Versailles proved to be very severe and humiliating and it sowed the seeds of tha Second World War.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Wilson's 14 Points :—President Wilson of America gave 14 points for the re.organisation of Europe for the maintainance of peace and averting the wars ; (2) His points were based uoon the bases of self-determination and nationalism ; (3) The idea of estabilising the league of Nations to settle the international disputes ; (4) Different nations did not accept these points ; (5) The Treatv of Versailles proved to be a great cause of the Second World War because Wilson's points were ignored while framing it.

Results of the First World War

Q. 5. Describe briefly the results of the First World War.

Or

"The Great War was not only an international conflict. it was also a continental revolution."

Discusss the statement with reference to the results of the War.

Ans :—Results of the Great War :—The First World War was very destructive. Following were its main results :—

(1) *Loss of Men and Money*—Many people were killed, wounded and became disabled during the First World War. Such a war had not been fought earlier in the History of the World. About 50 lakh soldiers of the Allies. were killed and about one Crore ten lakh were wounded. The youth formed the main part of the killed and the wounded. In addition, a great number of the civil population was also killed and wounded. It is estimated that during the period of 4 years about 80 lakh persons were killed, 60 lakh were disabled and about one Crore and 20 lakh were wounded. No information was available about another 80 lakh persons. The number of the wounded and killed in the war was about 3 Crore 20 lakh. According to

Ans :—The American President, Dr. Wilson was a very peace-loving man. He wanted to settle the affairs of Europe in such a mannar so that the possibilities of the war should be completely removed from there. He played a leading role in bringing an end to the First World War and thus created peace. He placed the 14 points before the Allied nations and appealed to them to draft the terms of the treaty and there arrangement of Europe according to these points.

Dr. Woodraw Wilson

1. Fourteen Points of Wilson :— Following were the 14 points of Wilson :—

(1) To give up the secret diplomacy and have open alliances and treaties.

(2) Freedom in the use of the seas by all the nations in war and peace.

(3) To remove all sorts of barriers to international trade.

(4) Reduction of armaments by all the nations.

(5) To have impartial adjustments of all the colonial claims and to pay attention [illegible]he interests of the subject populations.

(6) Re-arra[illegible]ment of the territories given up by Russia on the basis of national self determination.

(7) Germany should evacuate Belgium and establish *status-quo* there.

(8) Germany should also evacuate the territories conquered during the war and Alsace-Lorraine should be restored to France,

(9) The boundaries of Italy should be rectified on the basis of nationality.

(10) All the races in Austria-Hungary should get the right of self-government.

(11) The freedom of Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania should be maintained and Serbia should be given an access to the sea.

(12) Turkey should have a pure Turkish empire and the Straits should be made neutral zones.

(13) Free state of Poland should be established.

(14) League of Nations should be established for the guarantee of political independence and the territorial integrity of different states.

Above mentioned 14 Points of Wilson were based on the principles of national self-determination. He wanted that the re-organisation of Europe should be made on the basis of these points. He favoured the idea of one state for the people having one language, one race, one culture, and progeny He believed that this could establish peace. He was the supporter of giving freedom to different races such as

Poles, Czechs, and Fins etc. It was a very good idea to have an international agency to settte the international disputes and problems. Wilson's points of nationality were adopted to some extent and many slave-races gained freedom from foreign rules. According to these, the League of Nations was established to maintain the international peace. He used to say :—

"The war must not be ended by any peace of ordinary type. It must be peace with gurranteeing and preserving a peace without victory".

However, it is a point of great regret that the victor did not leave their self-interest and ignored many points of Wilson. His point of self-determination and disarmament was not put to practice. England did not agree to leave her claim over the seas Victors especially France and her certain other allies were not prepared to recognise these points. Consequently, the Treaty of Versailles proved to be very severe and humiliating and it sowed the seeds of tha Second World War.

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Pt. Nehru —"*The First World War destroyed Europe and also some parts of Asia and Africa and killed many young persons*"

Economically, this war proved to be very destructive. About 36, big and small, nations took part in this war. Four Crore soldiers of the Allies and about 2 Crore soldiers of Germany and her friendly countries took part in the war. The military expenses alone were estimated at about $ 80 Crores but the total expenses were estimated at about $ 186,00,000,000. This war also ruined many cities, farms factories which resulted in the destruction of trade.

(2) *Victory of Nationalism*—An important result of this war was the victory of nationalism. The main place was given to it in the 14 Points of Wilson. Where as it was neglected in the Vienna Congress in 1815 A. D., the Peace Conference of Paris gave it a special importance. The spirit of Nationalism played an important role in the re-construction of Europe after the war. Persons of different nationalties used to live in one and the same country of the world before 1914 A. D. But many small countries emerged after the war on the basis of nationalism. Four independent states of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lathunia were set up out of the old Russian empire. In the same manner, many new free states were formed from the late empire of Austria-Hungary. There were about 4 crore people under the foreign yoke before the war but the number was reduced to only one crore 20 lakh after it. Most of the nations, which were previously, under the foreign rule, now got ready for their freedom.

The victory of nationalism in Ireland and Egypt was the result of the First World War.

(3) *Victory of Democracy over Autocracy*—Another important result of the First World War was the victory of Democracy over Autocracy, Different royal dynastics ruled in Russia, Germany and Turkey before the war. But thrones were toppled down and the democratic governments were established there after the war. German Emperor William II fled away. Democratic constitutions were adopted in Germany and Austria. The Republic was set up in Russia in 1917 A. D., by bringing an end to the autocratic rule of the Czar. The autocratic rule of the Sultan was ended in Turkey after the war and a Republic was set the up under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Pasha:

First World War brought an end to autocratic monarchies and established democracies every where whereby people got the right of taking part in the political affairs and were also given many political rights. The democratic system was also introduced in Africa and Asia,

(4) *Rise of Dictatorship*—After the war, there also took place reactions against the democratic set-up in some countries it and gave rise to dictatorship there Many countries were confronted with per-

plexing problems in the post-war period and the democratic set-up was found incapable to cope with them. This gave rise to dictatorship in these countries and power went into the hands of a single person who came to be called the Dictator. The development of Bolshevism in Russia, Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy gave rise to dictatorship in these countries. The power was assumed by an individual in these countries who proclaimed himself to be the representative of the state and allowed neither criticism nor any opposition. There was no freedom of the press and speech and no rights were given to the general public. This very fact arrested the rise of democracy to a great extent.

(5) *Internationalism* :—As a result of the First World War, internationalism also spread because mutual alliances, industrial revolution and the improvement in the means of transport brought different countries nearer to each other.

(6) *Expansion of the Colonial Empires* :—As a result of the war, imperialism received an impetus and each country tried to expand her colonial empire for the improvement of her trade and industries.

(7) *Rise of Militarism* :—The military power of Germany and her friendly countries was reduced as it was thought to be the main cause of the war. But it is a thing of great regret, that the peace Conference of Paris implemented Wilson's Points of disarmament in the case of the defeated nations alone but did not follow it themselves. In addition they started increasing their military power so as to maintain their own exalted positions. But such a thing led to the rise of militarism.

(8) *League of Nations* :—The establishment of the League of Nations to stop the war in the future and to settle the international disputes was another important result of the war. Efforts were made by it to settle many political, economic and social problems. If this institution failed to achieve its objectives, it was none of its sauls but the fault of the selfishness of its members and their mutual distrust.

(9) *Economic Effect* :—The economic condition of most of the nations deteriorated as a result of the expenditure incurred by them during the war. Cities, factories, fields and trade were ruined as a result of the war. The lack of the financial resources led to the imposition of many new taxes on the public.

Economic condition of the Eur opean nations deteriorated. They had to get loans from America to solve their own economic crisis. Thus, the European markets came under the American influence and the Dollar became the medium of international exchange.

The price of things greatly rose after this war, This gave birth to capitalism. The condition of the factory workers was very bad. So socialism took root to reform their bad condition. They therefore started movements for achieving their rights and for the fulfilment of their demands. The League of Nations made many efforts and passed many laws for their betterment.

(10) *Social Effects* :—(1) Many countries intrduced compulsory military training as a result of the war. Youngmen were forced everywhere to join the military service. It resulted in checking the spread of education (2) An international culture developed as a result of the exhange of views among the different nations of the world and their coming nearer to one another. (3) The progress in the field of science was at the maximum. New inventions were made. The invention of electricity showed its miracles. Ships, aeroplanes, sub-marines and destructive weapons were built up which changed the system of warfare. The scientific researches brought many changes in the lives of men. (4) The English, the French and the Russians had the racial pride and there existed differencecs between the blacks and the whites. But the different nations unitedly fought the war, which reduced the racial discrimination and consequently the feelings of fraternity and equality gained momentum. (5) The status of the women-folk increased in the society. They started taking part in the politics also. (6) Atheism and immorality gained much ground as a result of such a grave destruction during the war. The feelings of international welfare and religion disappeared. The elements of distrust, jealousy, doubt andcheating etc. increased and each started planning the downfall of the other.

The political consciousness, the scientifie inventions, and feelings of co-operation greatly developed but the economic, social and political immorality also increased which resulted in the Second World War.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Results of the First World War. (1) Loss of men and money : (2) Victory of Nationalism : (3) Victory of democracy over autocracy : (4) Rise of dictatorship : (5) Rise of internationalism : (6) Expansion of colonial empires : (7) Rise of Militarism : (8) Establishment of the League of Nations : (9) Economic Effects : (10) Social Effects (11) Held rhe germs of the Second World War.

University and Other Important Questions

1. How far was Kaiser William II of Germany responsible for the outbreak of the First World War ?
2. Trace the diplomatic background of the First World War from 1872 onward. (A.U. 1955)
3. "The Peace Settlement of 1919 balkanised Europe." Explain and examine this statement. (D.U. 1952)
4. "The Treaty of Versailles held the germs of another war." Explain.
5. "The war to end war simply created causes for new war." Do you agree to this criticism of the First World War and the Treaty of Versailles ?
6. How far was Germany responsible for the War of 1914-18 ? (D.U. 1959, 64)

7. To what extent was the colonial expansion of European power from 1870 to 1914 responsible for the outbreak of World War I ? (D.U. 1961)
8. Discuss the causes of the World War I. (A. U. 1961, 65, 69)
9. What were the main causes of enmity among the European Nations which led to the First World War ? (P.U. 1964)
10. What were the underlying causes of the First World War ? (D.U. 8966)
11. Explain the results of the First World War. (A.U. 1966)
12. Do you agree with Fisher's view that "the Paris Peace Settlement after the First World War was dictated by inexorable fact which its makers were compelled to accept ?" (D U. 1953)
13. Outline the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. How far were the fourteen points of Wilson embodied in the Peace Treaties ? (D.U. 1956, 58, 61)
14. "The substance of the settlement was directed by inexorable facts." What were the facts that affected the settlement of the Peace Treaties of the First World War ? (D.U. 1969)
15. Describe the main provisione of the Treaty of Peace signed by Germany with the Allied Powers in 1919. (P.U. 1963)
16. Why did Germany resent many of the terms of the Treaty of the Versailles ? Do you think Germany was justified in her resentment ? (P.U. 1965)
17. Is it correct to say that the terms of the Treaty of Versailles contained in it the germs of the Second World War ? If so, how ? (A.U. 1963)
18. The Treaty of Versailles was not a permanent settlement of European problems. Discuss this statement. (A.U. 1965)
19. Explain the Fourteen Points of President Wilson. How far did they influenced the terms of the Peace Settlement of 1919 ? (D.U. 1960, 63, 70)

31

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

One seeing the destructive results of the by the First World War, the politicians of Europe began to feel the need of an international agency which might maintain the world peace, stop wars, settle the disputes among the nations and maintain the mutual co-operation. Keeping in view these objectives, the League of Nations was established in 1920 A.D.

Q. 1. What do you know about the origin, aims and objectives of the League of Nations.

Ans. Need for the League of Nations—(1) The First World War proved to be very destructive. Many persons were killed and innumerable fell a prey to the pestilence that followed the war. Thousands of factories, fields and cities were ruined. Trade and commerce suffered a great setback. Millions of rupees were spent on the war. The Great War spoiled the economic structure of all the countries and people were afflicted by various economic difficulties. Almost all the nations of the world thought if another such great war were to break out, not a single man would remain alive in this world. The great politicians and leaders of the day felt the need of an international agency *to check the possibilities of the future wars.*

(2) A rapid progress took place in the field of science. The scientific inventions made the world one and *all the countries came nearer to each other.* The world was greatly reduced as a result of the improvement in the means of transport and communication. This brought the Continents of Europe, America, Asia, Africa etc. nearer to one another. The invention of the press gave impetus to the feelings of friendship and co-operation by developing the international literature and culture. The European countries set-up their embassies in other countries. This also brought the world nearer and gave rise to the feelings of fraternity. It was now felt that different countries of the world could not make any progress by remaining aloof. So the need of an international agency was felt to develop the feelings, of mutual co-operation and friendship.

(3) *Many important steps were taken in this direction* before the setting up of the League of Nations, The Hague Conference was working in this direction. The International Health Organisation, International Post and Telegraph Organisation, International Suez Canal Commission etc. had been set-up with this very object in mind.

League of Society was set-up in England in 1915 with the aim of increasing the mutual understanding, This type of league was also set-up in France. In this very year, a society in Philadelphia and a 'Peace League' in New York in the U.S.A. were established. The **American President Wilson** had said—

> *"When the great war is over, it will be the duty of America to join with other nations of the world in some kind of League for the maintenance of peace."*

Origin of the League of Nations—The American President Wilson played a leading role in the formation of the League of Nations He made this proposal in the Peace Conference of Paris:—

> *"A general association of nations must be formed under specific Governments for the purpose of affording guarantee of political independence and territorial integrity."*

The establishment of the League was one of the 14 Points of Wilson. Most of the representatives in the Conference supported this proposal. A committee was set-up to prepare the draft of the League. The draft prepared by the committee was accepted and it formed one part of the Treaty of Versailles. So, the origin of the League of Nations was born on January 10, 1920 A.D. It had 32 members in the beginning but by and by it inceeased to 60. Nine countries of the world, including America did not become its members. Its head-office was set-up in Geneva in Switzerland.

3. Aims and Objectives of the League of Nations—The objectives of the League of Nations can be divided into three parts:—

(1) To prevent wars for the maintenance of peace.

(2) To promote the social service or Humanitarian work.

(3) To discharge the obligations imposed on it by the Peace Treaties.

(1) *Prevention of War and Maintenance of peace*:—The main objective of the League was to prevent wars, to maintain peace and to settle the matual disputes. Following rules were framed to achieve these aims.

(*i*) All nations should maintain the territorial limits and sovereignty of other countries.

(*ii*) League of Nations should not interfere into the internal affairs of other countries.

(*iii*) The mutual disputes should not be settled by armed conflicts but placed before the League and settled in a peaceful manner.

(*iv*) The member-countries should not have secret alliances as they corrupt the atmosphere.

(*v*) All the member countries should not maintain army, navy etc more than the required number and also they should not prepare more than required war-material.

(*vi*) If any country declares war on the other country ignoring the decision of the League then all other countries should boycott her commercially and socially.

(*vii*) All the nations should honour mutual alliances and treaties.

(2) *Humanitarian Work* — Second objective of the League was to end the sufferings of mankind, to promote the physical and mental co operation and the general welfare of the mankind, Following suggestions were made in this respect :—

(*i*) The member nations should stop the illegal trade both in women and children.

(*ii*) Slavery should be abolished.

(*iii*) To have a control over the trade in narcotics.

(*iv*) To take proper steps to prevent diseases and to promote general health of the people in the international sphere.

(*v*) All nations should create proper opportunities in their respective countries to provide labour to men, women and children. The International Labour Organisation was established for the all-round welfare of the labourers.

(3) *Discharge af abligations imposed on it by the Peace Treaties* — Some obligations were left to the League by the Peace Treaties. The main objective of the League was to help in their fulfilment. Following proposals were made for this purpose :—

(*i*) To have referendum in the disputed places.

(*ii*) To appoint different international commissions.

(*iii*) To safeguard the interests and rights of the minorities in the newly created states.

(*iv*) It was the responsibility of the League to administer the countries ruled under the Mandate System. A Mandate Commission was set-up for this purpose.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The League of Nations

(1) Need—For the prevention of war and maintenance of peace, an International agency was most needed ; (2) The promotion of brotherhood among the different nations as a result of the countries coming nearer to one an other because of the development of the means of transport and communication ; (3) Efforts were also made before 1920 in this respect.

(2) Origin of the League of Nations:—The American President was the supporter of an international agency ; (2) Proposal for its establishment at the Paris Peace Conference ; (3) Support of it by the majority of nations ; (4) League also became a part of the peace treaty ; (5) Establishment on January 10. 1920 A. D. ; (6) 32 members in the beginning but increased to 60.

(3) Objectives of the League—(1) Prevention of wars in the future ; Maintenance of peace and settling the mutual disputes without armed conflicts; many rules were framed for it ; (2) To undertake the humanitarian work and to promote the general uplift ef the mankind ; (3) To discharge the obligations imposed on it by the peace treaties.

Organisation of the League of Nations

Q. 2. Describe briefly tbe organisation of the League of Nations. (U.P. 1965)

Or

Write a short note on the constitution of the League of Nations.

Ans. In the beginning. the League of Nations had 32 members. Gradually this membership increased to 60. Every country of the world could become the member of the League, if 2/3 members of the League voted in her favour. In the same manner, any member-country could leave it by giving a notice of two months. About 9 countries of the world did not become its members. America also could not join it because of the opposition of the Senate.

Organisation of the League of Nations. The League of Nations had 5 main organs (1) The Assembly (2) The Council (3) Secretariat (4) Permanent International Court of Justice (5) The International Labour Organisation.

1. **The Assembly.** The Assembly was its main organ and it worked like a parliament. Every member of the league was its member and had the right to send three members to its session but that country had only one vote. Its session was held every year in Geneva in Switzerland. Its working was either in English or in French. All the decisions were taken by the majority of votes. Debates could be held on any matter by the League. Its working was done by 6 Agencies. It had the right to choose its chairman and frame laws. The main functions of the Assembly included the appointment of the judges to the International Court of Justice, appointment of the Secretary General, amendment in the Constitution of the League to discuss the various disputes of the member-nations and to elect three non-permanent members of the Assembly.

2. *The Council*—The Council worked as the executive of the League. In the beginning, it had nine members consisting of five permanet and four non-permanet members. Later on, this number was increased to 14. England, France, Italy. Japan and Germany were five permanet members. For the remaining nine members elections were held by the Assembly every year. Its meetings were held thrice in a year at Geneva. Special meetings were held as and when the need arose.

This organ was entrusted with the functions of the settlement of international disputes in a peaceful manner, to frame the plan for disarmament, to give practical shape to the decisions of the Assembly, to appoint the Secretary General and to appoint the staff for the Secretariate, Council's work was also undertaken by the cemmittees and commissions appointed by it.

3. *Secretariate* :—The Secretariate of the League was situated at Geneva and it worked all the year round. Its chief administrative officer was the Secretary General whose appointment was made by the approval of the Assembly. He had a working staff who belonged to different nations. It had eleven sections and each section was under the control of a Secretary. Its main functions were to collect and publish information regarding the international matters and to prepare ths agenda for the Council and the Assembly,

4. *Permanent International Court of Justice* :—Its office was situated at Hague in Holland. It was composed of 15 judges who were chosen for a period of nine years by the Assembly. This court decided the international disputes presented before it by its member countries. Its decisions were final and there was no appeal against its decisions, This court also gave legal advice on various matters concerning the Council and the Assembly.

5. *International Labour Organisation* :—It had three Sections. (1) General Conference—Its meating was held once a year in Geneva. The member-nations could send four members to it. Two of them were to be the representative of the government, one the representative of the labourers and the third the representative of the factory-owners. (2) Governing Body—Its working was carried on by a committee consisting of 32 members—eight of the labourers, eight of the owners and sixteen of the government. (3) International Labour Office—Its workers belonged to different nations and its office was situated at Geneva. Its functions were to gain knowledge about the conditions of the labourers and to send proposals to its member-countries regarding reforming their conditions.

This organisation also studied the condition of the labour in different countries. It also gave many important suggestions regading the rate of labour, working hours and welfare of the labour. It also tried to maintain better relations between the labourers and the owners. ect.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The League of Nations:—It consisted of five main organs.

1. **The Assembly** :—(1) It worked as a parliament ; (2) Its meetiug was held at Geneva every year ; (3) Every member-nation could send three representatives.

2. **The Council** :—(1) It worked as an executive : (2) 14 members—5 permanent and 9 non-permanent ; (3) Its work was carried on by various commissitions and committees.

3. **Secretariate** :—It worked throughout the year in Geneva ; (2) Its Chief administrative officer was the Secretary General ; (3) It had 11 sections and each section was under a secretary ; (4) Its main functions were to prepare the agenda, collect information and to publish it.

4. **Permanent International Court of Justice**—(1) 15 Judges (2) To settle international disputes by peaceful manners and to give legal advice on Judicial matters.

5. **International Labour Organisation** :—(1) Three Sections—General Conference, Governing Body and International Labour Office ; (2) To study the conditions of the labourers and to suggest various reforms for them.

Work and Achievement of the League of the Nations

Q. 3. Give an account of the work and achievements of the League of Nations in the political, social, economic and humanitarian spheres.

Or

Is it correct to say that the League of Nations achieved some success in the social and humanitarian field but failed disastrously in its major task of the maintenance of world peace ?

(A D. 1955, P.U. 1965)

Or

Discuss the part played by the League of Nations in preserving the world peace up to the year 1939 ?

(Delhi B. A. 1965)

Ans. The League of Nations was established to prevent future wars, to maintain peace and to settle mutual disputes by peaceful means. In addition, work for the social and economic betterment and welfare of the mankind was included in its objective.. The League of Nations did many important jobs in the social, economic and humanitarian spheres. As far as the political sphere is concerned, it gained some success in the beginning but it failed to achieve its main objective of the maintenance of peace in the world.

Achievements of the League of Nations

Political Achievements :—In the beginning, the League of Nations made some achievements in the political sphere. About 75 matters came up before the League and she solved about 35 of them ; 20 of these were settled by the nations themselves and 20 were such matters in which she could not take any decision and so the world was set ablazed by the flames of the Second World War.

It, however, settled the following disputes :—

(1) *Finland and Sweden* :— The conflict started between Finland and Sweden over the Aaland Islands in the Baltic Sea in 1920. This conflict was settled with the help of the League of Nations. Finland's right over it was accepted but its fortification was prohibited.

(2) *Poland and Germany* :—After the referendum in the Upper Silesia in 1921 A. D., a dispute arose between Poland and Germany as regards their boundaries. This dispute was solved with the help of the League of Nations.

(3) *Germany and Belgium* :—In 1920-21 A. D., Germany made her claim over Eupen and Malmedy and she presented it before the Council. Council decided the matter in favour of Belgium and accepted the claim of Belgium over both these territories.

(4) *Turkey and England* :—A dispute over the Mosul Valley in Iraq arose up between Turkey and England in 1924-25 A. D. and it was settled by the efforts of the League.

(5) *Greece and Bulgaria* :—Tension was created between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925 A. D. A Greek sentinel was murdered on the Greeco-Bulgarian boundary line. The Greeks, in anger, set fire to a village on the boundary. Bulgaria took this dispute to the League. The League appointed a commission to investigate the case. Greece was found guilty and she was to pay a fine as a compensation.

(6) *Peru and Columbia*:—In 1932 A. D. a dispute arose between Peru and Columbia regarding their boundary. Columbia captured Laticia. This dispute was also settled with the help of the League. Lacticia was given to Columbia.

So, the League of Nations settled many disputes and saved the world from the pangs of any future war for quite some time.

2. **Achievements in the Social and Humanitarian Fields** :— The League made many achievements in the social and humanitarian fields.

(1) *International Labour Organisation* :— This organisation studied the problems of the labourers, and made many suggestions regarding monetary, economic, social and mental progress of the

labourers and also made laws for their welfare. Laws regarding better wages, 48 hours work per week, 24 hours leave, employment of children, equal wages to men and women for equal work, compensation in case of accident, formation of trade-unions are worth mentioning. It also made suggestions for the establishment of an Inspection Department which should see that the capitalists treat the labourers better and do not exploit them. Most of the countries in the world made efforts to improve the condition of the labourers and to raise their standard of living according to these laws.

(2) *Appointment of Commissions* :—It made the appointments of many commissions from time to time to give suggestions for the betterment of the mankind.

(3) *Health Organisation* —International Health Organisation was set-up in 1923 A. D. for the improvement of the health in general (*i*) Meetings of the specialists were held under its auspices (*ii*) Special efforts were made for the checking and prevention of Malaria, Small Pox, Leprosy and other contagious diseases. (*iii*) It also made efforts to check the production and trade of narcotics (*iv*) It helped in the repatriation of the prisoners of war (*v*) It co-operated in the rehabilitation of 15 lakh Greek refugees.

(4) *International Court of Justice* :—The Court reduced the tension by settling different disputes between the natious by peaceful means.

(5) *Cultural Activity*—The League helped in the development of the culture and civilization by supplying necessary information in this respect.

(6) *Other Works*—The League tried to have a control over slavery, the trade of women and children (2) It made arrangements for the referendum in the disputed areas. (3) It arranged for the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey (4) It appointed international commissions for the administration of Denzing and the Saar Valley.

So we find that "*The League of nations has been responsible for more humanitarian and scientific endeavour than any other organisation in history.*"

3. **Achievements in the Economic Field** :—After the First World War, many countries had to face the economic crisis. A meeting of the economists was held in Brussels in 1920 A. D. and an Economic Committee and a Financial Committee were set-up to improve the economic condition of the different countries.

Many conferences were held to check depression. An inpetus was given to the international trade. The League greatly helped Russia and many backward countries. Many rich and developed countries were given the control of the backward countries under the Mandate System so that they might develop. An International Bank was set up in 1930 A. D. with the help of seven rich countries of the world.

2. Failures of the League

The League was successful in settling the disputes of small nations and was able to maintain peace in the beginning but it was quite unsuccessful in settling the dispute of the big countries.

(1) *Poland and Lithuania*—In 1920 A. D., Poland captured a city named Billana of Lithuania. The dispute came up before the League but it did not take any steps in this respect and Polish claim over Billana was accepted in 1930 A. D.

(2) *Lithuania and Problem of Mamal*—The harbour of Mamal was under the control of the League of Nations. In 1925 A. D., Lithuania captured it. The League did not take any action against her. Thus, Lithuanian control over Mamal remained.

(3) *Italy and Greece*—In 1923 A. D., Some Italian officials were murdered in the land of Greece. Italy demanded compensation for it. But when she refused, Italy captured the Greek island of Corfu. The League wanted to interfere in this dispute at the request of Greece but it could not do so on account of the Italian opposition. In the end this matter was settled by the Council of Ambassadors in Paris. Greece had to pay the compensation and Italy also evacuated the island.

(4) *Civil War in Spain*—The civil war broke out in Spain. Germany and Italy were taking special interest in it. The League showed its weakness by non interference in this affair.

(5) *Bolivia and Paraguay*—An armed conflict came up between Bolivia and Paraguay in 1928 A. D. Bolivia made an appeal to the Council who handed over the matter to a commission. A temporary compromise took place between the two. The conflict re-appeared in 1929 A.D, and 1935 A.D. The League could not settle this affair and, in the end it was settled by the interference of America, Peru, Brazil, Chille etc. Thus, the League showed her weakness in this matter also.

(6) *Japan and China*—In 1931 A. D. Japan attacked Manchuria and captured it. Manchuria was a Chinese territory. China appealed to the League. The League appointed a commission for this purpose. Japan did not care for the report of the commission. She did leave her claim on Manchuria but resigned from the membership of the League in 1933 A. D. When, after sometimes the war broke out between China and Japan then League did not take any proper measures to stop this war.

(7) *Italy and Abyssinia*—In 1935 A. D. Italy attacked Abyssinia. Abyssinia took the matter to the League. The League appealed to its member-nations to boycott Italy economically but

Italian oppressive policy could not be checked as a result of the lax policy of England and France. In the end, Italy succeeded in having her control over Abyssinia.

(8) *League of Nations and Germany* :—Reactions started in Germany as a result of the hard and degrading Treaty of Versailles. Germany started making progress under the leadership of Hitler taking advantage of the weakness of the League. She also started increasing her power. She increased her military power greatly and started producing the war-material. She resigned from the membership of the League in 1932 A. D. and introduced compulsory military training in Germany in 1935 A. D. In 1938 A. D. she attacked Austria and Czechoslovakia and captured both. She also started the fortification of the Rhine zone. The League could not impose a check upon her aggressive policy and she did not take any practical steps to check her increasing power. At last Germany captured Poland in 1939 A.D. and declared a war on the Allied Powers.

(9) *Disarmament* :—The League miserably failed in checking the aggressive policy and introducing the disarmament in the case of big powers. Conferences were held for disarmament from time to time but they failed. The race of armament gave rise to distrust, fear and suspicion. Many poisonous gasses and arms were invented. Under these circumstances, the Second World War was inevitable.

The above discription clearly shows that the League of Nations made successful efforts in the econmic, social and humanitarian fields. It proved successful. in the beginning, in preventing the wars by solving the minor disputes but it proved an utter failure in checking the big powers from grabing the small powers and in bringing disarmament. So it could not be successful in the political field and she failed in achieving her objectives of preventing the war in the future. It failed in the maintenance of world peace.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Achievements (i) Political Achievements**—(i) Finland and Sweden; (ii) Poland and Germany ; (iii) Germany and Belgium (iv) Turkey and England (v) Greece and Bulgaria (vi) Peru and Columbia.

2. **Achievements in the Social and Humanitarian Fields**— (i) International Labour Organisation (ii) Appointment of Commissions (iii) Health Organisation (iv) International Court of Justice (v) Cultural Activity (vi) Other works.

3. **Achievements in the Economic Field**—Appointment of the Economic Committtee and Financial Committee. (ii) To check the depression and taking steps for the development of trade (iii) Setting-up the International Bank (iv) Economic aid to the backward countries.

4. **Failures**—(1) Dispute between Poland and Lithuania (2) Lithuania and the Problem of Mamal (3) Dispute between Italy and Greece (4) Civil War in Spain (5) Dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay (6) Japan and China war

(7) Capture of Abyssenia by Italy (8) League of Nations and Germany (9) Failure in Disarmament.

The League of Nations succeded in the economic, social and humania trian spheres but failed in the political spheres and it failed in the prevention of the war and to achieve the objective of the maintance of the world peace.

Causes of the Failure of the League of Nations

Q. 4. Describe briefly the causes of the failure of the League of Nations.

Or

What were the factors which led to the failure of the League of Nations ? Could this have been avoided ?

Ans. Causes of the Failure of the League of Nations— The League of Nations was set-up in 1920 A D It was set up to prevent wars and to maintain peace. But it did not come up to the expectations as it failed in achieving its objectives. Following were the causes of its failure :—

(1) *Absence of Big Powers*—The League of Nations could not become a representative body of all the countries of the world. All countries did not become its members, for her instance, America. It has been rightly said :—

> "*It was a major tragedy that the country to which millions of people looked for guidance, protection and economic assistance left them in lurch in their hour of need. Without U.S.A., the League of Nations was like a crew without its captain.*"

Russia also did not join it and Germany also become its member in 1926 A.D. Such a League could not create trust among the defeated countries and they started thinking that the League of Nations was originated on the feelings of revenge of the Allied Powers and was an organisation of the peace-disturbing nations.

(2) *Withdrawal of Great Powers*—The membership of the League was not compulsory but was optional. There were no bindings over the members of the Leauge to follow the rules and decisions of the League. Any member-country could leave the organisation at any moment. Japan and Germany left the League in 1933 A D. and Italy in 1935 A.D. Germany and Japan were the permanent members of the League. Their withdrawal from the League gave a great blow to the power and honour of the League.

(3) *League was a part of the Treaty of Versailles*—League was a part of the Treaty of Versailles. The terms of the Treaty of Versailles was based upon the spirit of revenge. It was not based upon justice and equality. The defeated nations, who were treated hard, hated the treaty in the same manner as they hated the League. They did not find any difference between the two. So they had no faith in the League from the very beginning. It has righty been said—

> '*The League of Nations was a dishonaurable daughter of disreputed mother*".

(4) *Selfishness of the Member States*—The selfishness of the different members also proved to be one of the main causes of the failure of the League. Each nation wanted to use the League for grinding her own axe. When they found that they were unable to realize their motive, they left the League just as Germany, Japan and Italy had done. If these nations had left their selfishness and worked for the main objectives of the League then it could have been successful but they did not do so and consequently the League failed.

(5) *Anglo-French Domination over the League*—The European powers were very narrow-minded and conservative The staunch nationalism stood in the way of the spread of the spirit of the internationalism. They always looked after their national interests and ignored the international interest. They did not understand the value of the interntional laws and morals. France cared much for her safety. Japan also thought of becoming a world power and Italy wanted to increase her national prestige by following an aggressive policy Germany and Russia, wanted to avenge their defeat. Under these circumstances, the League could not achieve its objectives. According to **Gooch**—"*International institutions without international minds are as hollow as democracies without public spirit*".

(7) *Rise of Dictotorship in Germany, Japan and Italy*—The failure of the League led to the rise of dictatorship in Japan, Germany and Italy. These three nations were imperialist countries and wanted to expand their empires at any cost. Japan wanted to have control over Asia. She captured Manchuria in 1933 A.D. and when League wanted to take an action against her, she left the chague. Italy wanted to set up her influence in Africa and the Mediterranian. Germany had not forgotten her own degradation as yet. She had to lose many territories according to Treaty of Versailles and her military power was also reduced. She had suffered heavy losses both in men and wealth and had suffered a great blow to her international prestige. She was bent upon fulfilling her imperialist designs and to avenge her defeat. She captured Austria and Czechoslovakia first and after that she conquered Poland. She also left the League. So the League failed to control the imperialist designs of powerful nations and brought about its fall.

(8) *Luck of Army and other Means*—The League could not decide the disputes and frame her laws because she did not posses the means to implement them. It was a great weakness of the League. She did have means of economic and social boycott, but it was imposed loosely and therefore it proved ineffective. Japan conquered Manchuria and she started war on China. Italy conquered Abyssenia. Germany started the fortification of the Rhine and increased her military power and conquered Austria and Czechoslovakia. The League kept silent over her actions and could not punish her because of its own weak resources and could not check her aggressive policy.

So the smaller nations took the League as a weak and ineffective body. That is why it has been said *"By 1938, the League had been reduced to a body without a soul"*

(9) *Disarmament*—The military power of the defeated nations was reduced and restrictions were imposed upon the production of war material by the Treaty of the Versailles. A commission was set up for the disarmament of other nations. This commission also prepared a plan for it. It was declared in this plan that the international laws should be respected and preparation of the war material be reduced for the maintenance of the world peace. But no efforts were made by any nation to implement the recommendations of this commission. Many conferences were held for disarmament from time to time but they failed to achieve any success. On the other hand, the different nations started producing war-material on a large scale under the garb of their national security. They started preparing the destructive arms in large quantities. This led to the creation of the feelings of distruct, fear and hatred among the nations which caused the Second World War and the fall of the League of Nations.

(10) *Lack of Unanimity in the Decision of the League of Nations*—A grert weakness in the League was this that its decisions were based upon the majority votings. The League of Nations had 60 members and it was difficult for such a great number of members for any action to have unanimous decisions. It resulted in inefficiency and the League of Nations failed to take any action against the aggressors.

(11) *Rules of the League were not Clear*—There was another great fault in the League of Nations that its rules were not clear. The jurisdictions of the Assembly and the Council were not also specified. Under these circumstances, it was difficult to take any appropriate action.

It is clear from the above description that the fall of the League was caused by the internal defects, the selfishness of the different nations, the lack of international undetstanding etc. Coming events touched such heights in 1938 A.D. that the fall of the League became unavoidable. The last rites of the League were performed by Hitler in 1939 A.D. when he started the Second World War by launching an attack on Poland. It has been rightly said regarding the League's failure—

"The League began a post-war organisation for consolidating the victors' gains while continuing to restrain the vanquished. It failed to evolve into an impartial Parliament of all nations to which any state might come and seek protection against injustice. The Victors dominated the international scene politically and economically but failed to dominate it morally and spiritually: therefore the League emerged neither as a universal organisation in scope nor as an equitable body in action".

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Causes of the failure of the League of Nations :—(1) Absence of Big Powers ; (2) Withdrawal of Great powers ; (3) League was a part of the Treaty of versailles ; (4) Selfishness of the Member-states ; (5) Anglo-French Domination over the League ; (6) Lack of the spirit of Internatiolnalism ; (7) Rise of Dictatorship in Germany, Japan and Italy ; (8) Lack of Army and other means; (9) Disarmament ; (10) Lack of unanimity in the Decisions ; (11) Rules of League were not clear.

University and other Important Questions

1. Give an account of the aims, objects and organisation of the League of Nations.
2. "Like the Holy Alliance, the League was an expression of a war-weary world to preserve international peace and stability." How far did the League fulfil the aim with which it was formed ?
3. State the main reasons of the failure of the League of Nations. (D.U. 1963, 68, 69)
4. What were the factors which were responsible for the failure of the League of Nations ? (A.U. 1963)
5. What contributions were made by the League of Nations to maintain international peace ? (D.U. 1965, 71)
6. It is very clear that the League of Nations failed to preserve world peace. What was wrong with the League or its members ? (P.U. 1965)
7. What were the aims and objects of the League of Nations ? How far did it succeed ? (A.U. 1963)
8. Assess the contribution of the League of Nations, to the maintenance of international peace.

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FRANCE AND ENGLAND AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1919—1939 A.D.)

France after the First World War

Q 1. Give an account of the difficulties and problems that France had to face after the First World War. What efforts were made to solve them ?

Or

Describe briefly the Home and Foreign Policy of France between 1919 and 1939 A.D.

Ans. Problems of France after the War.—France had to face many problems after the First World War and, consequently she became a very weak nation and her progress was stopped. Her problems were as follows :—

(1) *Problem of Defence*—France came out victorious in the First World War and she gained power and prestige, but internally, she feared Germany. She feared that some day Germany might become a source of danger to her security by taking revenge of her defeat. **Carr** has rightly remarked—

"The most important and persistent single factor in European affairs in the years following 1919 was the French demand for security."

(2) *Problem of Reconstruction*—France suffered a great loss of men and money during the war. Her northern plains had served as the battle fields and a large number of her people were killed. Thousands of people were rendered homeless. She suffered a great loss in man-power. This resulted in the shortage of labour resources. Many cities, villages, fields, buildings, mills, factories, mines, railways, and roads were ruined. The problem of homeless and unemployed people became very serious. She thought that she might get a large sum as compensation from Germany which she would use for the purpose of reconstruction, but she did not get anything from Germany by 1921 A.D.

(3) *Economic Problem*—France had to spend a lot during the war and on the reconstruction-work after that. So she had to borrow a large sum of money. This made her economic condition worse. In 1924 A.D , her condition deteriorated to such an extent that ⅘ of her income was spent on making payments as interest on debt and pensions. There was no hope of her getting back the loans advanced to Russia and Rumania. It was difficult to increase the taxes as the prices had already risen much and it became difficult for the people to make both their ends meet Paper currency was brought out to tackle the economic problem. This resulted in deflation and the economic structure was greatly upset. Dissatisfaction increased in France and agitations became the order of the day.

(4) *Problem of Alsace and Lorraine*—Germany had captured two French districts of Alsace and Lorraine but she was to return them to France after the war. But France had to face the lingual, religious, economic and political problems. Three-fourth of the population of these places spoke the German language. Most of the people were staunch Catholics and religious education used to be imparted in the schools. In addition to that, discontentment was increasing there as a result of the economic and political problems. **Benns** has rightly remarked—

"*Many of those in Alsace-Lorraine who had welcomed French troops so enthusiastically as liberators who would bring a new era of liberty, prosperity and happiness, later had serious doubts as to whether their return to France was altogether an unmixed blessing.*"

(5) *Constitutional Problem*—There were many small parties in the country and the internal conflict had touched a new height. The party-system was not as sound as in England. So coalition governments were formed quite often. Consequently, the life of a ministry was very short. During the period of the Third Republic (1871—1940 A.D.) there were formed as many as 110 ministries. These ministries had different policies, In addition, the President had limited powers. The ministries were not of a permanent nature The Ministers were responsible to the Assembly but they could not dissolve it before the expiry of term (of 4 years). So the defects of the party system as well as of the constitution did not allowed the following of a good policy in the country and consequently a good administration could not be given to the country.

2. Home Policy—

(1) *Work of Millerand Ministry*—After the war, elections were held in 1919 in France. The government of the National Front was formed there. Clemenceau, who played an important role in the war and the Peace Conference at Paris, left the politics and Millerand became the Prime Minister. He took many steps to improve the condition of the war-ruined parts of the country. He took a large

loan and re-settled the ruined towns and set up many factories. The iron and cloth industries made a special progress. Thousands of unemployed got employment and the problem of unemployment was solved to a great extent.

(2) *Government of Pioncare*—France spent a large amount on the reconstructive work. The budget became unbalanced, so France had to borrow a loan and to issue the paper currency. On the deterioration of the economic condition, Pioncare was made the Prime Minister in 1922 A.D He tried to make up the deficit by borrowing loans, by reduction of the administrative expenditure and by introduction of new taxes. He made an attack on the Ruhr Valley of Germany with the help of Belgium in 1923 A.D. so as to compel Germany to pay the war-indemnity. She declared that as long as Germany did not pay the indemnity, she would no vacate that. The Dawes Plan was framed to solve this problem. Germany promised to pay the indemnity and France vacated the Ruhr Valley. Pioncare is called the saviour of France for his services. But he resigned from his post in 1924 A.D.

(3) *Events after 1924 A.D.*—After the resignation of Pioncare in 1924, the left wing leader Edward Herriot framed the ministry. He failed in reforming the economic condition of the country and inflation was the result. So Pioncare again formed a coalition in 1929 A.D. He again balanced the budget by borrowing loans, decreasing the expenses and by the introduction of taxes and consequently the value of the French currency increased considerably.

In 1932 A.D., the left wing leader Herriot again formed the ministry. The economic depression took place during his period. An increase in the military expenditure and unemployment took place. The corruption increased and an economic crisis took hold of the country. In 1934 A.D , a great case of corruption came to light in which ministers and many government officials were involved.

The Republic failed to solve many internal as well as external problems. The discontentment among the people rose and their belief in the Republic was shattered. Soon they started agitation. Under these circumstances, a Popular Front was formed by the Socialist and Communist parties. During the 1936 elections, they came out successful and formed a ministry under the leadership of Leon Blum.

He tried his utmost to crush the Fascist groups and to reform the condition of the labourers, but he failed to reform the economic condition of the country. Blum resigned in 1938 A.D. and Daladier formed the ministry in his place. He was a conservative and leftist. He was the Prime Minister of France during the Second World War.

(4) *Problem of Alsace-Lorraine*—An attempt was made to solve the problems of education and language in Alsace and Lorraine. The use of the French language was made compulsory in first two years and then it was decided to devote 3 hours per week to the teaching of the German language. Freedom in the use of the German language for the purpose of religious teachings was granted. This arrangement proved quite satisfactory.

The above description clearly shows that the mutual differences among the political parties in France stood in the way of the stability of the ministries. People lost faith in democracy and the Fascist movement gained momentum. The administration became loose and the economic crisis could not be solved. **Benns** has rightly said in this respect—

"The out-break of the Second World War, therefore. was to find France unprepared politically, industrially, militarily and psychologically to fight through to victory."

3. **Foreign Policy**—England and France had gained success against Germany in the First World War. There was great rejoicing in France but there was also anxiety beneath this rejoicing. **Carr** has rightly said—

"But the jubliation of 1919 was short-lived, beneath the rejoicings of victory, a deep note of anxiety made itself heard."

The French did not forget the trampling of their land twice by the Germans. Internally, they held the fear that Germany would avenge for the harsh and degrading Treaty of Versailles by increasing her power. So, the sole objective of her foreign policy was the security of her boundaries.

In 1919 A D., the French Prime Minister of France Clemenceau, in order to achieve this end, tried to capture the River Rhine so that the way of German attack should be checked once for all. But America and England opposed it and so Clemenceau could not capture the Rhine. But both these countries gave a word of help in case Germany ever attacked her. Soon in 1920-21 A.D., the American government made a declaration that she whould remain neutral in the European affairs ; then that assurance was of no use for France. But England straight away assured help to France in case of German attack. France was not satisfied with it an wanted to have a military pact for which England was not ready.

(1) *Defensive Treaties*—Feeling herself unsafe, France tried to have friendly relations with the small countries around Germany. To safeguard herself from the west she had a treaty with Belgium in 1920, and both decided to help each other against Germany. In 1921, France also had another treaty with Poland on her eastern side. This treaty proved beneficial for the both. **Carr** has rightly said—

"In every important issue of international politics, France and Poland engaged themselves side by side."

France also signed separate treaties with other countries, as in the south with Czechoslovakia in 1924 A.D., with Rumania in 1926 A.D., and with Yugoslavia in 1927 A.D. These treaties were not only beneficial for France but they were also useful for the smaller kingdoms as they tried to make them safe, too, by having friendly relations with a big power like France.

So these countries formed a union and it was agreed that France would help Czechoslovakia and Rumania against Hungary and would save Yugoslavia from Italy. France decided to give them military aid. The smaller kingdoms also gave a word to keep the treaty of Versailles by taking the side of France.

(2) *Locarno Pacts*—The French Foreign Minister Briand was in favour of increasing relations with Germany and Russia. England's Chamberlain was also in favour of maintaining peace. Under these circumstances a conference of the representatives of England, France, Germany, Belgium, Poland, Czecheslovakia, etc. was held in the Swiss city of Locarno in October, 1925 A.D. It resulted in many treaties which are called the 'Locarno Pacts'. Germany assured England of disarmament. Germany, France and England decided not to have a war. By different treaties, Germany, France, Poland, Belgium ond Czechoslovakia decided to settle their disputes through the League of Nations and not by wars. **Lipson** has said in this respect—

"The Treaty of Locarno represents the greatest achievement of the peace year's 1919-1925."

However, **Carr** has criticised it thus *"In the long run, the Locarno Treaty was destructive both to the Versailles Treaty and to the Convenant."*

(3) *Pact of paris*—In 1927 A.D., a conference of the representatives of 15 countries was held and they signed a treaty in which the ydecided not to go in for a war. This treaty is also called 'The Pact of Paris. By 1930 A.D., the number of countries joining this treaty increased to 60. **Carr** has said—

"Imperfect though it was, the Pact of Paris was a considerable land mark. It was the first political agreement in the history of almost universal scope."

But there was a great defect in this treaty that, if any country liked to start a war, it could do so in the guise of self-defence.

The French foreign policy tried to intricate the problem of peace instead of solving it. It led to groupism. Germany had a treaty signed with Russia which is called the 'Rapello Treaty'. Similarly, Italy signed treaties to strengthen her position with Spain, Greece and Austria. So Europe was divided into three groups who were led by France, Germany and Italy. That is why it has been said—

> *"The New French hegemony, thus, created in the name of security, was founded upon an armed camp of the type that had proved so futile and so dangerous in 1914. It was one of the moving factors behind the conclusion of two other treaty systems, centering respectively in the Soviet Union and Fascist Italy."*

On the other hand, the rise of Hitler in Germany made the situation more serious. He signed a treaty with Russia to help each other. He started making military preparations and the production of the war material. He also started the fortification of the Rhine Land and expansion of the German empire. All this resulted in the eruption of the Second World War in 1939 A.D.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Post-War France (1919—1939 A,D.)

(1) Problems of France after the war—

(1) Problem of defence ; (2) Problem of reconstruction ; (3) Economic problem ; (4) Problem of Alsace and Lorraine ; (5) Constitutional problems.

(2) Home Policy—

(1) In 1919 A. D. Millerland Ministry in place of Clemenceau and its works of reconstruction ; (2) In 1922 A. D. the government of Pioncare and its works ; (3) In 1924 A. D. Herriot and in 1926 A. D. Pioncare once again ; (4) In 1932 A. D. Herriot again became the Prime Minister and degradation ; (5) In 1935 Blum and in 1938 A. D. Daladier governments ; (6) Solution of Alsace and Lorraine problem ; (7) Deterioration in political, military and economic condition of France at the time of Second World War.

(3) Foreign Policy :—

(1) Her main principle was defence ; (2) To gain assurance from England and America against the German attack ; (3) Defensive treaties with Belgium, Poland, Czechoslavakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia etc. ; (4) Locarno Pacts ; (5) Pact of Paris, (6) The policy of France gave rise to groupism, rise of Hitler and the Second World War in 1939 A. D.

England after the War (1919-39 A.D.)

Q. 2: Give an account of the Economic and Political problems of England after 1919. (A.U. 1960)

Or

Describe briefly the work and achievement of the governments of different Political Parties in England from 1919 to 1939.

Or

What do you know about the salient features of the History of England after 1919 ?

Ans. Problems of England after the War—England came out victorious in the First World War but she suffered a heavy loss of life and property. Her trade and industry suffered a great set-back. The economic condition deteriorated and there was general discontentment. England had to face the following problems after the war :—

(1) After the end of the World War, there was an increase in the demand of English goods but it was short-lived. In 1920 A.D., the demand decreased greatly because most of the European countries were poor and the Latin American trade increased with India, China, Japan and United States. England wanted to increase the value of her currency but many countries introduced import and export duties. This decreased England's trade.

(2) The English industries also suffered a great set-back. The factories, which produced the war-material, started closing down and the labour became unemployed.

(3) The work of progress in the general public life had stopped because of the war. It was now to be completed.

(4) The war also greatly affected the naval as well as the commercial fleet adversely. About 2,000 ships of England were destroyed in this war. Making up of this loss was also a great problem.

(5) The debt had increased as a result of this war.

(6) Many army personnels became unemployed and the expenditure on their pensions and rewards also increased.

(7) There came a little rise in the demand in 1919-20 A.D. but it ended in 1921. The prices came down in 1921. The demand for various things also decreased. This affected the trade adversely.

2, Government of Lloyd George—Lloyd George formed a coalition government during the war period. The elections were again held in 1918 A.D. After that, Lloyd George formed a coalition government (1919-22 A.D.) and tried to solve the problems facing the country. He made a trade pact with Russia to promote trade and commerce. Following the policy of protection, he introduced many import duties so that the national interests might be safeguarded. A legislation was introduced to help the labourers all the more. Even then he was unable to control the internal unrest.

(1) *Problem of Ireland*—By 1912 A.D., England passed the Home Rule Bill to solve the Irish problem but the obstacles put forward by the aggressive parties and the province of Ulster stood in the way. After the World War I, Lloyd George once again tried to give Home Rule to Ireland but the people of Ireland were bent upon gaining full freedom. So an Irish Free State was set up in 1922 A.D. by giving full freedom to Ireland except the Ulster Province. But the nation-

alists of Ireland were not pleased with that. They wanted to completely sever their relations with England. They regarded the freedom without Ulster to be quite incomplete. So they continued their efforts under the leadership of De Valera to achieve their objective. At last, in 1937 A.D., they succeeded in their efforts when a Republic was set-up in Ireland along with Ulster.

(2) *England and Turkey*—Turkey rejected the Treaty of Sevres and did not leave her control over Constantinople. The Greeks revolted against Turkey but she turned them out of Smyrna State. A war broke out between the two countries. The Turkish army started advancing towards the Straits under Mustafa Kemal Pasha. England had to intervene in this war and Lloyd declared that England would not allow Turkey to enter into Europe at any cost. Mustafa Kemal had to bow and the war came to an end. So this war of 1923 ended with the Treaty of Lausanne which improved their relations.

(3) *Problem of India*—The Government of India Act of 1919 was passed to give certain administrative powers to the Indian people for their services during the war. Efforts were made for the establishment of the responsible government in the different Indian states but the Indians were not statisfied with that. Because all the powers were still in the hands of the British Government, they started the Non-cooperation Movement under the leadership of Gandhiji in 1920 A.D. The government followed a policy of repression but the movement warmed up day by day.

3. Work and Achievement of different Goverments from 1922 to 1939 A.D.—In the 1922 elections, Lloyd George was defeated because of his failure to solve the internal as well as external problems. The new government was formed by the liberal leader Bonarlaw but he also resigned soon and Stanley Baldvin became the Prime Minister. His policy of protected trade was greatly opposed and he had to resign.

The 1924 A.D. elections transferred the power into the hands of the Labour Party leader Ramsay Macdonald. He followed a policy of free trade. He withdrew the war levies and reduced the duties on tea, coffee and sugar. But he also failed to solve the problem of unemployment. He advanced a friendly hand towards Russia and Japan and favoured Germany's admittance to the League of Nations. His government, however, proved to be short-lived.

Baldvin Ministry, 1924-29 A.D.—In 1924 A.D., the Conservative leader Baldvin formed a government in England. He redued the expenditure. He reduced the taxes and made efforts to improve the condition of the labourers but he could not gain any success. The industrial depression continued and a great loss occurred in the trade of coal. Its main reason was that most of the countries got free coal from Germany under the Treaty of Versailles. Some also increased their coal production and some started the use of oil, and electricity etc. in place of coal. By 1925 A.D., 1/4 of the labour working in the mines became unemployed. Their wages were also reduced and the hours of work were increased. In 1926 A.D. thousands of labourers struck work but they failed in the end and had to end the strike accepting the terms of the factory owners. The labour problem remained unsolved and unemployment among them increased.

The women, over 30, were given the right to vote in 1918 A.D. for their services rendered during the war-period. In 1928 A. D., the right to vote was given alike to both males and females. This also reduced the age of the voters to 21 and now every male and female of this age got the right to vote. Thus, England became a truly democratic country by 1928 A. D.

Many European countries had signed the Locarno Pacts in 1925. They agreed to settle their disputes by peaceful means. Germany assured to follow the policy of disarmament and this very fact resulted in increasing the importance of the League of Nations.

The Russians were working against the English interests in many countries, so England severed her diplomatic relations with Russia.

Macdonald Ministry 1929—31—The Labour Party won the 1929 elections and Macdonald again formed a ministry. He again established relations with Russia and tried to set up friendly relations with India and Egypt. At this time, the Indian Freedom Movement was at its climax. The Round-Table Conferences were held from 1930 to 1932 A. D. to solve the Indian problem but they resulted in nothing. Russia changed her attitude towards England and this very fact brought both the countries nearer to each other. A commercial pact was made with Russia and a Russian trade delegation came to England which was given a warm reception. The rise of Hitler further strengthened their relations.

Economic Crisis in England—The period from 1929 to 1931 A. D. was a period of economic crisis in England. After the World War, the economic condition of America became better and most of the European countries became her debtors. Her exports were much more than her imports Gold started flowing from the European countries into America and the shortage of gold in these countries forced the devaluation of their currencies. Further, the increase in speculation in America herselfcreated an economic crisis for her. The banks started failing and the annual budget was upset.

It was but natural that such a state of affairs should affect England. The national debt and expenditure greatly increased and the currency started devaluating as a result of the export of the gold.

Macdonald tried to increase the income and affect economy by reducing the administrative expenses but he did not succeed. The unemployment also increased day by day.

4. The National Government—After the 1931 elections, Macdonald set up a national government. The nationalist government tried her level best to solve this economic crisis. The policy of protection was adopted in the field of trade and commerce. The levies were increased on the import of many things except those of cotton, wheat, fish and wool. The government expenses were curtailed. The farmers were given financial aid. Arrangements for starting many new trades were made but improvement did not take place in the field of trade. Unemployment could not be checked and the number of the unemployed increased very quickly.

Statute of Westminster, 1931—After the First World War, the nationalism got momentum in the British colonies and they asked for freedom. England did not want to completely sever her relations with them. So, according to the Statute of West minster in December, 1911 A. D. the freedom of the Dominions of Canada, South Africa, Australia and Newzealand was accepted. The parliaments there were allowed to pass any law. They could have diplomatic relations with other countries. They got the right to frame their own constitutions. They could sever their relations with England if they so liked. The crown was the onlylink among them. So the British Commonwealth of Nations was set-up in place of the British Empire.

Problem of India—The national movement gained momentum in India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The Mahatma started many movements such as the Non-Cooperation, the Satyagraha etc. The government was compelled to pass the Act of 1935. According to it, autonomous and responsible governments was decided to be set up.at the state level and the dual administrative system at the centre But this did not satisfy the Indians who wanted complete freedom. As in India, unrest also prevailed in Egypt and Burma against the British rule.

England and Italy—Italy remained displeased because of the Treaty of Versailles. She wanted to expand her colonial empire in Africa. In 1935 A.D. she invaded Abyssinia. The League of Nations adopted a policy of economic boycott against her but it failed due to the passive attitude of England and France and as such Italy annexed Abyssinia into her empire.

England and Germany—The National government was set up in Germaay after the 1936 elections. England was sympathetic to Germany after the First World War. When France attacked the Ruhr Valley in 1923 A. D, England took the side of Germany. But the rise of Hitler brought a change in her attitude. The military preparations were at their height in Germany. In 1936 A.D., Germany captured the

Rhineland and started enhancing her armaments. In 1938 A. D., she conquered Austria and after that Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain was the Prime Minister of England at that time. He was against wars. So he made the Munich Agreement with Germany in 1938 A. D., but its result proved unsatisfactory. In 1939 A. D., Germany conquered Poland and the Second World War started. England was forced to fight against Germany in this war.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Post-War England 1919—39 A. D.

1. **Post War problems of England** :—(1) Decline of trade ; (2) A great set back to her industries ; (3) The progress in the social life was greatly checked ; (4) A great decrease in the naval and commercial fleet ; (5) Increase in national debt ; (6) Problem of unemployment.

2. **Goverment of Lloyd George—1919—1922 A. D.** :—(1) A coalition government by Llyod George in 1918 A. D. ; (2) Failure in solving the internal problems ; (3) The Irish problem ; (4) England and Turkey ; (5) Problem of India.

(3) **Different Governments from 1922—1929** :—(1) Baldvin Ministry of 1922 and its fall in 1924 A. D. ; (2) The labour ministry of Macdonald in 1924 A. D. ; (3) Baldvin ministry (1924—29); labour strike in 1926 A. D.; complete democracy according to 1928 legislation ; Locarno pacts of 1925; severing the diplomatic relations with Russia ; (4) Macdonald Ministry, 1929-1931—Treaty with Russia, three Round Table Conferences to solve the problem of India, economic crisis in England from 1929 to 1931 A. D.

(4) **Nationalist Government** :—Nationalist government after the 1931 elections ; (2) Failure to solve the economic crisis; establishment of the British Commonwealth of Nations by the Statue of Westminister, Problem of India. (3) Italian conquest of Abyssinia (4) Nationalist Government of 1936 (5) Relations of England and Germany and the Second World War in 1939 A. D.

University and other Important Questions

1. "The out-break of the Second World War, therefore, was to find France unprepared politically, industrially, militarily and psychologically to fight through a victory." How far do you agree with this view of Benns.
2. How did England tackle the various problems between the two Great Wars (*i. e.*, 1919-1939).
3. Give an account of the achievements of the governments of different political Parties in England from 1919 to 1939.
4. Give an account of the economic and political problems of England after 1919.
5. Examine British Foreign Policy during 1920-39.

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POST-WAR TURKEY, 1919—39 A. D.

The Peace Conference of Paris and the degrading treaties concluded with the defeated countries gave rise to nationalist moments in these countries. Turkey had to cede most of its territories in Europe as a result of the Treaty of Sevres. Her military power was reduced and she was made to pay a huge war-indemnity. No efforts were spared to crush her. The nationalists of Turkey refused to accept such humiliating terms. Turkey marched on the path of progress under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and she made a great progress in different spheres *viz.* political, religious, social and economic. Consequently, Turkey was not a sickman at the time of the Second World War. She now emerged as a strong and progressive country. The reward of all this goes to Kemal Pasha.

☞ **Q. 1. Who was Mustafa Kemal Pasha ? Give an account of his services to make Turkey a modern state. (Important)**

Or

What services did Kemal Pasha render to the cause of Turkish Nation ? (D.U. 1965)

Or

Describe briefly the reforms introduced by Kemal Pasha to modernize Turkey. How far is it correct to call him the Father of Turks ?

Ans. Early Life and Achievements of Kemal Pasha— Mustafa Kemal Pasha was born in an ordinary family in Salonika in 1880 A. D. After receiving his early education, he received his education in the Government Military School at Constantinople. He was a very promising student. He was given the honour of 'Kemal' by his Mathematics Teacher who was impressed by his general ability. He also studied the revolutionary literature. He was greatly impressed by the thoughts of the famous philosophers of France. He held this view that the country could be liberated from the corrupt rule of the Sultan by revolution and only then Turkey could be made a progressive country. He was exiled for his revolutionary ideas by the Sultan. He took part in the Young Turk Movement of 1908 A. D. He visited France and studied the French methods of war-fare. He made a show of his bravery by taking part in the Turko-Italian War

(1911–12 A.D.) and the Balkan Wars (1912–1913 A D) He also made a name by defeating the English in the War of Gallipoli in 1915 A.D. during the First World War.

2. **Establishment of the National Government of Ankara**—After the First World War, the Allies forced upon Turkey the disgraceful and severe Treaty of Sevres. Kemal Pasha took it as a national disgrace and asked the Sultan not to accept that treaty but the Sultan did not agree to his proposal. The Sultan sent him to Anatolia but he did not keep silent there. He started organising an army there and established the People's Party. Their slogan was "Turkey for Turks". The People's Party prepared a National Pact which had conditions different than those of the Treaty of Sevres The Parliament at Constantinople gave consent to this pact but the Allies did not care in the least for it and the British forces entered into Constantinople and laid many atrocities.

The Sultan dissolved the Turkish Parliament under the pressure of the Allies and derecognised the Nationalists. Kemal Pasha called the National Assembly at Ankara and declared it to be the representative of the people. Kemal Pasha was made the President of the National Assembly as well as the Commander-in-Chief. So the Nationalists set-up a parallel Government with Ankara as its capital.

3. **Achievements of Kemal Pasha**—After establishing the National government, Mustafa Kemal tried to free Turkey from the foreign influence. He compelled Italy to vacate Anatolia and the French Silesia. After that, he toppled the newly established Armenian Republic.

(*1*) *War With Greece*—Greece considered Turkey as her enemy. She had gained special facilities by the Treaty of Sevres. So Greece was keen to enforce this treaty. She turned the Turks out of Thrace and captured Smyrna. She also tried to crush Kemal's power in Anatolia. **Kemal Pasha** said about the aggressive policy of Greece—

"That the Greeks might bear him, but that he did not mean to be rounded up. He would retire to regions where the Greeks would not get at him and would continue the war until the Greeks gave in."

In 19`1, the Greeks attacked Turkey and started advancing towards Ankara. But Kemal gave a crushing defeat to the Greeks and captured Smyrna. Now he started advancing towards the Straits. On seeing the achievements of Mustafa Kemal, the British Prime Minister Lloyd George declared that if the Turks ever tried to enter into Europe once again, then the English would oppose them with all their strength.

Mustafa Kemal was compelled to relent and had to sign the armistice of Loudain on 11 October, 1922. According to this armistice, Turkish right over Eastern Thrace, Adrianople, Symrna, Anatolia was accepted. The Straits were opened for all the nations and

Turkey was prohibited from its fortification. Turkey thus received back many parts and increased her international reputation.

(2) *Republic in Turkey*—After the armistice of Loudain, the autocratic rule of the Sulan was ended in Turkey. After his removal, Sultan Mohammad left for Malta in an English ship. The National Assembly established a Republic on 23 October, 1922 and Kemal Pasha was elected as its President. Sultan's nephew, Abdul Majid was made the Caliph. He was merely a religious leader and did not have any political rights. After the establishment of the Republic in Turkey, she marched on the path of progress under the leadership of Kemal Pasha. That is why it has been said—

'*The Nationalist Revolution had been completely successful and on the downfall of the Ottoman Empire rose a new independent Turkish state. Released from external trouble, she was free to begin a new era of progress and reconstruction.*"

(3) *Treaty of Lausanne, 1923 A D.*—Kemal Pasha did not accept the Treaty of Sevres. Thus, the Treaty of Lousanne was made in 1923 A.D. Turkey gained the Eastern Thrace, Adrianople and Constantinople according to this treaty. Her claim over Armenia was also accepted. The foreign control over the levies was also withdrawn. There remained no restrictions on the Turkish army, navy and air force. She accepted not to do any fortification of the Straits. Turkey had, however, to leave her claim over many territories in Asia Minor and Africa. This treaty was a great victory of Kemal Pasha. Turkey was saved from the foreign interference by his efforts.

(4) *New Constitution*—After the removal of the Sultan, the Republic was established and the democratic system of government was set up in Turkey. A new constitution was given to her in 1924 A.D. The administrative powers were vested with the National Assembly. Elections to it were held on the basis of adult franchise after every four years. This Assembly elected the President for a period of four years. But the real powers came into the hands of Kemal Pasha because Turkey had only one political party *i.e*, People's Party and Kemal Pasha was its leader. He also had control over the army, being Commander-in Chief of the forces. So Mustafa Kemal became almost a dictator as all the powers of the state were vested in him. However, he never acted as such and always used the powers for the welfare of the people.

(5) *Suppression of the Khurdish Revolt*—In 1925 A.D., the Khurds revolted in the eastern province of Turkey. Mustafa Kemal suppressed it and the Khurds were punished heavily. So he established peace and order in the country failing which it was difficult to make any progress.

(6) *Reforms of Mustafa Kemal Pasha*—Kemal Pasha was a progressive fellow and was deadly opposed to the conservative views. He wanted to modernize Turkey. For this purpose, he introduced many reforms in the different spheres of life:—

Religious Reforms—He made Turkey a secular state. Relegion and politics were set apart. The old laws were based on '*Sheriat*' or the Holy Law. He introduced many changes in the legal codes and gave secular form to them. New legal codes were introduced which were not based upon the Quran but on the systems of Italy, Germany and Switzerland. Religious teachings were prohibited in the educational institutions and the Religious. Schools were closed. The property of the religious institutions was confiscated and it was used for the welfare works. The use of '*Fez*' was also prohibited. Islam was disestablished as a state religion and the Caliphate was abolished. Constantinople was renamed as Istambul and Ankara became the capital of the new secular state.

Social Reforms—He also introduced sweeping changes in the social set up. Polygamy was prohibited. Arrangements for divorce were made. Civil-marriage system was accepted. The Purdah system was discarded and the women were given equal rights and full liberty. They were given the rights of voting and to gain access to the high jobs. They were free to adopt all professions like those of men. They also gained the right to get higher education. The women could go to clubs etc. The western dress was encouraged among both men and women.

Educational Reforms—Kemal did a lot for the expansion of education. Education was made compulsory for the children of the age group of 7 to 16 years. Many schools, colleges and universities were opened. Latin alphabet was introduced in place of Arabic. Arrangements were also made for the education of those between 16—40 years of age. Arrangements were made for opening libraries and reading rooms and for the publication of books. Separate schools were opened for the development of different arts. Decimal system was introduced in the weights and measures and the Gregarian calendar was enforced. Thus, the day and night were of 24 hours according to the new system.

Economic Reforms—Government grants were given to the farmers for the progress of the agriculture. Farmers were given the training for the use of improved and new methods for increasing the agricultural produce. Agricultural colleges were opened and banks were set up in the villages.

Many regulations were introduced for the progress of the small scale industries and the welfare of the labourers. Five Year Plans were adopted for the industrial progress. Local companies were given aid in place of the foreign concerns. Many industries were nationalised and many factories were opened. Means of transportation were developed. Thus, the trade also progressed along with the agricultural and industrial development.

Thus, Kemal Pasha tried to make the life of the Turkish people well settled and peaceful. He used to say—

"...let the people leave this politics alone for the present. Let them interest themselves in agriculture and commerce. For ten to fifteen years, I must work. After that perhaps I may be able to let them speak openly".

Foreign Policy—After the war, Turkey was treated harshly. She lost faith in the Western Powers and Mustafa Kemal became suspicious of them. So he was drawn towards Russia and other such countries for having friendly relations.

(1) In 1925, he made his country's position quite sound internationally by concluding a treaty with Russia. (2) In 1925, when a conflict came up between Turkey and Iraq on the oil fields of Mosul, the matter was taken to the League of Nations It was decided in favour of Iraq. Turkey resented it very much. The British took Iraq's side. So the relations between Turkey and Britain detericated. (3) In 1932 Turkey, became the member of the League of Nations. (4) In 1934 Turkey made the Balkan Pact with Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia. They decided for the safety of each others' territorial jurisdictions. (5) In 1937, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan had the Eastern Pact, by which they promised not to interfere into one another's internal affairs and to consult each other on matters of international concern. (6) In 1936, Turkey gained permission to militarise and re-fortify the Straits. That is why it has been said—

"As a member of both the Balkan Entente and the New Eastern League, Turkey occupied a strategic international position".

Mustafa Kemal, however, died in 1938 A.D. At the time, Turkey was a powerful and progressive country. She was now not "*the Sickman of Europe*".

An Estimate of Mustafa Kemal Pasha—It is clear from the above mentioned facts that Mustafa Kemal Pasha played a great role in the reconstruction and progress of Turkey after the First World War. He freed Turkey from the foreign tutelage by his ability, hard work and patriotism. He established a Republic in his county by bringing an end to the autocratic rule of the Sultan. He converted the religious state into a secular one. He was not a conservative but a progressive man. He introduced religious, social, educational and economic reforms to reconstruct and modernise Turkey. He brought an end to the old conservative social traditions and tried to modernise Turkey. He ended the illiteracy by spreading education. He left no stone unturned to develop agriculture, industries, means of transport and commerce of his country and it resulted in raising the standard of living of the people of Turkey. He strengthened his position in his country and also in the international sphere by creating friendly relations with other countries. It is justified to call him *'Ataturk'* (Father of the Turks) for his services to his country especially in modernising her. He made Turkey a strong, powerful and progressive country before his death. **Grant and Temeraly** have rightly said in this respect—

> *"Yet from a state which. in the 19th Century, had been regarded as an inbinder in Europe, Ataturk built up Turkish State which gave to its citizens—men and women—greater freedom and security than any of their fore-fathers had enjoyed and transferred Turkey into an independent sovereign state, free from foreign interference for the first time for almost two centuries".*

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Mustafa Kemal Pasha—(1) Early life and achievements ; (2) Establishment of national government at Ankara; (3) Weeding out the foreign powers from the country (4) War with Greece in 1921 A. D. (5) Establishment of Republic in Turkey in 1923 A. D. (6) The Treaty of Loussaine in 1923 A.D. (7) Introduction of the new constitution (8) Suppression of the Khurds in 1925 A. D. (9) Kemal's religious, social, educational, and economic reforms (10) Foreign policy—treaty with Russia in 1925 A. D. ; event of Mosul, joined the League of Nations in 1932 A. D.; Balkan Pact and the Eastern Pact (11) Modernisation by his efforts ; to make Turkey a powerful and progressive nation ; the title of 'Ataturk' or Father of the Turks.

University and other Important Questions

1. Describe fully the rise and growth of Turkey under Mustafa Kemal Pasha's dictatorship.
2. Give an account of the reconstruction of the New Republic of Turkey under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha.
3. Write short notes on—
    (*a*) Treaty of Sevres.
    (*b*) Turko-Greece War of 1921.
    (*c*) Treaty of Loussaine.

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RUSSIA SINCE 1917

The World War gave impetus to nationalism and democratic forces in Mid-Europe but there took place a great revolution in Russia which was both nationalist and political and also social and economical After the French Revolution of 1789 A.D., it was the second great revolution in Europe. This resulted in bringing an end to the autocratic rule in Russia and it was replaced by the Communist Government. It also established a new classless society based on the principles of Socialism. This Revolution does not have an important place in the Russian Hitsory alone but has also got a special place in the World History. Consequently, Communism spread in many parts of the world.

Russian or Bolshevik Revolution of 1917

☞ Q. 1. Narrate briefly the story of the Bolshevik Revolution of Russia and account for its success.
(A.U. 1961, P.U. '64, D.U. 1966) (V. Imp.)

Or

Discuss the causes and consequences of the Russian Revolution of 1917. (D.U. 1953, 56)

Or

"The Russian Revolution of 1917 was an economic explosion hastened by the stupidities of the autocratic government". Discuss. (A.U. 1962)

Or

Give an account of the political and social conditions in Russia on the eve of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Ans. ;—Causes of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Following were the main causes of the Russian Revolution of 1917—

(1) *The Autocratic Government of the Czar*—The Czar was an autocratic and a self-willed ruler. All the administrative powers of the

state were vested in him. There was no check upon his powers and rights. He used his powers according to his own will. He ignored the public welfare. The privileged classes had got special rights while the general public did not have any say in the government. Czar Nicholas II was an inefficient and weak ruler. He was completely under the influence of his minister Plehva. He was against all kinds of reforms. The people were against such an autocratic government and wanted to do away with it.

(2) *Inefficient Administration*—The administration in Russia was not only autocratic but it was inefficient also. The Czar had given the administration into the hands of the inefficient officials who never thought of the welfare of the people. Atrocities were committed on the Jews, writers, teachers, students and the masses in many ways. People were fed-up with this inefficient administration and wanted to uproot it.

(3) *Democracies in European Countries*—Democratic set-ups were established in most of the Eurepean countries. As such, in that age of democracy, the Russian people could not tolerate the autocratic rule in their country. So they got ready to uproot it.

(4) *Miserable Condition of the Masses* :—In the Russian society there was a great difference in the life of the upper and the lower classes. The upper class had special privileges whereas the masses were deprived of their legitimate rights and they were crushed badly. The steps taken to improve the conditions of the Serfs proved ineffective. The demand for more land was turned down. The factories were set-up in the cities as a result of the Industrial Revolution but the condition of the workers was still miserable. They produced wealth for the capitalists and were themselves deprived of their right to live a decent life. That is why it has been said—

"These elements of discontent produced two streams of movement of liberal and socialist, which became a mighty torrent which eventually swept off the Czarist regime".

(5) *Demands of the New Middle Class*—The Industrial Revolution gave rise to a powerful middle class which comprised of the traders, factory owners etc. They in the company of the intelligentia, made demands for the responsible government, right of voting and freedom of the press speech, religion and equality. Czar turned down their genuine demands. *"The perversity of Nicholas and his blindness to the potential strength of the new forces that were surging round him produced the Russian Revolution".*

(6) *Influence of Western Ideas*—The liberal ideas of the West also made a great contribution to the eruption of the Revolution. These western ideas routed through the literature into Russia even though so many restrictions had been imposed upon literature by the

Czar. Different Russian writers such as Tolstoy, Turgeney etc. infused revolutionary ideals into the minds of the Russian youth, and they started demanding rights and those facilities available to the people in the western countries. The Czar turned down their demands and this produced the revolution.

(7) *Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5*—Russia was defeated in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. This defeat, received at the hands of a small nation, turned the people against the Czar. They were of the view that their defeat was due to the inefficient and weak government of the Czar which could not manage the war in a proper manner.

(8) *Revolution of 1905*—There took place a Revolution in Russia in 1905 against the autocratic rule of the Czar. The labourers struck work and the serfs started looting the landlords. The Czar tried to suppress this Revolution and when he could not gain any particular success then he had to accept some of the public demands and had to call the 'Duma' (*i.e.* The National Assembly). But the autocratic rule and the responsible government could not pull on side by side. The Czar followed the policy of repression taking advantage of the rift among the revolutionaries. This increased the unrest among the public and led to the great revolution.

(9) *Spread of Socialism*—Many factories were set-up as a result of the Industrial Revolution. The factory owners exploited the labourers and workers for their benefit. So their economic condition became very grave. Under these circumstances, the principles of Karl Marx had a great effect upon them. He favoured a classless society, dictatorship of the proletariate and nationalisation of the means of production. Marx's principles had a great effect upon the proletariate. They set-up the Workman's Social Democratic Party following the socialist principles in 1895 A.D. In 1903 A.D. this party was divided into two parts—Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks were more powerful and their leader was Lenin. This group believed in the revolutionary and violent means to set up the dictatorship of the Proletariate. Mensheviks followed the midway and favoured the setting-up of the Communist Government by and by after introducing reforms. The leadership of the revolution was, however, in the hands of the Bolsheviks.

(10) *Russian Defeat in the First World War*—Russia joined the Allies in the First World War in 1914 A D. She gained some success in the beginning but after 1915 A D. she had to face defeat after defeat. It became difficult for the soldiers to fight due to the shortage of the war-material and food-stuffs. The shortage of the food-grains and clothes created a great unrest among the people. It increased their difficulties greatly. That is why it has been said—

"The war, produced the opportunity. Fate produced the leader in Lenin His great, intellectual and personal powers enabled him to dominate the situation, he saw this opportunity when others did not".

Events of the Revolution—The Revolution started on March 7, 1917 A.D. when the workers struck work and attacked Petrograd. Such things happered at other places too. In the villages the farmers started revolting. The soldiers joined the revolutionaries in place of supressing them. Due to the shortage of the food-stuffs riots broke out at every place and unrest and lawlessness spread throughout the country. The Czar was compelled to leave the throne and a temporary government was set-up under the leadership of Prince Kerensky.

Kerensky was the follower of the mid-way. He gave freedom of the press, speech and religion to the public. The declaration regarding the setting up of a Constitutional Assembly on the Western pattern was made. Declaration for the continuation of the war was also made. But the public opposed it as they were against the war. They were demanding peace, land and bread in place of political reforms and administrative changes. The people rather wanted changes in the social and economic sphere.

On hearing the news of the Revolution, Lenin reached Russia and soon he took the leadership of Bolsheviks in his own hands to guide the revolution. These people wanted to set-up the Communist Government of the proletariate by revolutionary means. They were also in favour of ending the war. The public helped them. There was again another revolution in Petrograd in November, 1917 A.D. They forcibly dissolved the temporary government. Kerensky ran away from the country and the Bolsheviks took over the reigns of the government in their own hands.

Taking the powers in its hands, the Bolshevik Government, first of all, concluded a treaty with Germany to end the war. This treaty was greatly disgraceful for Russia as she was to lose many of her territories. Efforts were also made to set up the socialist government on the basis of the principles of Marx. The private property was confiscated ; the farmers were given land ; the government nationalised all the factories and handed over their management to the labourers ; all debts were remitted ; the property of the church was confiscated and labour was made compulsory for all. It was all done with one stroke by the Lenin Government.

The landlords, traders and the priests greatly opposed all these steps taken by the Lenin Government. So a civil war broke out between the upper and the lower classes. Lenin suppressed all opposition by violent means and such atrocities were committed that the memorie of the terrors of the French Revolution were revived The Czar, with his family, was shot dead in July, 1918.

On seeing the Russian Revolution, the capitalist countries were awe stricken lest the working classes should provoke similar revolutions in their own countries. So they refused to recognise the Bolshevik

Government of Russia. The Allies sent their forces into Russia. It appeared as if the Bolshevik Government would give way under the pressure of the civil war and foreign interference. But the Bolshevik Government faced the internal as well as external dangers very bravely and succeeded in the end.

What led to the Success of the Revolution :—Following were the causes of the success of the Revolution :—

(1) *Help of the Workmen and Peasants*—The workmen were given the management of the factories and land was given to the peasants after snatching it from the landlords. Both these ranks, who were in greater number, were satisfied and pleased with such measures. So they fully helped and supported the Bolsheviks so that autocracy might not be re-established in the country resulting in the confication of their newly acquired land.

(2) *Unity among the Revolutionaries*—Bolsheviks were united and their unity was very sound. They had full faith in the principles of Socialism and revolution, and they were ready to make all sacrifices. In addition, Trotsky also united them on the military front. The members of this 'Red Army' were very brave who faced the difficulties very boldly and thus they succeeded in the end.

(3) *Disunity among the Counter-revolutionaries*—There was a great deal of disunity among the counter-revolutionaries who possessed grave differences. The Royalists and the Republicans had different aims and there were vast differences among their political leaders and the military officers. This internal dissensions among them made the revolution a sure suceess.

(4) *Efficient Leadership*—The revolutionaries had able and active leaders like Lenin. Lenin had firm faith in the principles of Marx and he wanted to set-up a Communist Government in Russia. He led the revolutionaries in difficult times, gave them right guidance and led them to success.

(5) *Policy of War*—The counter revolutionaries wanted to continue the war. But the public was already sick of the wars because their economic condition had become very bad. There was shortage of food-grains and unemployment were rampant all over the country. The revolutionaries wanted to stop the war so as to improve their general condition. So the public sided with the revolutionaries.

(6) *Help of the Foreign Soldiers*—The Counter-revolutionaries tried to suppress the revolution with the foreign help. The revolutionaries started this propaganda that the counter-revolutionaries wanted to set up a foreign rule with the help of the foreign soldiers. This had a great effect upon the public and they took the side of the revolutionaries.

(7) *Intervention of the Allics*—With the fear that the revolution might not affect their countries also, the Allies sent their armies to crush the Russian Revolution. But they did not interfere fully and worked unwillingly for the crushing of revolutionary elements. Their armed action was half hearted and soon they called back their armies in 1919 A.D.

Results of the Revolution—The Russian Revolution has an important place in the Russian history. Following were its results :—

(1) *Czar Nicholas II and the members of his family were shot dead* and it brought an end to the autocratic, self-willed and despotic rule in Russia.

(2) The power came into the hands of the people, and the government of the proletariates under the *leadership of Lenin* was established. The Union of the Soviet Socialist Republies (*U.S.S.R.*) was formed on the basis of the Bolshevik ptinciples.

(3) *The landlords, businessmen and clergymen were all reduchd to destitution.* Land, factories mines, industries and all the sources of production were nationalised. The social set-up was formed on the basis of Communism.

"*Evcry one according to his ability and every one according to his work*" was the principal followed.

The capitalists were also required to work. It was therefore decided that those who did not work would not get food as well as the right to vote.

(4) *Changes were introduced in the economic* set-up so that improvement must take place in the condition of the farmers and the workmen. The land was distributed among the peasants by taking it forcibly from the landlords. The management of the factories was handed over to the workmen. All the debts were cancelled. Proper arrangements for the education of the workmen were made and the military training and military service were made compulsory for them.

(5) *Education* was taken from the church and proper arrangements were made for imparting it. The government took over the responsibiity of imparting education to the children of the workmen.

(6) The Russian Revolution set-up a new society on the basis of the Communist principles by introducing drastic changes in the social and economic spheres. The Russian socialism gave a call to the workmen of the world to unite on the basis of equality and fraternity. The Russian socialism was not only limited to Russia alone but it affected almost all the countries of the world. It gave rise to Socialism in all the countries of the world.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Russian Revolution of 1917

(1) *Causes* :—Autocratic rule of the Czar. (2) Inefficient administration ; (3) Democracies in the European countries (4) Miserable condition of the masses ; (5) Demands of the new middle class ; (6) Influence of the western ideas ; (7) Russo.Japanese War, 1904-5 ; (8) Revolution of 1905 A. D. ; (9) Spread of Socialism ; (10) Russian defeat in the First World War.

(2) *Events* :—Beginning of the revolution in Petrograd on March 7, 1917 A.D.; (2) Abdication by the Czar and provisional government of Kerensky; (3) Kerensky's reforms were incomplete and people were against his policy of continuing the war ; (4) Lenin took the leadership of the revolution into his own hands on November 7, 1917 A. D. ; (5) Drastic changes by the Leuin; opposition by the capitalists and Civil War in Russia ; (6) Unsuccessful attempt of interference by the Allies.

(3) *Causes of its Success* :—Help of the workmen and peasants ; (2) Unity among the Revolutionaries ; (3) Disunity among the counter revolutionaries ; (4) Efficient leadership ; (5) Help of the foreign soldiers (6) Policy of War (7) Intervention of the Allies.

(4) *Results* :—(1) End of the autocratic and despotic rule ; (2) Power in the hands of the masses ; (3) Suppression of the capitalists and landlords (4) Many changes in the economic set-up to improve the condition of the labourers. (5) Arrangements of Education , (6) Spread of socialism in other countries of the world.

Work and Achievements of Lenin

Q. Give an account of the work and achievements of Lenin.

Or

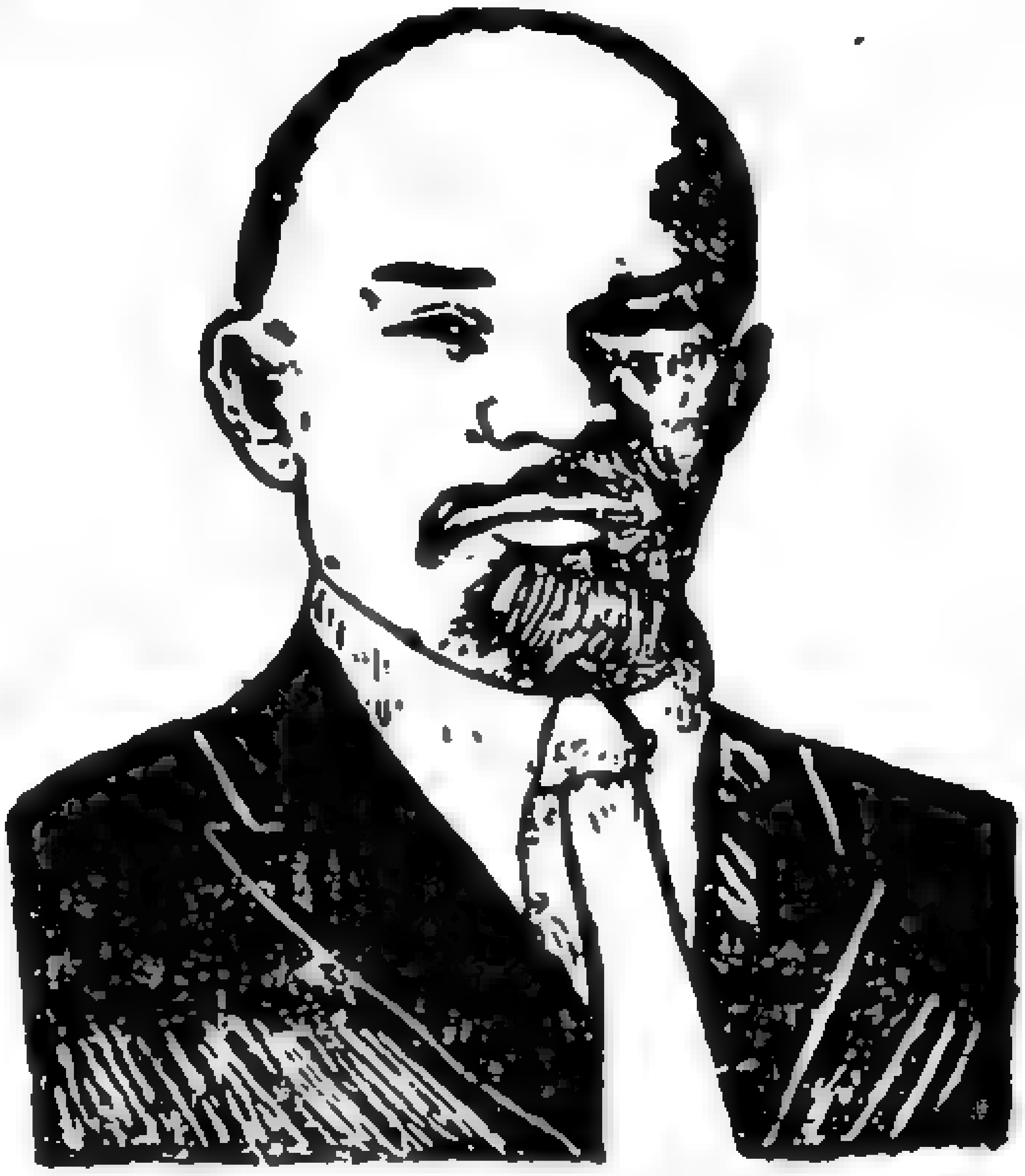
What is Lenin's contribution to the freedom movement in Russia ?

Or

How far was Lenin responsible for the success of Bolshevik Revolution or the Russian Revolution of 1917 A D. ?

Ans. Early Life of Lenin—Lenin was born in the town of Ciabiask of the Kazan Province in Russia in 1870 A.D. His real name was Vladimir Ilich Ulianov. His father was an Inspector of Schools.

He was related to a revolutionary family. His elder brother was sentenced to death for taking part in the conspiracy of Czar Alexander Second's murder. He was also a revolutionary from the very beginning. He joined the Pittsburg University after passing his Matriculation Examination. He joined the Communist Revolutionary Party. He soon started spreading the revolutionary ideas and organising the workmen. He favoured the setting-up of a new society on the basis of the socialist principles of Kari-Marx. He was imprisoned in 1900 A.D. and was transported to Siberia after that. In 1905 A.D., he was set free. After that he went to Switzerland He started a paper named '*Iska*' with the object of uniting the workmen. Its copies were sent secretly to Russia. In 1905 A.D. he returned to Russia at the time of the Revolution but did not take any important part in it. He spread socialism and the revolutionary ideals by remaining out of Russia from 1905 A.D. to 1917 A.D. He again came back to Russia when there was another Revolution in Russia in 1917. He led this Revolution and set-up a Communist Government in place of the autocratic and despotic rule of the Czar in Russia.



Lenin

The Bolshevik Party—Workmen's Democratic Party was formed in 1895 A.D. to spread Socialism and to unite the workmen. Differences, however, crept up among the leaders over the means to be followed to achieve their aims and in 1903 A.D. this party was divided into two parts—the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks were in favour of using the voilent and drastic means for setting up a Communist Government but the Mensheviks were in favour of adopting the middle path. They were not supporters of the revolution and wanted to set-up a Communist government by and by. Lenin was the leader of the Bolsheviks.

Lenin's Views and Aims—Lenin was a staunch supporter of the socialist principles of Karl Marx. (1) He wanted to replace the autocratic rule of the Czar by the Communist Government so that the workmen should have the power in their hands.

(2) He wanted to set-up the new economic and social structure based on the principles of Communism so that there should not be any priviledged class.

(3) He wanted to take the land from the big landlords and to give that to the peasants.

(4) He was in favour of the nationalisation of industries and wanted to give their management in the hands of the workmen.

(5) He wanted to cancel all the debts of the Czarist regime.

(6) According to him, the right to vote should only be given to the workmen and the rich should not be given any such right.

(7) He was of the opinion that treaties made during the Czar's regime should be cancelled and a new treaty be made with the Germans so as to end the war and to check any possible foreign intervention.

In short, we can say that he wanted to set-up the political, social, and economic structure of his country on the basis of Socialism so that everyone should be able to get food, clothing, etc. at the same level.

Lenin and the Russian Revolution of 1917 A D.—The Russian Revolution started in March, 1917 A.D. Consequently the Czar was compelled to leave the throne on March 15, 1917 A D. and a provisional government under Kerensky was set up. This government was in favour of continuing the war. It also gave certain political rights to the masses but it did not satisfy them. They were rather asking for peace, land and bread.

Lenin returned to Russia in April, 1917 and took the leadership of the revolution in his own hands. He united the hard-working and radical people under the Bolshkvik Party and started the revolution again to end the Provisional Government. After gaining the support of workmen, Lenin forcibly dissolved the Provisional Government on November 6, 1917 A.D. Kerensky ran away and thus the goveanment fell into the hands of the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin.

Lenin's Reforms and Works of Consolidation—Lenin took power into his own hands but he had to face many difficulties:— (1) The war was stiil going on with Germany and that too in her favour. (2) The supporters of the Czar were trying to end the Bolsheviks with the foreign help. (3) The economic condition of the people was very grave. (4) Provisions for the new constitution was to be made. (5) The foundations of Communism were yet to be strengthened. However he did a lot to solve these problemes :—

(1) *Lenin was in favour of ending the war at the earliest.* So he signed a treaty with Germany on December 5, 1917 A.D. He had to lose many territories but he wanted to establish peace.

(2) *Lenin wanted to spread the principles of Communism throughout the world.* The capitalist countries became afraid of it and the Allies sent their forces into Russia. These forces were insufficient and beeame sick of the useless war. As the incomplete and half-hearted action of the Allies did not prove successful so they soon called back their forces.

(3) *He distributed the land among the serfs* by taking it from the landlords. The factories were nationalised and their management was handed over to the workmen. Private property was confiscated. Labour was made compulsary for all. All the debts of the Czarist

government were cancelled. The property of the old church in Russia was also confiscated.

(4) The landlords, traders, clergymen and the supporters of theCzar greatly opposed him. Consquently, a *civil war broke* out in Russia that lasted from 1918 to 1920 A.D. The government suppressed the above mentioned privileged classes forcefully and perpetrated many atrocities on them.

The New Constitution—A new constitution was adopted in Russia after the Revolution. Following were its saient features :—

(1) *Local Soviets* :—Local Soviets were set up for the local administration of the villages and towns. Members to these local Soviets were elected by the workmen.

(2) *All Russian Congress of Soviets*—The members to the Provincial Soviets were elected by the members of the Local Soviets. The members of the Provincial Soviets elected the members of the All Russian Congress of Soviets. The number of its members was about 2,000 and the real power of the government was vested in this Congress.

(3) *Central Executive Committee*—It had about 200 members and they were elected by the Central Soviet. The laws were passed by this committee and were implemented after the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

(4)*Council of People's Commission*—This was like the present-day Council of Ministers. It had about 18 members and they were elected by the Central Executive Committee. It ran the government of the country.

(5) *Franchise* :—Every person of 18 years of age, who earned his living by doing labour, had the right to vote. But during the reign of the Czar only the officers, clergymen and the landlords had the right to vote.

(6) *Amendment in 1923*—After the Civil War, Russia got back many of her lost territories and then there were seven Republics in Russia. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republic was established uniting these Republics under the new constitution. Each of these Republics had its administrative set-up like the above mentioned structure of the Central Government.

(7) *The Communist Party*—The real powers of the government were in the hands of the Communist Party and it had complete control over the administration and on the economic and social structure. The President of this party (*i. e.*, Lenin) was all in all.

New Economic Policy of Lenin—Lanin took the land from the landlords and distributed it among the peasants. They became the masters of the land but they hesitated in giving the extra portion of their products to the government. When the government compelled them for it then they left farming. This reduced the produce and a great famine broke out in Russia in 1921 A. D. and thousands of persons died because of that.

The conditions deteriorated a lot in the sphere of industries. Lenin nationalised all the industries and gave their management to the workmen. They could not manage them due to the lack of discipline and managing ability and it resulted in a great loss in the production of things. The defective railway system also made the things more worse.

Lenin realised his mistake. He now formed a new economic policy by adjusting the socialist principles with the prevalent conditions He once observed—

"We should change its tactics from assault to siege. Communism must be upheld, but henceforth it would be a pragmatic Communism—as much Communism as the exigencies of the situation would permit and no more."

His new economic policy had the following salient features :—

(1) *The peasants* were not to give the whole of the produce to the government They were to pay a fixed tax to the government in cash or kind. They were given the right to sell their extra produce in the market.

(2) *The big industries and the factories were nationalised* and the small industries and factories were left open to the public.

(3) *The foreign capitalists were provided all facilities* to invest in the larger and bigger units of industrial and agricultural production but the government reserved the first right to purchase their products.

(4) *Under certain conditions, the private retail trade was allowed.* The Government Retail Stores were opened to check that the businessmen did not make an undue profit.

The critics are of the view that this policy of Lenin encouraged rich industrialists and farmers and thus gave shelter to capitalism. But his policy was based upon the prevailing conditions and was temporary in nature. It was not a permanent arrangement. The co-operative farming system was introduced to fill in the gaps and to impose a check upon capitalism Thus' Lenin saved his country from a grave economic crisis by making an adjustment between Socialism and capitalism according to the needs of the time.

Foreign Policy of Lenin—Lenin wanted to make the Russian Revolution an international feature and to spread Socialism in the whole, of the world. Fearing this attitude of Lenin, the Allies sent their armies into Russia. But they did not act in co-ordination and did not use with their full power and consequently they failed in their objectives.

Being instigated by France, Poland also attacked Russia in 1920 A. D. However, both the sides were compelled to sign the Treaty of Riga, by which they settled their territorial jurisdictions.

Lenin also cancelled the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907 A.D. and started instigating Afghanisian against the English. The policy of the Bolsheviks, thus, separated Russia from the rest of the world.

Lenin soon realised that it was not easy to end capitalism in the West. He, therefore, tried to establish friendly relations with the western countries by leaving his policy of isolation so as to improve Russia's economic condition and to strengthen the power of the Bolsheviks. He made a trade pact with England in 1921 A. D. He also entered into trade pacts with 11 other nations within a period of one year. Russia entered into an important treaty with Germany and consequently got loan from Germany. In 1924 A D, the British Government accorded recognition to the Bolshevik Government of Russia and after that nine other countries recognised it.

An Estimate of Lenin—Lenin died in 1924 A D. Overwork and hardwork were the causes of his death. He was very able, hard working and an impressive personality. He was the father of Communism, organiser of the revolution and founder of the new Russian society. Being a staunch socialist, he mixed socialism with capitalism so as to meet the needs of the times. This is an example of his wisdom and pragmatism. He brought an end to the autocratic rule in Russia and replaced it by a Communist Government and established a new society and economic set-up on the basis of. Socialism. By his great efforts, he raised Russia to the position of a great world power and a great nation and taught the lesson of Communism to the whole of the world. The Communists worship him like a god and his tomb in Moscow is a religious place for them. It has been rightly remarked that—

"*As the father of the Bolshevik revolution and the creator of new Russia, he will occupy a prominent place in the pages of history.*

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Work and Achievements of Lenin

(1) Early life :—(*i*) Born at Ciabiask in the Province of Kazan in 1871 A.D. (*ii*) Revolutioanry from the beginning (*iii*) Imprisioned in 1895 A.D. for his revolutionary efforts and was exiled (*iv*) To work for the unity of workmen living outside his country from 1905 to 1917 A. D.

(2) Founded the Bolshevik Parly, Lenin's views and objects.

(3) Contribution to the Russian Revolutiou of 1917 A. D. and setting up the Bolshevik Government.

(4) Lenin's work—consolidation and reforms.

(5) New constitution of 1918 A.D.

(6) New Economic Policy of Lenin.

(7) Foreign Policy—To check the interference of the Allies (2) War and treaty with Poland (3) Cancellation of the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907 A.D. (4) Adoption of the Policy of friendship leaving the policy of isolation (5) Treaties with different countries.

(8) Lenin—father of Communism and founder of new Russia.

Work and Achievements of Stalin

Q. 3. Give an account of the work and achievements of Stalin. (*Important*)

Or

Describe the role which Stalin played in revolutionising the social, political and economic conditions of Russia.

Or

Describe briefly the progress and development of Russia through Five Year Plans under the guidance of Stalin.

Ans. **Early Life of Stalin**—Stalin was born at a village named Gori in 1879 A. D. He was the son of a poor cobbler. His father wanted to make him a clergyman so he sent him to a religious institution to receive his education. As he was the follower of Socialism, so he was turned out from there. After that he joined the Democratic Party and started working with Lenin. He was sent to jail many a time and was also exiled. But he worked for Socialism with full determination. Lenin gave him the name of Stalin (steel).

Stalin

In 1917 A. D. he became the Secretary of the Bolshevik Party. He took a great part in the revolution and infused a new life in the public by his speeches. He did a lot of work during the civil war and later on in the organisation of the Bolshevik Party.

Rise of Stalin—After the death of Lenin in 1924, a quarrel arose between his two companions *i. e.* Trotsky and Stalin for gaining power. Trotsky was Lenin's Home Minister. He had a great hand in preparing the path for the Revolution and in organising the Red Army. He wanted to spread the revolutionary ideas in the whole of the world as it could keep Socialism safe in Russia. On the other hand, Stalin was not merely an idealist but a realist and he wanted to strengthen the roots of Socialism in Russia by bringing an end to capitalism. In this struggle, Stalin came out victorious and he exiled Trotsky and his companions and became the leader of the Communist Party as well its dictator.

Economic Policy of Stalin—After gaining power, Stalin started paying attention towards the economic and cultural progress of the country. He framed Five Year Plans for this purpose. The main objectives of these plans were to reconstruct the nation, to increase products, to encourage industries and to attain self-sufficiency in the economic sphere by increasing production.

(1) *First Five Year Plan, 1928—32 A.D.*—In the first Five Year Plan great emphasis was laid on the heavy industries. Big factories and plants were set-up. The factories were opened to produce tractors and agricultural implements. Steel plants were also set-up. For the production of hydro-electric power, many river-valley projects were made. The production of coal, iron and petrol was increased to two times. Technical Schools were opened, loans were taken from other countries and services of the experts were acquired. That is why it has been said—

"The establishment of so many gigantic industries and enterprises within so short a period is a record unparalleled in history".

Agriculture was also given its proper place. Emphasis was laid on the co-operative farming and public enterprise by abolishing private agriculture and the rich farmers or 'the Kulaks' New methods of irrigation, better seeds, manures and implements began to be used to increase production. An Inspection Board was set-up to look after the co-operative farming.

Critics are of the opinion that the First Five Year Plan did not succeed fully in bringing down the prices, producing better things, increasing the efficiency of the labour and also in raising the standard of living in the country. But even though there were certain defects in the plan yet it has its own importance in history. **Benns** has rightly remarked—

(2) *"The First Five Year Plan, nevertheless, undoubtedly, constituted a landmark in Russian Industrial history"*.

(2) *Second Five Year Plan, 1933—37*—The Second Five Year Plan was implemented in 1933 A.D. Efforts were made in it to remove the short-comings of the First Five Year Plan. Greater emphasis was laid on increasing the production of articles of daily use in quantity as well as in quality. Efforts were made to improve the means of transport. Arrangements were made for better houses. rest-houses and means of entertainment for workem so as to increase their efficiency. Their rates of labour were increased and training centres were opened. Emphasis was laid on scientific and co-operative farming.

Second Five Year Plan also gave impetus to the iron, steel, petroleum and, machinery manufactures. In 1934 A.D., Russia attained the 2nd place in the production of raw material and third place in the production of steel in the world. She also became self-sufficient in respect of food grains.

(3) *Third Five Year Plan*, 1938—42 *A D.*—The main objective of the Third Five Year Plan was that Russia should leave behind the capitalist countries in the technical known-how, especially in the field of production.

(4) *Results of the Plans*—The above Five Year Plans succeeded in achieving their objectives to a great extent

(1) An amazing progress was made in the spheres of agriculture and industrial production.

(2) The natural resources of the country were exploited fully and scientifically.

(3) The country became self-sufficient and both unemployment and hunger were removed. The farmers and the workmen were provided with great number of facilities and their life became happy.

(4) Unemployment was also rooted out of the country.

In short, we can say that Stalin made his country prosperous and powerful by these Five Year Plans.

Educational Reforms—Special emphasis was laid on education so as to spread the Communist thoughts and ideals and to root out the Czarist influence. **Stalin** was of the view—

"Communist economic schemes were not possible without any intellectual revolution .....Every toiler and toiler's child was to be given the right to a schooling."

School and the technical institutions were set-up for the expansion of education. Education was made compulsory up to the age of 17. Special arranagements were made for the education of the adults and the youth. As a result of all these measurees the number of the educated persons in Russia reached upto 80% by 1935.

Religious Reforms—There was no place for religion in Russian Communism. The Communists took the old church as thier great enemy as it was the supporter of Czardom They finished the Church and confiscated its property. The Churches were converted into museums and clubs. The religions teachings were declared to be illegal. The clergymen were deprived of their right of teching and marriage celebrations. The religion, the Church and the clergymen began to be looked down upon in Russia,

Foreign Policy of Stalin—Stalin knew it well that peace was the most desired thing for the reconstruction and the spread of Commusism in Russia. So he discarded Lenin's policy of isolation and started establishing friendly relations with the different Western Powers.

The increasing power of Japan was a great menace to her in the East and Germany in the West. He entered into non-aggression pacts with Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithunia etc. in 1932 A D. so as to save Russia from the western side. With that thing in view he also made a pact with France in that very year.

In 1933 U S.A. granted recognition to Russia and established political and commercial relations with her. Russia joined the League of Nations in 1934 and she soon became the permanent member of the Council.

On the other side, Germany was also growing to be a great power day by day under the leadership of Hitler. Her growing power was a great menace to Russia. Under these circumstances, she entered into a defence pact with France whereby it was agreed upon that if any other European nation attacked any of the two then they would help each other. After that she also entered into a defence pact with Czechoslovakia.

In 1938 A. D., Hitler captured Austria and after that he captured Czechoslovakia. England and France were compelled to recognise these changes. Stalin did not have any hope of help from England and France. So he signed a pact with Germany on 23rd August, 1939.

Russia gained an important place in the international sphere as a result of Stalin's foreign policy. Russia was more powerful at the time of the Second World War than she was during the First World War. **Benns** has rightly remarked—

"Russia in 1941 was much better prepared in leadership, manpower, military equipment and industrial, and agricultural resources to withstand attack than she had been in 1914."

Stalin joined the Allies in the Second World War and proved to be the main cause of the German defeat. It was he who dashed all the hopes of Hitler to the ground.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Early life of Stalin :—(1) Born in 1879 A.D, at Gori in a cobbler's house. (2) Revolutionary from the beginning and supporter of Communism. (3) Became the member of Democratic Party and a Comrade of Lenin. (4) Became the Secretary of the Bolsevik Party and took an important part in the revolution.

Stalin's Contribution :—(1) Struggle between Trotsky and Stalin at the time of Lenin's death in 1924 A.D. (2) Stalin's success in the end. (3) Leader of the Communist Party and its dictator.

Economic Policy :—Framing of the Five Year Plans for the national reconstruction and economic self-sufficiency. (2) Emphasis were laid on the industrial progress and co-operative farming in the First Five Year Plan. (3) Emphasis was laid on the production of the things of every day use and to increase efficiency of the labour in the Second Plan. (4) Emphasis was laid on the industrial development in the Third Plan. (5) As a result of these plans agricultural and industrial development took place, standard of living was raised and the problem of unemployment was solved.

Educational Reforms :—(1) Education was based upon the Communist principles ; (2) Establishment of schools and training centres. (3) Proper arrangements for children, youth and adult education ; (4) By 1933 A.D. 80% of the people were educated.

Religious Reforms :—End of the old Church and confiscation of the Church property ; (2) Religious preaching became illegal ; (3) The clergymen were deprived of all their religious rights.

Foreign Policy :—Discarded the policy of isolatiou and followed the policy of friendship ; (2) Non-aggression pacts with Poland, Etonia, Lativa and Lithunia ; (3) Joining the League of Nations in 1934 A.D. ; (4) Defence pacts with Franee and Czechoslovakia in 1935 A.D. ; (5) Treaty with Hitlar in 1939 A.D. (6) Important role in the Second World War.

University and other Important Questions

1. Mention the chief causes and results of the Russian Revolution of 1917. (D. U. 1962, 64, 69)
2. Write a critical note on the origin of the Russian Revolution of 1917. (D. U. 1967, 72)
3. What were the major causes of the Russian Revolution of 1917 ? Also describe the main events of the Revolution.
4. Write a short essay on the political and social conditions in Russia on the eve of the Revolution of 1917. (A. U. 1960, 69)
5. What were the aims of Lenin's New Economic Policy ? (A. U. 1962, 66)
6. Examine the factors that made the success of Bolshevism possible in Russia ? (A. U. 1967)
7. What were the circumstances that led to the establishment of Communism in power in Russia ? (A. U. 1964)
8. Describe the Russian Revolution of 1917. (A.U. 1968)
9. Discuss the chief causes and results of the Russian Revolution. (Delhi B.A. 1971)

35

FASCISM IN ITALY

During the First World War, Italy joined the Allies. Her hopes were not fulfilled by the Treaty of Versailles for which she took part in the war. Besides, she spent a lot of money in the war. This created an economic crisis in the country. The then government did not pay much attention towards it. This gave rise to unrest and lawlessness in the country. Under these circumstances, the patriotic and the nationalist elements formed many volunteer-unions which were organised into the Fascist Party by Mussolini later on. He took the reins of the government into his hands and set-up a dictatorship in the country. Thus, by doing so he opened a new chapter in the history of his country.

☞ **Q. 1. What do you mean by Fascism ? What were its main principles ? Also account for the rise of Fascism in Italy ? (Important)**

Or

Give an account of the general condition of Italy after the First World War.

Ans. Meaning of Fascism :—The word 'Fascism' has its root in the Roman word 'Fascio' which means "a bundle of Royal sticks". In the olden times, when the Roman Emperors entered their capital after gaining victory then they used to carry the Royal sticks in their hands which were symbolic of the dictatorial authority of the state and the emperors. So 'Fascism' means autocracy or dictatorship where the whole power of the state is vested in one person only and it is obligatory for all the countrymen to carry out his orders. No body can dare or has the right to criticise or oppose his policy.

After the First World War, when Italy was faced with the economic crisis and when unrest and lawlessness was created in the country by the atrocities of the Communists then the patriots formed a Fascist Party to save the country. By and by, Mussolini organised the Fascist Party into a strong party and set-up dictatorship in Italy by taking power into his own hands in 1922 A. D. The main principles of this party are commonly known by the name of 'Fascism.'

Principles of Fascism—The main principles of Fascism were as follow:—

(1) Fascism was the anti-thesis of Democracy. *"In place of majorities and quantities, it sought to substitute the Leader."*

(2) Fascism was the supporter of one party and one leader. According to Fascism, dictatorship was the best form of government. That is why **Mussolini** has said—

"All parties must end, must fall. I want to see a panorama of ruins around me, the ruins of the other political forces so that Fascism may stand gigantic and dominant."

There was no place for opposition in Fascism and it was in favour of bringing an and to all other forces.

(3) The leader of the party was all in all in the country. None could challenge his authority. He was above law. He had all the military and civil rights and no body could criticise him.

(4) Fascism was against the individual. It preferred the state to the man or the individual because he gets all the rights from the state. That is why it has been said—

"The individual exists solely for the society of which he forms a part and that the state obliterates all individual rights."

Individual did exist only for the state. Fascism laid more stress on the duties of the individual and the rights of the state.

(5) Fascism laid stress on nationalism and national institutes.

(6) According to Fascism peace should be established in the country and the private property should be maintained.

(7) For the all-round development of the country Fascism favoured equal control on the capitalists, poor, labourers, peasants, factory owners, landlords etc.

(8) Fascism wanted to enhance the power and prestige of the country by making it powerful.

(9) Fascism was the supporter of an imperialist and aggressive policy so that the country should become strong and might gain power and prestige in the international sphere.

According Mussolini—*"Fascism is based on the resolutions, work and objectivs of the state. According to it, state is complete but the individual and associations are in complete."*

Hazen *is of the view—"Fascism began as an impulse towasds law and order and it ought to safeguard the existing institutions of Italy against the ruinous influence of Bolshevism."*

In the words of **Gooch**—"*Fascism professed and developed a philosophy of its own. It claimed to be a spiritual movement aiming at revivifying Italian soul in terms of duty to the state.*"

Mussolini reformed the internal condition of Italy by spreading Fascisim in Italy. Due to it Italy made progress in different spheres of life and became a powerful nation. She attained international prestige and became one of the great world powers. But Fascism rose and fell with Mussolini.

Causes of the Rise of Facism—Following were the causes of the rise and spread of Fascism in Italy—

(1) *Discontentment after the Treaty of Versailles*—Italy joined the Allies in the First World War and by the Secret Treaty of London (1915 A.D.) she hoped to gain Trentino, Triest, Istria, Fiume, Coastal regions of Dalmatia, Albania and some parts of Turkey and Germany. But during the Paris Conference her hopes were dashed to the ground by Wilson's opposition and so by the Treaty of Versailles she could get only Southern Tyrol and Trentino, and the Coastal Regions of Dalmatia. She could get no part of the German and Turkish colonial empire It has been rightly said in this connection—

"*Italy got nothing from the colonial dinner.*"

Her struggle started against Yugoslavia on the matter of Fiume but in the end she was to recognise the freedom of Fiume according to the treaty of Reypolo. The Italians felt as if they had been deceived and thought that their right demands were ignored. Imperialist designs of Italy were completely ignored. This very fact helped in spreading Fascism in Italy.

(2) *Economic Crisis*—An economic crisis came up as a result of the loss of the life and money in the war. Many people were killed in the war and millions of rupees were spent. The national debt was increased a lot. The price and the value of money decreased. There was a great shortage of food-grains in the country and unemployment was increasing day by day. The industries and trade were ruined. The condition of the middle class people, farmers and the working class became very critical. As a result of the war, Italy suffered a lot and her people became very poor. Such a deteriorated condition created unrest in the country.

(3) *Week Government*—A wave of unrest and anger spread in Italy as a result of the economic crisis, disappointment and dishonour on account of the Treaty of Versailles. Then then liberal government of Italy was disinterested in solving the problems of the country and it was too weak to keep the situation under control People were much distressed due to the weak policy and inefficiency of the government. They wanted to replace such a weak and inefficient government by a powerful and bold governmeant. This feeling of the people helped Fascism to flourish in the country. It it has been mightly said—

"Bold leadership was wanted and it was supplied by the Fascists".

(4) *Activities of the Socialists* :—The Socialists who included the Anarchists, Communists and the Social Democrats made the atmosphere more poisonous by their revolutionary ideas. They left no stone unturned to increase lawlessness prevailing in the country. The Communists inflamed the revolutionory idea. Consrquently, the peasants extorted the land of the landlords. The workmen organized strikes, broke machines and took hold of the factories. Strikes took place in the Post and Telegraph Departments. The Communist started making plans for capturing the power by overthrowing the government. They wanted to create lawlessness and indiscipline by their subversive activities. People became sick of such a state of affairs and wanted a powerful and bold leadership in the country. They wanted such a powerful party in the country who could establish peace and prosperity by ending the lawlessness and insecurity prevailing in the country. Such a state gave rise to Fascism. **Ketelbey** has rightly said—

"It was the urgent need of a strong and unifiying force that formed the background for the rise of Fascism in Italy."

(5) *Mutual Differences of the various Political Parties* :—There were different political parties in Italy at that time. They were the Liberals, Catholics and the Socialists. These parties had their different policies and programmes. Members of the different parties were elected to the National Assembly according to the proportionate electoral system in the country. Their mutual differences. rivalries enmities had created laxity in the political sphere. The socialist parties tried to take advantage of the mutual differences and weaknesses of the parties having faith in democracy. The liberal government of Giolitti was unable to face the revolutionary parties. The government became weak as a result of the mutual differences of the different parties in the parliament and so it could not face the situation. Such a state helped in the rise of Fascism.

(6) *Efforts of the Nationalists*—There were many nationalists in Italy at that time who became afraid of the activities of the Communists and passiveness of the government. The landlords, the rich, the youngmen, artisans, retired soldiers, teachers and the middle class people comprised this part of the society. They wanted to save the country from falling in the chnas of Communism. They wanted to set up such a powerful government in the country which could do away with restlessness and unrest. They formed different groups called 'Fascios' and thus they began to called as Fascists. By and by, their number increased and in the end Mussolini organised them into the Fascist Party.

In October 1922 A.D., the different groups of this party attacked Rome from different sides under the leadership of Mussolini. The Prime Minister Gioliti resigned. Emperor Victor Emmanuel III invited Mussolini to form a new government. He took all the powers into his own hands and started ruling like a dictator. He crushed his opponents very harshly. It resulted in the creation of one party in Italy. That party was the Fascist Party and its leader was Mussolini. Thus, Mussolini established a Fascist government, a Fascist Party and Fascism in Italy.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Meaning of Fascism** :—Fascism is deprived from 'fasico' a Roman word meaning dictorship. Dictator is all in all in this system.

2. **Principle of Fascism** :—() Opponent of democracy and in favour of dictatorship ; (*ii*) One party ; (*iii*) The leader of the party was all in all ; (*iv*) Opponent of individualism ; (*v*) Stress on Nationalism (*vi*) Maintenance of peace and prosperty in the country ; (*vii*) Equal control on all people ; (*viii*) Enhancement of the national prestige (*ix*) Aggressive Foreign Policy.

3. **Causes of the Rise of Fascism** :—(*i*) Discotentment after the Treaty of Versailles ; (*ii*) Economic crisis ; (*iii*) Weak government (*iv*) Activities the Socialists (*v*) Mutual differences of the various political parties ; (*vi*) Efforts the Nationalists—formation of Fascios, rise of Mussolini, Fascist Party and Fascist Government.

Work and Achievements of Mussolini

☞ Q. 2. Explain how Fascism gained momentum in Italy under the stewardship of Mussolini. (Important)

Or

Describe Benito Mussolini's rise to power in Italy. Give an account of his work and achievements.

Or

Describe the domestic and foreign policy of the Fascist Italy.

Ans. Early Life of Mussolini and the Rise of Fascism in Italy :—Mussolini was born at Romania in North Italy in 1883 A.D. His father was a poor blacksmith. After receiving his educaction, he became a teacher at the age 18. In the beginning he was the follower of Marx-socialism and was a revolutionary. He went to Swittzerland and started working as a journalist. He also started spreading the socialist principles and the organisation of workmen, so the Swiss Government ordered him to go back to his country.

On coming back to Italy, he started spreading the Communist views. He had to go to prison many a time. In 1912 A.D., he was appointed the Chief Editor of the main Socialist newspaper Avante in Italy. During the First World War, he was in favour of joining hands with the Allies and when the government started war against Germany he joined the army. He was promoted as Corporal for his services and boldness shown during the war. In 1917 A.D., he was wounded in the war and on his recovery he restarted working as the editor of his newspaper.

In 1917 A.D., the Bolshevik Revolution proved a success in Russia. As a results of this the Socialists in Italy also started revolutionary activities. Mussolini now became an opponent of Communism and Revolution because he felt that the spread of Communism in Italy would ruin the freedom of the Italians and she would become a slave of Russia. He opposed it greatly. He greatly impressed the public by his speeches, firm faith and keen intelligence.

Mussolini addressing the Public

After the World War, there spread discontentment and unrest in Italy and she was engulfed by a great economic crisis. The Communists started the violent activities. The weak government of Italy could not remove the lawlessness and unrest spreading in the country. Under the circumstances, the patriots of Italy decided to set-up a strong goverement. They formed the Fascios at every place. Mussolini was also elected the chief of the Milan Fascio. By and by their number increased and the membership also increased. By 1921 A.D., the number of these Fascios rose to 2,000 and the membership rose to 3 Lakhs. This party became very popular and in the elections of 1921 A.D. 35 Fascist Members were elected to the Parliament.

Mussolini, by organising these Fascios militarily and by bringing them under his control, set up the Fascist Party. The members of this party used to put on black shirts. They had their own flag and their own way of doing parades. They were supporters of nationalism and Roman institutions. They uprooted the opponents in Italy under the leadership of Mussolini. Mussolini created this impression in the minds of the public that only the Fascist Party could take the country out of this crisis. Once he said—

> *"During the war we all felt the incapacity of those who were governing us and we know that we won only by value of Italian people ......therefore, we are constituting the Fascist bodies capable of creative action and capable of going out in squares and crying: It is we who have the right to succeed to this government, for it was we who pushed the country into the war and led it to victory."* —**(Mussolini)**

In 1922 A.D., Mussolini organised a great armed rally of the volunteers of the Fasicos and decided to save the country from Communism. According to fixed plan, the black shirt members of the Fascist party attacked Rome on 27th October, 1922 A D. Becoming afraid of their power, the liberal Prime Minister Giolitti resigned. Emperor Victor Emmanuel III made Mussolini his Prime Minister. After becoming the Prime Minister, Mussolini took all the powers of the country into his own hands and established the dictatorship of the Fascist Party as he was against democracy. He was of the view—

> *"Democracies are like shifting sand. Our political ideal is like a rock-granite peak".*

Work and Achievements of Mussolini

(1) *Law and Order* :—On becoming the Prime Minister, Mussolini took all the military and civil powers into his own hands. He became all in all in the State. He set-up the Fascios to create national feelings among the public. He crushed all the opposition parties and the opponents. The reliable Fascists were appointed on the higher posts. So he was able to set up law and order in the country by ending the unrest and lawlessness.

(2) *Economic Reforms*—Mussolini introduced some reforms into the state so as to reform the economic condition of the people who were sick of war, revolution and economic crisis. He reduced the government expenditure and balanced the national budget by introducing new taxes. The fall in the value of money was checked. Many factori s were set-up for the industrial development. Arrangements were made to took after both government and private factories. Workmen were provided many facilities. Syndicates were formed to settle the disputes between the workmen and the factory owners. The production of electricity was also increased to give an incentive to industries. The means of transport and communication were also developed.

Special attention was also paid to the development of agriculture. The marshy land was converted into cultivable land. The agricultural produce was increased by the use of scientific manures, implements and new methods of agriculture.

So, Mussolini introduced many economic reforms which improved the economic condition of the people who were greatly affected by the economic crisis. By these methods, Italy was made prosperous and rich.

(3) *Educational Reforms*—The education was also channeled through the Faccist methods. Many schools were opened for the spread of education. The education was based upon the Fascist principles in these institutions. Only those persons couid teach in the schools who had faith in Fascism. Military training was made compulsory. Schools, colleges, liberaries and reading rooms were opened to promote education. The feelings of nationalism were introduced among the students through the medium of education.

(4) *Other Reforms*—Corruption, inefficiency and weakness were removed from the country and moral of the public was raised. Roads, bridges, canals, dams, hospital etc. were constructed. The feelings of patriotism and national glory were created by the reclamation of the old monuments of Italy. Special efforts were made to incresse the military force of the country. The aeroplanes and naval ships were also produced in large number. Italy equalled with Germany and France in her naval force.

(5) *Treaty with the Pope*—After the unification of Italy, the relations of Pope and the state were not good as the Italian government captured Rome. Mussolini was desirous of getting the help and good wishes of the Pope for strengthening his political position. In order to end this dispute, he started negotiations with the Pope and in the end it matured into the Treaty ot Latern in Feburary, 1929 A.D. Its terms were—

(*i*) Pope recognised the right of Italian government over Rome.

(*ii*) The government recognised the sovereign authority of the Pope over the Vatican.

(*iii*) Pope was to be given 10 million $ for leaving his claim over Rome.

(*vi*) Catholicism was declared to be the state religion in Italy.

(*v*) Pope gained the power of appointing the bishops in Italy.

(*vi*) The bishops were forebidden from taking part in politics.

(*vii*) The religious teachings were made compulsory in the primary as well as secondary schools.

The treaty has got its own importance and **Pope** declared that "*Italy has regained God and God has come to Italy*".

Thus, Facism made use of religion for political stability and for ending the social instability. It has been rightly said—"*Like Bonapartism, Fascism made a political use of religion and saw in it a valuable aid to authority and a stabilising force against social upheavals*".

Grant and Temperley have also commented—

"The Pope conferred lustre on the Fascist government and gave an authority to its continuance in a way that no ruler could have done it. The survival of Mussolin's dictatorship for over 2 years was due in no small mersures to his reconcilliation with the line af supreme Pontiff.

(6) *Foreign Policy of Mussolini*—After the First World War, Italy received disappointment by the Treaty of Versailles as she could not fulfil her wishes. Besides, her international prestige also received a great set-back. The main objective of Mussolini's foreign policy was to heighten the prestige of Italy in the international sphere. For this purpose, he wanted to make Italy a powerful country or perhaps a world power. So he followed an aggressive, vigorous, powerful and bold policy. He was of the view—"*War heightens the power of the man and brings prestige to those nations who possess the power to face it*".

(*i*) First of all Mussolini made efforts to increase his influence over the Mediterranian Sea. He regained the islands of Dodecanese and Rhodes by the Treaty of Lousanne in 1923 A.D. These islands had been ceded by her to Greece in 1920 A.D.

(*ii*) He gained the city of Fiume from Yugoslavia by a Treaty in 1924 A.D.

(*iii*) By the Treaty of Fium, Italy recognised the political status of Albania in 1926 A.D. After that, she turned her into her protectorate by advancing economie aid. In 1939 A.D., she captured the whole of Albania in a military action. **Benns** has remarked in this respect—

"*Mussolini in the decade after 1922, undoubtedly succeeded in strengthening Italy's hold on the Adrtatic, increasing her prestige in the Mediterranean and in extending her diplomatic and commerical influence in south-easten Europe*"

(*iv*) She entered into commerical and diplomatic treaties with great nations such as Russia, and France etc. in order to strengthen her power and to have good place in the international sphere.

(*vi*) The early successes of Mussolini increased his boldness self-interest and appetite for more territories. So in 1935 A.D. he attacked Abyssinia in order to capture it. He used to say—

"*If we win, I shall be king of Abyssinia. If we lose I shall be king of Italy*".

Besides this, he said to his countrymen—

"*If I advance, follow me, if I retreat, kill me, if I die, avenge me.*"

In this expedition, he gained the support from France. Abyssinia appealed to the League of Nations. But due to differences the among different nations no solid step could be taken against the aggressive policy of Italy. Hitler also took Italy's side. Under these favourable circumstances, Italy captured Abyssinia in 1936 A.D. and the Emperor of Abyssinia Hail Silassie ran to England. Mussolini used to say—*"The war was perceived and willed for the prestige, life and the greateess of Fascist motherland"*.

But the victory of Italy poisoned the political life of Europe and brought the Second World War nearer.

(*vi*) In the Abyssinian crisis when League of Nations opposed Italy she left the membership of the League. This was a great blow to the League. **Carr** had said—

"The Italian victory was a grave blow to the League of Nations."

(*vii*) The civil war broke out in Spain between the Democrats and the Royalists to gain power. Mussolini took the side of the Royalists leader General Franco, as he was the supporter of Fascism. Franco came out victorious in the end and Italy gained good chances to increase her influence in Spain.

(*viii*) After the capture of Abyssinia, her relations with England and France deteriorated and she was drawn towards Germany. At last in 1939 A.D. they entered into a treaty called *"Rome-Berlin Axis"*. This treaty proved a major cause of the Second World War. In 1940 A.D. Mussolini declared war against England and France and took the German side.

It is quite clear from the above mentioned description that Mussolini changed Italy into a powerful nation and also made her a self-supporting nation economically. He made arrangements for settting up an efficient government by bringing an end to the lawlessness and unrest prevailing in the country. He strengthened his position by reconciling with the Pope. He heightned the prestige of Italy by following an aggressive policy, increasing his country's military power and by expanding the colonial empire. Now Italy began to be counted as a great power in the world. But the public had to pay a great price for all this. They had to sacrifice their political freedom. After gaining power Mussolini became a dictator and he took all the military and civil powers into his own hands. The Assembly was not dissolved but it was existing in name only and Mussolini became all in all. Many restrictions were imposed upon the press and newspapers. The freedom of speech and organising meetings were prohibited. He crushed his opponents very gravely. The local institutions were closed. The public' was deprived of all their rights. In 1940 A.D. he declared war against the Allies taking the side of Germany. The defeat in the war took his country to disaster and in 1943 A.D. he died. With him Fascism also met its end in Italy.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Early Life of Mussolini and Rise of Fascism** :—(1) He was born in a Romanian village in the house of a blacksmith in 1883 A.D. ; (2) In the beginning he was a revolutionary and Marxist ; (3) Worked as a journalist and organised theworkers in Switzerland and had to come back to Italy when he was ordered to leave that country ; (4) Preached Socialism in Italy ; (5) Took part in the First World War, wounded and became a journalist again ; (6) Became the opponent of Communism because of the Russian Revolution of 1917 A.D. ; (7) Lawless- ness in Italy after the War; (8) Formation of Fascios ; (9) Organisation of the Fascist Party by Mussolini ; (10) In 1922 he attacked Rome, gained power and became a dictator.

2. **Work and Achievements** :—To end lawlessness and unrest ; (2) To make the country prosperous by introducing different economic reforms ; (3) Arrangement and spread of education on the basis of Fascist prineiples ; (4) Other Reforms ; (5) Reconciliation with Pope and strengthening his positige; (6) Main objectives of the foreign policy, to expand the empire, to enhance the international prestige, to follow aggressive policy—to capture Dodecanese and Rhodes Islands, to gain Fiume in 1924 A.D., to capture Albania ; political and commercial pacts with France, England and Russia to capture Abyssinia in 1936 A.D., to leave the League of Nations ; Rome-Berlin-Axis and the Second World War.

University and other Important Questions

Examine the main factors responsible for the rise of dictatorship in Italy.

1. Point out the circumstances that led to the rise of Mussolini in Italy. (A. U. 1960)
2. State the circumstances that led to the rise of Moussolini in Italy. What were his achievements ?
3. Trace the history of the rise of Fascist Movement in Italy. (A. U. 1966)
4. Examine the main factors responsible for the rise of dictatorship in Italy. (D.U. 1970)
5. Examine the factors responsible for the rise of dictatorship in rome countries of Europe after the First World War ? (Delhi B. A. 1971)

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THE NAZI GERMANY, 1919—39 A.D.

The nationalist feelings impelled the Germans to start a war against different nations in 1914 A. D. As the war prolonged, their hopes began to turn into disappointment. There came a shortage of the war-material in the country. This disturbed the economic structure of the country. Both government and the public had to face a lot of economic difficulties. The uneasiness increased against Kaiser William II. As a result of the mutual differences among the different political parties the political instability came up and the unity disappeared. Germany was compelled to stop the war and had to sign a harsh and degrading treaty with the Allies. So, the powerful Germany of Bismarck marched towards her decline and had to face many difficulties in the time to come.

Republic in Germany, 1919-38 A.D.

Q. 1. Under what circumstances was the Republic established in Germany after the First World War ? What difficulties it had to face ? How were these solved ?

Or

Give an account of the political conditions of Germany between the two world wars and before the rise of Hitler.

Ans. Establishment of the Republic—The feelings of unrest and doubt came up against Kaiserism in the public mind after the war and the economic crisis showed its ugly head in Germany. Lawlessness appeared in the country and the feeling of revolt were also fanned. The sailors of Wilhems Hawborn fleet revolted. Soon there were revolts in other places too. The weak government of William could not suppress them. William was compelled to resign and he fled to England on November 10, 1918 A. D. to save his life. The Chancellor, Prince Max, also failed to control the situation. He also resigned. Under these circumstances, the Social Democratic Party established the Republic in place of the autocratic rule in Germany and their leader Ebert was made Chancellor and the war came to an end after signing the Treaty on the November 11, 1918 A. D.

Being influenced by the success of the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Communists overthrew the Republic in Germany and tried to set-up the Communist Government under the leaderseip of their leader Karl Liebkniecht. There appeared the possibilities of a civil war in Germany. But the Communist Party failed to capture power and soon Æbert crushed their efforts very badly and their leaders were given severe punishments. So Ebert's government saved the Republic.

The Weimer Constitution—The Constituent Assembly was formed on January 19, 1919 A. D. to frame the new constitution for Germany. Its members were elected by the public. Everybody of 20 years, of age was given the right to vote for it. The number of the Social Democratic Party candidates was greater in it but no party gained an absolute majority. The meeting of the Constituent Assembly was held at Weimer on February 6, 1919 A. D. The New Constitution was framed after much discussion. This Constitution is known as the Weimer Constitution. This constitution was introduced on August 10, 1919 A. D. According to it, a democratic government was formed in Germany. Following were the characteristics of the New Constitution—

(1) The Federal government was formed in Germany according to the Weimer Constitution. It was both presidential and parliamentary in nature.

(2) The President was the head of the executive and he was elected by adult franchise for a term of seven years. He could be elected for the second term also. He could be removed by a resolution passed by 2/3 majority of the Parliament. The President did not have any special right. He was a nominal head of the Constituent Assembly.

(3) The real power of the executive was vested in the Council of Ministers which was responsible to the Parliament.

(4) The legislature consisted of two Houses. The Lower House was known as the Reichstag and the other was called the Reinchstadt. Elections to both the Houses were held by adult sufferage. The Cabinet of Ministers was responsible to this House and it (*i.e.* Reichstag) possessed more rights than the other. In the Reinchstadt, there were the representatives of the 18 states of the union.

(5) There were arrangements for referendum, initiative and recall in this constitution.

(6) People were also given the fundamental rights.

According to this new constitution, when the elections were held, Ebert the leader of the Social Democratic Party was elected as the President and Stresmann as the Prime Minister.

Difficulties of the Republic—From the very beginning, the Republic had to face many difficulties as no party in the legislature gained majority and a coalition government was set-up. The party conflicts had touched their extreme heights and consequently the German Government remained weak from the very beginning.

(1) *Efforts to overthrow the Republic*—This government of the Social Democratic Party had signed the degrading Treaty of Versailles in June, 1919 A. D. and she had to cede many territories and had to agree to the payment of a huge war-indemnity. So this government was defamed and other parties started efforts to overthrow it. In March, 1920 A. D., the yaltists under the leadership of Dr. Kapp captured Berlin and brought an end to the Republic and Dr. Kapp was made the President. But, in the meantime, the Democrats again took hold of Berlin and re-established the Republic. In 1923 A. D., the Royalists again made efforts to overthrow the government. Their leader were General Ludendroff and Hitler. But their efforts did not prove successful and their leaders Ludendroff and Hitler were imprisoned.

(2) *Economic Crisis*—Germany suffered heavy losses of life and property in the First World War. Millions of people were killed. Many factories were closed. Germany had to lose many of her industrial areas. She had to pay a huge sum as war-indemnity. The industries suffered a great blow and trade was also ruined. The unemployment and poverty also increased. The prices rose and the value of money fell. In 1922 A. D., one Dollar was exchanged for 7,000 German Marks. This created a great economic crisis in the country. Efforts were made to solve the economic crisis by decreasing the salaries and wages, by reducing the administrative expenditure, by taking loans and by circulating the paper currency. But this policy did not prove to be successful.

(3) *Reparations*—A commission was appointed to fix the amount of reparation. This commission submited its report in 1921 A. D. and it fixed the total German indemnity at £ 6,000,000,000. It was such a huge amount that it was beyond her capacity to pay. In 1923 A. D. when Germany could not pay the annual instalment of the indemnity, the French and Belgian forces captured the German territory of Ruhr. This region was a great industrial centre and was the basis of German prosperity. It was intolerable for Germany, so the workmen of Ruhr struck work. Its loss gave a severe blow to the German industries and her economic structure was upset. The French and Belgian action was naturally much resented.

Dawes Plan—A commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Dawes, an American economic expert to find out the method of payment. He submitted his report in 1924 A. D. which is known as the 'Dawes Plan'. It was accepted after few amendments by both the sides. According to it, it was decided that Germany should first pay 1,000 000,000 Gold Marks and after that an annual increase of 2,500,000 Marks should be made in the instalments to be paid in the next four years. In order to improve the economic condition of Germany, it was decided that 800,000,000 Gold Marks should be advanced to her as a loan. A Central Bank should be set-up in Germany which should have the right to print paper-currency and to circulate new coins. It was also suggested that if she could not make the payment of indemnity then France should have conttol over the income in Germany from taxes, railways and other professions France was ordered to vacate the Ruhr valiy with which she had recently occupied.

France withdrew her forces from Germany according to the Dawes Plan. A Bank was established in Germany which circulated new currency. America, England, France etc. advanced loans for the economic development of Germany. Germany made the payment of the indemnity and also tried to improve the economic condition of the people by developing her industries. This eased the international tension. That is why it has been said—

"For the first time since the signing of the Versailles, the diplomatic tension in Europe was lessened."

(4) *Foreign Policy of the Republic*—The objective of the foreign policy of the Republic was to heighten the past prestige of the country. After the war, France and Germany had been looking at each other with doubt. France entered into treaties with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia against Germany in 1922 A.D. to strengthen her position as well as to defend her boundaries. She also occupied the German territory of Ruhr that very year, but she was to vacate that according to the Dawes Plan prepared by the Allies.

Locarno Pacts—After that, both the countries started coming nearer to each other. As a result of the efforts of Stressmann and the French Prime Minister Herriort, a conference of the respresentatives of the countries of Germany, France, England, Italy Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia etc, was held at Locarno, a Swiss city, in 1925 A.D. It was held to maintain peace in Europe. As a result of this conference, many pacts were signed, which are commonly known as the Locarno Pacts. Germany, France, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia signed four treaties and it was decided that the mutual disputes should be settled by peaceful methods and by arbitration. Faith treaty was a defensive one, and it was signed by Germany, France, Belgium, England and Italy. According to it, Germany recognised the territorial changes decided by the Paris Conference. Germany recognised the French right over Alsace and Lorraine and promised the disarmament of the Rhineland. France and Germany both decided not to violate the territorial jurisdictions of each other. Germany, France and England also decided not to indulge in war.

This treaty has its special importance in the international sphere. This protected the eastern boundaries of Belgium and France. Germany gained her right place in the political sphere of Europe. **Chamberlain** has thus said—

"Locarno marks the real dividing line between the years of war and the years of peace."

Lipson has also remarked in this connection that the *"Locarno Pacts are the symbol of the great success of peaceful times from 1918 to 1938 A.D."*

In short, it can be said regarding its importance—*"The Locarno achievements were widely hailed as precursors of a new era in World History."*

Membership of the League of Nations—The Locarno Pacts were signed in December, 1925 A.D. After that, Germany also entered the League of Nations and became a permanent member of the Council.

(6) *The Young Plan*—The German rule fell into the hands of the National Party and Field Marshal Hindenburg was elected its President. The Dawes Plan could not maintain the economic balance in Germany. Hindenburg wanted to decrease the indemnity and to have his authority over Rhineland. America, France and England were also in favour of solving these problems. So another Commission was set up under the chairmanship of an American specialist, Owen D. Young. He made the following suggestions in his report :—

(1) Germany should pay one hundred million £ within 37 years.

(2) She should repay the loans of America and the Allies in 22 instalments.

(3) An international Bank should be set up at Basel in Switzerland to carry out this plan.

(4) Foreign control and influence over Germany should be withdrawn.

(5) Rhineland should be vacated by June 30, 1930 A.D.

After a few amendments, this plan was accepted. It has been rightly said about this plan—*"At the Young Plan Conference, all the drigs of distrust and enmity that had been eddying about since the days of Armistice and the writing of Versailles were finally drained off."*

In 1929, Germany had to face the economic crisis once again. As a result of this, when she could not repay the indemnity instalment at the right time, America stopped her advancement of loans, and Germany stopped the repayment of the instalments.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Establishment of the Republic—(1) Distrust of the public in the Kaiser regime was due to the defeats in the war and economic crisis.

(2) William fled to Holland and the Social Democratic Party established a Republic in Germany on November 10, 1918.

(3) The Communist tried to ovethrow the Republic but they could not succeed.

Weimer Constitution—The Constituent Assembly was formed for the drafting of the new constitution ; The constitution formed by it was introduced on August 11, 1919 A.D. (1) Federal government in Germany ; (2) The election of the President by adult Franchise for 7 years. He was constitutional head; (3) Executive powers vested in the Council of Ministers responsible to the Legislature ; (4) Role of the Legislature and its two Houses ; (5) Fundamental rights to the people.

Difficulties of the Republic—(1) The efforts of the Royalists under the leadership of Dr. Kapp to overthrow the Republic proved unsuccessful ; (2) Economic crisis ; (3) Reparations and Dawes Plan; (4) Foreign Policy—Locarno Pacts ; Membership of the League of Nations ; Young Commission to solve the problem of reparation and the Rhineland ; Economic crisis of 1929 A.D. and stopping the payment of reparation.

Hitler and the Rise of Nezism

☞**Q. 1. Who was Hitler and how did he rise to the supreme power in Germany. (P.U. 1964) Important)**

Or

Discuss the causes of the rise of Hitler and Nazism or the Nazi Party in Germany.

Or

Describe the policy and methods of Hitler.

Ans. —Early Life of Hitler—Adolf Hitler was born in a poor family at a small-town of Braunau in Austria in 1889 A.D He could not get good education because of poverty. He became an orphan at a very small age. He started earning his living by working with a mason. After that he went to Munich, the Capital, of Bavaria and started working as a painter. He started hating the Jews, the Royal Families, the Socialists, the Republicans, and democratic institutions. He was a staunch supporter of German-nationalism and started dreaming about German unity. He served his motherland by joining the army during the First World War and got the 'Iron Cross' for his bravery.

Hitler

2. Formation of the Nazi Party—Germany was defeated in the First World War and she had to sign the degrading Treaty of Versailles. Hitler had a firm view that the real cause of German defeat was her leaders and not her army. So he formed the National Socialist German Workers Party in 1919 A.D. Later on this party came to be known as the Nazi Party. In the beginning, it had only 7 members but, by and by, its membership increased and it became popular and, in the end, succeeded in snatching power.

Programme of the Nazi Party—An organised programme and an army were formed to strengthen the Nazi Party. The programme of the party was as follows :—

(1) The State is above all. All powers should be with the State and it should have hold on all the political, social and economic programmes. Their belief was that—"*People exist for the state rather than the State for the peaple.*"

(2) To end the parliamentary institutions.

(3) To have control over education, press, radio etc. and to maintain its own power.

(4) To crush all sorts of party formations and opposition.

(5) To root out Communism and Liberalism.

(6) The right to private property was recognised only upto the limit which was not harmful to the national interests.

(7) To mobilise private and state efforts for the development of agriculture and industries etc.

(8) The Nazi Party considered Germany superior to all other Nations and wanted to have her influence all over the world. It was of the view—"*The stronger must rule and not fuse with the weaker and so sacrifice its own greatness.*"

(9) To turn out the Jews from Germany, as they were a great cause of economic hardships for the people of Germany.

(10) To denounce the degarding Treaty of Versailles.

(11) Expansion of the German empire and to regain all the colonies she had acquired before the war.

(12) To increase the German military power.

Army of the Nazi Party—The Nazi Party had its own army which was divided in two parts. One part of the army used to put on brown uniform with a red strip on the arm which bore the sign of a Swastika (卐) on that. Its main function was to save its party members and to break-up the meetings of the opposition parties. The other part of the army put on black shirts and it was comprised of the trusted persons whose main duty was to save their party leaders.

A newspaper with the name of 'Peoples Observer' or 'Guardian' was brought out to spread the principles of Nazism and to make it popular. The Nazi Party made progress day by day because of its programmes, army, newspaper and impressive personality and oratory gifts of its leader, Hitler. So the number of its party members rapidly increased.

3. Imprisonment of Hitler—In 1923 A.D., the Royalists revolted under the leadership of General Ludendorff to overthrow the Republic. Hitler also joined them. It was a premature attempt and both of them were thrown into the prison. His imprisonment aroused widespread interest in his party.

Hitler wrote his famous book 'Mein Kamph' which is an exhaustive account of the principles, objectives, plans, programmes of the Nazi Party and the development of his own ideas. This book helped a good deal in the spread of Nazism. This book is known as 'the Bible of the Nazis'.

4. Nazi Party came to Power—Hitler was set free after a year. He made his best efforts to organise the Nazi Party from 1925 to 1929 A.D. and set-up its branches at every place. In 1929 A.D. Europe faced an economic slump. It also affected Germany. Germany was in the grip of unemployment and starvation. Hitler made use of the situation. He defamed the Republic and made it clear to the public that it was incompetent to solve the national problems and the Nazi Party was the only party which could solve the national problems and could lead the nation out of the present crisis. Consequently, the middle class, traders, capitalists, soldiers, teachers and students, etc. became the members of this party in large numbers. In 1929 Elections, only 12 members of this party were elected to the Legislature but in 1930 Elections, 107 members of this party were elected to the Legislature.

Hitler opposed Hindenburg for the Presidential elections in 1932 A.D. but he was defeated. He gained only 34 Lakh votes against 20 Million to Hindenburg. In the 1932 elections the Nazi Party won 230 seats in the Legislature and gained a majority in the Reichstag. So in 1933 A.D., Hindenburg was compelled to appoint Hitler as his Chancellor or the Prime Minister. It added to the importance of the Nazi Party. Hitler began to dream of becoming the dictator by consolidating all powers into his hands, He made declatration for the new elections by dissolving the Reichstag. But some one set the Reichstag's House on fire. Hitler took advantage of this situation and crushed the opposite parties with strong hands. At this stage, the Nazis became all in all.

In 1934, President Hindenburg died. Hitler took advantage of this opportunity. He combined in him both the offices of the President and the Chancellor. So he became all in all. Soon he assumed the title of 'Fuhrer' or the Sole leader of Germany. So by

1934 Hitler became the dictator of Germany and there was left no other party in Germany except the Nazi Party.

5. Causes of the Rise of Hitler and the Nazi Party—

The causes of the rise of Hitler and the Nazi Party were the following :—

(1) *Humiliating Treaty of Versailles*—Germany was compelled to sign the Treaty of Versailles. By it she had to give away many of her parts and territories. Her military power was reduced. She was to pay a large amount as reparation. This treaty was not only hard, but humiliating also. This gave a great blow to the international prestige of Germany. This gave rise to the feeling of dissatisfaction among the public. She wanted to establish her old prestige. When Hitler assured them about the establishment of the old prestige, they became his followers in large numbers. They had the faith that Hitler was the only person who could lead Germany to the height of progress.

(2) *Economic Crisis*—Germany had to face an economic crisis after the First World War. She suffered heavy losses in life and property. Many soldiers became unemployed. Trade and commerce were ruined as a result of the cession of her colonies. The workmen became unemployed. 1929 A.D., there was an economic slump in Europe. It had a great influence on Germany also. Unemployment and starvation were rampant in the country. About 6 million people became unemployed by that time. The Republic failed to solve the economic crisis. Hitler took advantage of the situation. **Grant and Temperley** have said—

> *"The framing of an attractive economic programme, the promise to destory unemployment and to find work for all, was therefore, of all appeals, the most effective. After the great 'slump' of 1929, this programme was dangled before the eyes of the Germans, some of whom had not eaten meat for two years. It was irresistible. The unemployed could hardly be worse off than they actualy were, and it was little wonder that they believed a brilliant order who promised them a new earth."*

(3) *Spread of Communism*—Communism was spreading day by day in Germany. Being influenced by the Revolution of 1917 in Russia, the Communists also tried to bring about a revolution in Germany. The Communist ideology was a great danger to the nationality of Germany. Hitler feared that Germany would become a slave of Russia by the spread of Communism over there Hitler exposed the destructive results of Communism to the public. He roused the national feeling among the public and instigated them against Communism and asked them to keep away from it. Consequently, the workmen and the masses joined the Nazi Party in large numbers so as to save themselves from the dangers of Communism. It helped the Nazi Party to make a rapid progress.

(4) *Party Strife*—There were many political parties in Germany. Social Democrats, Nationalists, Royalists and the Communists were the chief parties. At that time there was a democratic government in Germany but the party-strife was going on at its height. The Royalists tried to gain power in their own hands under the leadership of Kapp in 1920 A.D. and again under General Ludendorff in 1923 A.D. but they could not succeed. The increasing influence of the Communist Party was also a great headache for the government. So the period from 1919 A.D. to 1933 A.D. is a period of party-strife in the history of the German Republic. This weakened the Republic and the Nazis gained a good opportunity to snatch power.

(5) *Hatred towards the Jews*—Hitler had a great hatred for the Jews because it was his belief that they were the cause of the German defeat in the war, as they had cheated and betrayed Germany by joining the enemy. The trade and industry of the country were in their hands. They also did not render any help to the patriots in their attempt to save the country during the war days. He instigated the people against the Jews and they began to turn them out of the country. The Nazi Party became popular day by day as the people had a firm faith that this party could rescue them from the Jews.

(6) *Germany had no Faith in Democracy* :—The Germans had no faith in democracy as there had been autocracy since the olden times. Democracy was against their culture and traditions. Germans were brave and disciplined as they used to carry out the orders of their rulers with pride. They were unable to follow the parliamentary institutions. So, the Weimer Constitution was introduced in unfavourable conditions and thus its success was very difficult. The mentality of the Germans helped a lot in the rise of the Nazi Party as also the enthronement of Hitler as the dictator.

(7) *Personality of Hitler*—Hitler possessed a very influential personality He was a first-rate orator. His speeches were very effective and had a great logic in them. The audience could not remain unaffected. People used to come from far and wide to listen to his speeches. They had a blind faith in him and started thinking him to be god-like. That is why it has been said —

"Of propaganda, he was the master."

(8) *The Volunteer Corps*—German military force had been greatly reduced according to the Treaty of Versailles and most of her soldiers were rendered surplus and unemployed. Hitler organised the Volunteer Corps with the help of these soldiers. The corps were serve the leaders of the party and maintain peace in the party meetings as also to break up the public meetings of other parties. Hitler crushed the opposition parties with the help of these Volunteer Corps and greatly organised and strengthened his party.

6. Methods adopted by Hitler to rise to Power—Hitler dopted the following methods to rise to power and to become the ictator of Germany :—

(1) *End of the Opposition Parties*—Hitler imposed restrictions pon all the opposition parties and finished their leaders by inficting arious types of punishment. He crushed the Communists with a eavy hand. There remained no other party in Germany except the azi Party.

(2) *Stormy Troops* :—Hitler organised a police force from his Volunteer Corps which were called the 'Stormy Troops'. These troops elped greatly in crushing the opponents. One part of Hitler's Volunteer Corps used to put on black shirt and save the party leaders. It was known as S.S. or Schutz Slaffoln. Its Chairman, Rohem, hatched a conspiracy against Hitler so as to rise to power. But Hitler got him murdered.

(3) *Spy Force or Gestapo*—Hitler organised Gestapo or a Spy Force under his trusted companion Himler and set a network of spies throughout the country. This Spy Force helped a lot in finding out the movements of the opposition parties and crushing them as also in providing news about different places.

(4) *Control over the Press*—The government had complete control over the press. It had got no right to criticise the government of Hitler, the Nazi Party and Hitler himself.

(5) *Control over Education and Radio*—The Government had complete control over the educational institutions. The Radio, the Cimema etc. were also used to spread Nazism.

(7) *Concentration Camps*—Such persons as were dissenters were hounded into exile or herded into the Concentration Camps. There camps were situated in different parts of the country and many types of atrocities were committed there.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Early Life of Hitler.**—(I) Hitler was born in a poor family in Braunau in 1889 A.D. ; (2) Education could not be completed as a result of the death of his parents ; (3) Served at Vienna and Munich ; (4) Served as a soldier in the army during the First World War.

2. **Formation of the Nazi Party**—(1) Hitler Formed the Nationalist Socialist Workers Party in 1919 A.D. and changed it into the Nazi Party; (2) Programme of the Nazi Party ; (3) Formation of the army of the Nazi Party and its two parts.

3. **Imprisonment of Hitler**—(1) His efforts with the Royalists to over-throw the Republic in 1923 A.D. failed ; (2) He was put into the prison ; (3) Wrote 'Mein Kamph' during imprisonment.

4. **Nazi Party came to Power**—As a result of the economic crisis, the Nazi Party became popular ; (2) 107 members elected to the Reichstag in 1930 A.D. elections ; (3) Hitler's defeat in the elections for Presidentship in 1932 A.D. ; (4) Majority of the Nazi Party in the elections of 1933 A.D. ; (5) Hitler became the Chancellor in 1933 A.D. and became President on the death of Hindenburg in 1934 and soon became the Dictator.

5. **Causes of the Rise**—(1) Humiliating Treaty of Versailles ; (2) The Economic crisis; (3) Spread of Communism; (4) Party strife; (5) Hatred towards the Jews; (6) Germany had no faith in Democracy ; (7) Impressive personality of Hitler ; (8) Volunteer Corps.

6. **Methods adopted to rise to Power**—(1) End of the opposition parties ; (2) Stormy Troops ; (3) Gestapo ; (4) Control over the Press ; (5) Control over Education and Radio ; (6) Concentration Camps.

Home and Foreign Policy of Hitler

☞ Q. 3. Give an account of the Home and Foreign Policy of Hitler. How far was it responsible for the Second World War ? (A. U. 1957) V. Imp.

Or

What do you know about Hitler's Foreign Policy ? How far was it responsible for the Second World War ? (P. U. 1964)

Ans. 1. Hitler's Home Policy—Germany was defeated in the First World War and had to sign a humiliating treaty. She had also to face the economic crisis. The internal position of the country was also weak due to the political strife. The main objectives of Hitler's home policy were, therefore, to strengthen the internal position, to establish national unity, to heighten the national prestige and to improve the economic condition of the country.

(1) *National Unity*—In the elections of 1932 A. D., the Nazi Party gained majority in the Reichstag. Hitler became the Chancellor in 1933 A. D. and also got the powers of the President in 1934 A. D. He established his position as the dictator of Germany and became the 'Fuhrer' and usurped all the powers. Hitler was a great supporter of the national unity. He established the Third Reich by ending the Republic. He abolished the separate provincial governments so as to set up a powerful central government. The basis of his administration was one party, one leader add well disciplined administration. Democracy was abolished. The Reichstag was still there existing only in name. Its function was only to give legal sanction to the proposalf of Hitler. He adopted the old flag of Germany in place of the Republican Flag and got imprinted on it Swastika (卐). In this way, he brought about the national unity by establishing the autocratic rule of the Nazi Party. He used to say—

"The National Socialist Party is the state" (*Hitler*)

(2) *Suppression of the Opposition*—Hitler suppressed the opposition with a firm hand so as to establish the sole government of the Nazis. Many restrictions were imposed on the opposition parties and they were prohibited from spreading their ideology. Strict restrictions were imposed upon the press, news papers and speech so that the government could not be criticised. The leaders of the opposition parties were thrown into prison and others were punished in many other ways.

Hitler also suppressed those members of his own party who did not see an eye to eye with him. Rohem thatched a plot against Hitler to take the power in his own hands. Hitler shot him dead along with his companions.

He was deadly against the Jews and greatly hated them. He thought them to be traitors, deceivers and the chief cause of the German defeat in the war. He imposed strict laws upon them. They were deprived of their civil rights. They were also not allowed to do any business, to work in the schools, to enter the government service and to do any trade etc. The Jews, in great numbers, left for other countries due to his hard and stern policy.

The Catholics were also treated badly when they opposed Hitler's government and Nazism. He banned the Catholic Party and many clergymen were imprisoned.

(3) *Economic Reforms*—The economic condition of Germany became very grave after the First World War. Due to the economic slump of 1929, starvation and unemployment were rampant in the country. Arrangements were made to provide work and employment by setting up factories and starting several reconstruction works. Many acts were passed to improve the condition of the labourers. Different unions were formed to increase the co-operation between the capitalists and the workmen. Their mutual problems were solved by their unions. But the workmen were not given the right of strikes. So efforts were made to have control both over the capitalists and the workmen.

Different types of industries were encouraged and a large numbe of factories were set up. Restrictions were imposed on imports. There was a shortage of Raw materials and so arrangements were made to produce artificial rubber and wool etc. This resulted in an increase in the trade. In this way, the country was made prosperous by Hitler's wise economic policy, removal of unemployment and encouragement of irade.

(4) *Education*—Hitler wanted to set up such an educational system in Germany which could produce citizens who would be staunch supporters of Nazism as also endowed with ideals suitable to the government. The education began to be imparted according to the principles of Nazism. The chief task of the schools came to be the education of the Youth for the country's service......in the spirit of national socialism.

(5) *Military Power*—The military power of Germany had been reduced by the Treaty of Versailles. Hitler wanted to make Germany a powerful country in the world. So special attention was paid to the enhancement of the military power of Germany. He increased the number of soldiers, neglecting the Treaty of Versailles. The war-

materias was produced in large quantity and the ships and aeroplanes were produced at a quick speed. The fortification of Rhineland was made and the navy and air forces were strengthened. The Allies started inspecting his country and opposed him but Hitler did not pay any heed to them. He used to say—"*We want guns and not butter.*"

(6) *Religious Policy*—In 1933 A. D., Hitler signed a pact with the Roman Catholics and it was decided that the government would not interfere in their religious affairs and the clergymen would not take any part in the politics. A joint church for the Protestants was established and the clergymen were designated as the Reich Bishops.

Gradually, Hitler tried to have complete control over the Church. His Nazism could have no parity with religion so the Protestants and the Catholics opposed his policy. It gave rise to a conflict between the Church and the State. Hitler adopted the policy of suppression against both these religious groups. Many clergymen were imprisoned and others were transported to the Central Camp. Hitler's religious policy did not prove a success and he was unable to suppress the movement of the clergymen. It has been remarked—

> "*Christianity was rundown as the religion of the weak, the old German gods were held for information.*"

By his internal policy, Hitler established his authority by crushing his opponents. He improved the economic condition of the country by removing unemployment and encouraging different industries. The Nazism spread rapidly and the people became its followers. By the policy of armament, he increased his country's military power but he lost the sympathy of the Allies and they hated, suspected and feared him. It is said that the seeds of the fall and total destruction of Germany were sown in the authoritarian and totalitarian rule of Hitler.

2. Foreign Policy of Hitler—Germany had to sign the severe and humiliating Treaty of Versailles. The main objective of Hitler's foreign policy was to end the Treaty of Versailles and the arrangements made by it. He wanted to make Germany a great power of Europe by increasing her military power as also by establishing her old prestige. He wanted to get back all his colonies from the Allies which Germany had to cede according to the Treaty of Versailles. He thought it his prime duty to make Germany a great power of the world. **Derry and Jarman** are of the view—

> "*He had a divine mission to make the Germans the dominant power in the world. He was, as he claimed, the representative of the German people. In his mission, he had complete confidence.*"

In the beginning, under the garb of peace, he tried to befool these nations and made preparations for future confrontation with them. It has been rightly said—

"Hitler's immediate foreign policy after getting into power in Germany was to throw dust in the eyes of the leaders of foreign nations by talking of peace and to cover up his ultimate object until Germany was rearmed."

(1) *Violation of the Treaty of Versailles*—The Disarmament Conference was held in Geneva before Hitler's coming into power. The German representatives demanded the imposition of the same conditions over all the nations as regards disarmament. But, when they did not find any success in this respect then Hitler called back the German representatives. He then left the membership of the League of Nations. He also made a declaration that he was not ready to accept the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles and the reparations forced by it. So he started working of his own accord. He started increasing his military power and the fortification of his territorial limits.

(2) *Restoration of the Valley of Saar* :—According to the Treaty of Versailles, the control of the Valley of Saar was handed over to France under the Mandate System and the referendum was to take place after 15 years to decide its fate. The referendum took place in 1934 and the Valley was annexed into Germany. This increased Hitler's desires and now he paid much attention to the expansion of the German empire. In 1936, he captured the Rhineland and started its fortification.

(3) *Treaty with Poland*—Hitler entered into a non-aggressive treaty with Poland for a periok of 10 years in 1934 A. D. Both the countries would not violate the territorial jurisdictions of each other. Thus, making arrangements for the safety of his eastern frontiers, Hitler could now pay his attenlion to the southern and western sides. Besides, he wanted to get back those territories which he had to cede by the Treaty of Versailles. He wanted to establish a great German Empire.

(4) *Early Efforts to annex Austria*—Being impelled by the desire for the expansion of the empire in 1934 A. D , Hitler tried to annex Austria into his empire. To achieve this objective, first of all, he organised the Nazi Party in Austria. This party revolted against the Austrian Government in 1934 A. D. but its efforts failed as Hitler could not send aid in time and on the other hand the Italian Dictator Mussolini made a declaration to give military aid to Austria against Germany. He was not ready to bear Hitler's control over Austria at any cost.

(5) *Various Pacts against Germany in Europe*—Hitler's efforts to annex Austria in 1934 A D. failed. But all the countries of Europe were simply alarmed to see his imperialist designs. First of all, Italy and Czechoslovakia entered into a military pact against Germany. After that, France also joined that pact. These countries decided to face

Germany jointly in case Germany attacked Austria and her freedom was in danger. This groupism proved harmful for the world peace and this was the chief cause of the Second World War Accordingly, France assured Italy taht if she tried to capture Abyssinia then France would not interfere. This action was against the rules of the League of Nations and was more or less like fanning the war.

When Hitler declared not to agree to all the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles then France, Italy and England formed a group against Germany and decided to adhere to the arrangements decided upon by the Treaty of Versailles.

France also became alarmed for the safety of her frontiers as Hitler declared not to abide by the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles, and especially when he captured the Saar Valley and tried to capture Austria. So France signed a pact with Russia. It was decided that if any country attacks either of the two then the other would come for the help of the other. After that, Czechoslovakia also signed a pact with Russia. In this way, another group was formed by Russia, France and Czechoslovakia.

(6) *Treaty between Germany and England*—Germany and England both were against the above mentioned Blocs. Under these circumstances, it was but natural for them to come nearer to each other. So both of them also signed a treaty. According to it, England granted a permission to Germany to increase her military power but she could not increase her military power more than that of England.

(7) *The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis*—The various groups formed by different countries against Hitler could not succeed as their mutual interests clashed. On the other hand, Hitler also started the formation of groups in order to strengthen his position. When Italy attacked Abyssinia then England and France opposed her. Hitlar wanted to take advantage of this state of affairs. So he showed his sympathy towards Italy and also made an announcement to give her military aid. Consequently, both the countries signed a treaty in 1936 A D. which is known as the '*Rome-Berlin Axis.*'

Rivalry started between Russia and Germany when Russia tried to spread Communism in Europe and Hitler opposed it greatly. Besides, Russia was a great hurdle in the expansion of Germany on the Eastern side. On the other hand, Russia and Japan also had a great rivalry with each other. Japan was a foe of Communism and she also wanted to capture Manchuria which Russia did not like. Under these circumstances, Germany had a pact with Japan in 1936 A.D. which is known as 'Anti-Communist Pact'. Italy also joined this pact in 1937 A D and so Europe was divided into two hostile groups by 1937 A.D. In one group there were Germany, Italy and Japan etc. **Ketelbey** has rightly said —

"But as the pace of Nazi advance accelerated and the Nazi appetite grew more exorbitant, resistance mounted and resolution strengthened."

(8) *Annexation of Austria*—Hitler's efforts had failed to capture Austria in 1934 A.D. But the pact between Germany and Italy strengthened Hitler's position and the spread of the Nazi Party in Austria was increased. So Hitler attacked Austria on March 13, 1938 A.D. and annexed her in his empire. Both the League of Nations and the great nations of Europe failed to save the freedom of Austria. **Hitler** declared with great pride about his victory —

"All Germany is living through this hour of victory, seventy four million in one Reich. No threats, no hardships, no force can make us break our oath to be united for ever."

(9) *Annexation of Czechoslovakia and the Munich Pacts* :—Sudetenland was the part of Bohemia before the First World War but it was given to Czechoslovakia according to the Treaty of Versailles The German population of this place was not happy with the Checks. Hitler wanted to annex this port into Germany on finding the ill-treatment given to the Germans there. By and by the effect of Nazism increased there. Hitler started instigating the Germans against the government. So Germans started the demand of autonomy and right of self-determination. Hitler did not only support the people there but also promised them to give military aid. So the people there started a revolt against the government. The government followed the policy of repression.

There was the possibility of a war, but the efforts of the British Prime Minister Chamberlain averted it and the Munich Pact was signed by the two sides on September 21, 1938 A.D. Its conditions were as follows :—

(*i*) German claim over Sudetenland was accepted. Hitler gave up the demand for other territories.

(*ii*) There was a danger to the safety of Czechoslovakia after the annexation of Sudetenland by Hitler. So England, France, Italy and Germany jointly took the responsibility of the security of Czechoslovakia,

(*iii*) Hitler and Chamberlain decided to solve all the disputes peacefully.

But the Munich Pact could not solve the problem. The foreign Minister of Germany declared that Chamberlain had signed his death warrant whose date they would themselves put. Churchill also declared that it was like the challenge of war. How rightly **Schuman** has said—

"The Munich Pact was the culmination of appeasement and warrant of death for the Western democracies. It was symbol of the collapse of the system of collective security."

Hitler did not abide by the conditions of the Munich Pact. This pact could not quench his thirst for the expansion of his empire. He tore the Munich Pact to pieces when he captured the whole of Czechoslovakia. This event created an upheaval in the international sphere.

It has been rightly remarked—"*In her treatment of Czechoslovakia, Germany's ambition was made clear to the world; it was to conquer central and eastern Europe.*"

Later on, Chamberlain himself accepted his mistake. This pact was a great victory for Hitler and defeat for England and France and proved a major factor in the outbreak of the Second World War. **Derry and Jarman** have said—

"*England and France suffered a major defeat. Hitler was triumphant.*"

(10) *Annexation of Memal*—After capturing Czechoslovakia, Hitler captured Memal, the port of Lithunia and its adjoining areas. The Allies kept on looking at it silently.

(11) *Russo Germany Treaty*—Russia's conniving at signing a pact with England, France and Poland made Hitler use his diplomacy and he brought Russia round to sign a treaty with Germany. On the one hand Russia did not have faith in the Allies and on the other hand she wanted to increase her influence in the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea. In August, 1939 both the countries signed a treaty in which both of them promised not to attack each other. **Hazen** has said about this treaty—

"*This agreement is not an indication of Russia's cunningness but is a practical step taken by it to ensure its defence.*"

(12) *Attack on Poland*—Hitler increased his naval force but he had no passage to reach the Baltic Sea. So he demanded the port of Danzing from Poland. But Poland refused to accede to his demand on the support of both England and France. As a result, Hitler attacked Poland on September 1, 1939 A.D. and with that the Second World War started.

Hitler's Responsibility for the Second World War—It is clear from the above mentioned description that Hitler and his foreign policy was mainly responsible for the Second World War. Hitler regarded the German culture the best of all and he was in-favour of making Germany the most powerful country in the world. He was an ambitious man and wanted to heighten and re-establish the German prestige by expanding her empire.

After taking power in his own hands, he started violating the Treaty of Versailles. He also did not allow the Disarmament Conference at Geneva to be a success. By withdrawing from the League of Nations, he declared his intentions not to abide by the Treaty of Versailles and started increasing his military power. He made the military training and military service compulsory in his country. After capturing the Valley of Saar, his ambitions increased and the Allies started looking at him with doubt. His earlier efforts to capture Austria increased fear in the minds of the Allies.

Hitler encouraged groupism in Europe by his policy. His efforts to capture Czechoslovakia made Italy, Czechoslovakia and France sign a pact. Then there was a pact between England, France. and Italy. Russia, France and Czechoslovakia also signed a separate pact against Germany. Under these circumstances, Hitler tried to make his own friends. He separated Italy from the Allies by taking the side of Italy in the problem of Abyssinia and signed a treaty with her which is called the Rome-Berlin Axis After that, he made Japan sign a pact with Germany, and thus World was divided into two rival camps. Thus, Germany, Italy and Japan formed one group and in the other group were England. France and Russia. This division of the Europe resulted in the Second World War.

Hitler also wanted to expand the German empire. He captured Austria in March, 1938 and the Allies kept on looking as mere spectators. After that, he captured Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia and afterwards he annexed the whole of Czechoslovakia. Further on, he captured Lithunia's port of Memal. Hitler's policy of empire-building created an upheaval in Europe and seared the Allies when on September 1, 1938 A.D. he took control of the port of Danzing. This very fact of attacking Poland led to the Second World War.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Hitler's Internal Policy** —To make the internal state of the country sound ; (1) National unity; (2) Suppression of Opposition ; (3) Various economic reforms ; (4) Spread of education ; (5) Increasing the military power ;(6) Religious policy.

2. **Foreign Policy of Hitler** :—The main objectives of his foreign policy were to end the Treaty of Versailles, to increase the military power, to make Germany a world power, expansion of the German empire and to re-establish the old prestige of Germany. (1) Breach of the Treaty of Versailles ; (2) To regain the Valley of Saar ; (3) Treaty with Poland in 1933 A.D. ; (4) Earlier attempts to capture Czechoslovakia ; (5) Groupism against Germany in Europe ; (6) Pact between Germany and England ; (7) Rome-Berlin Axis of 1937 A.D. ; (8) Annexation of Austria in March 1938 ; (9) Annexation of Czechoslovakia and the Munich Pacts ; (10) Annexation of Memal ; (11) Attack on Plaond which resulted in the Second World War.

Hitler was mainly responsible for the Second World War.

University and other Important Questions

1. Examine the main factors responsible for the rise of dictatorship in Germany. (D U, 1964, 70)
2. Trace the rise of Hitler to power and describe how he brought about the Second World War. (P.U. 1964)

3. What were the factors that led to the rise of Hitler in Germany ? (D.U. 1964, 69)
4. Account for the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany. (D.U. 1970)
5. Explain the causes of the downfall of Weimer Republic of Post-War Germany. (A.U. 1960, 69)
6. Explain fully the rise of the Nazi Movement in Germany. (A.U. 1961, 65, 67)
7. Mention the circumstances that led to the growth of Nazism in Germany. What were its results ? (A.U. 1963)
8. Describe the foreign policy of Hitler and its results. (A.U. 1965, 69)
9. Write short notes on—
   (*a*) The Weimer Republic
   (*b*) The Dawes Plan
   (*c*) Locarno Pacts
   (*d*) The Young Plan
   (*e*) The Munich Pact
10. Examine the factors responsible for the rise of dictatorship in some countries of Europe after the First World War. (*Delhi B A.* 1971)
11. Examine the main factors responsible for the rise of dictatorship in Germany. (*Delhi B.A.* 1970)
12. State the main events which marked the beginning of totalitarian aggression in Europe before the second World War. (Pb. M A. 1973)

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THE SECOND WORLD WAR, 1939–45 A.D.

On seeing the grave consequences of the First World War, it was felt and surmished by all and sundry that such a destructive war could not be waged again and if there was any, it would mean the end of civilisation. In the words of **Grant and Temperley**—

> *"There could never be another war on the same scale, and that if one were to come, it would be the end of our civilization."*

The League of Nations was founded for the establishment of peace and to prevent future wars but the League failed to achieve its objectives. The Paris Conference only proved an armistice for 20 years. Germany was treated very harshly and was humiliated by the Treaty of Versailles. Therefore, as soon as he come to power, Hitler refused to accept such a treaty. He started the expansion of his empire and increased his military power by following the policy of armament. Europe was divided into two rival camps as a result of his aggresive policy. The cold war began which terminated in the Second World War in 1939 A.D.

Causes of the Second World War

☞ Q. 1. Describe briefly the main causes of the Second World War. (V. Important)

Or

How far is it true that the real cause of the World War II was the injustice done at the Treaty of Versailles ?

Ans. Causes of the Second World War—With the end of the First World War in 1918 A.D., the world heaved a sigh of relief but it was not known, that after 20 years, there was to be another war which would be more disastrous and which would make us forget the first one. The Second World War was fought from 1939 to 1945 A.D. Following were its chief causes :—

1. Unjust Treaty of Versailles—The Treaty of Versailles, by which the First World War ended, was completely based on injustice. The defeated nations, especially Germany, were very much humiliated. Germany had to cede many of her territories, and all her colonies were forcibly taken away from her. Germany was divided into two parts for the benefit of Poland. She was laiden with so much economic repayment which she could never pay. Her military force was much reduced. The treatment meted out to her was based upon the spirit of revenge and not justice. The Treaty of Versailles was a black spot for the Germans which they wanted to wash. This could never be done without armament and so the war was inevitable. Preparing the German people for the war, Hitler said to them—

"It is a vast programme of national expansion. There will never again be a man with such authority or who has the confidence of German people as I have. There is no time to lose—war must come in my time",

2. **Improper Behaviour of France**—After the First World War, Germany and her allies were treated harshly beeause of the spirit of revenge prevailing all around. France should have become silent after doing so much, so that every possible help could be given for the establishment of peace in the world, but there was hardly any change in the French behaviour. Germany suffered a great blow by ceding the valley of Saar. France was not satisfied with this and she captured the industrial zone of 'Ruhr' in 19.3 A D. This lone incident turned the German democratic rule into military dictatorship.

3. **Establishment of the Nazi Party in Germany**—The democratic government could not succeed in Germany as a result of the French obstinacy. Consequently, the people having faith in power gained the chance to rise again. So the Nazi Party expanded under the leadership of Hitler. By and by, this party progressed. By 1934 A.D , Hitler took complete power into his own hands and became the Dictator of Germany. He rejected the Treaty of Versailles and increased his military power. He fortified Rhineland and annexed Austria, Sudetenland and Czechoslovakia etc. into her empire. He wanted to re-establish the old prestige of Germany and to make her a world power. For this purpose, the Nazi Party left the path of peace and followed the path of warfare. So under these circumstances, the war was unavoidable.

4. **Dissatisfaction of Italy with the Treaty of Versailles**—Italy joined the Allies in the First World War with many hopes. The territories which she gained as a result of the treaty were a source of great disappointment to her. So a military rule was also established there under the leadership of Mussolini. Mussolini introduced many reforms and brought a new life to Italy by giving military training to the youth of Italy. He wanted to achieve the prestige of the old Roman Empire. Italy also adopted an aggressive policy like Germany and captured Abyssinia and Albania. Her aggressive policy made all the efforts, on the part of

the League of Nations for the maintenance of peace, quite useless and created an atmosphere of hostility in the world.

5. **Japanese Policy of Expansion**—Another cause of the war was the Japanese expansionist policy. Though Japan and China both joined the Allies in the First, World War yet Japan gained more facilities than China. But, even then, Japan started the expansion of her power with great speed. Consequently, she made attacks on China openly in 1937 A.D. and occupied many of her towns. This Japanese policy of expansion drew the Second War much nearer.

6. **America's Aloofness from European Politics**—After the end of the First, World War, America kept aloof from the European politics. At first England could not prevent France from ill-treating Germany due to the aloofness of America. So France was able to avenge herself on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles, but Germany could never forget this humiliation. In order to take revenge upon France, she plunged the whole of the world once again into darkness. Again, by American co-operation, the military rules of Germany and Italy could not have been so much violent, and could in no case, have had ignored the League of Nations so easily.

7. **Problem of Minorities**—After the First World War adjustments were made in the territorial limits of different nations. Many territories were annexed with such countries which had different culture and civilization. Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia etc. were such states. The minorities of these states were dissatified because they did not have all the facilities for their full development. Then the German subjects of these states revolted and Hitler annexed these states by attacking them on the pretext of lending aid to Germans. This policy of Hitler also proved a great cause of the war.

8. **Imperialistic Interests**—England and France had hold over a great part of the colonies of the European countries in different parts of the world. All the colonies were taken away from Germany after the World War. She had no facilities for the raw material and the markets. Italy also did not have any important gain from the war. Like Germany, she was also in search of establishing her colonies. Japan also required colonies for her increasing population and the industrial development. England and France did not like that Germany or her allies should establish their own colonies. So the conflict of the imperialistic designs of different nations was nothing but natural.

The slump of 1929-30 made the situation all the more complicated in Europe. Each state adopted the policy of protection of her industries. The developed countries had such great store of produced goods that it was not possible for them to consume all of them in their own territories. Those countries were put to more inconvenience who had neither the raw material nor the colonies. Thus Germany, Italy and Japan etc. indulged in fulfilling their imperialistic designs.

Italy captured Abyssinia and Albania and Japan captured Manchuria. Germany also followed suit and captured many territories. Who could then avert the Second World War ?

9. **Rise of New Ideologies**—After the First World War, the democracies were set up in most of the European countries. But the rise of Russian Communism, Italian Fascism and the Nazism of Germany created an upheaval in Europe. So the rival ideologies of democracy and dictatorship encouraged groupism in Europe and brought the war nearer.

10. **Weakness of the League of Nations**—The League of Nations was established for the maintenance of peace in the world and to prevent wars. But it proved quite weak and failed to achieve her objectives. She did not have any military power to implement her decisions and to punish the defaulters. Again, there was lack of co-operation among the member-nations and they wanted to use the League for grinding their own axes. When Italy annexed Abyssinia, Japan Manchuria, and Germany Austria and Czechoslovakia, the League of Nations could not take any action against them. So the member-nations lost their faith in the League and they started preparing war material in great quantity. **Hitler** used to say—

"The reconquest of lost territories cannot be achieved by solemn appeal to Almighty God or pious hope in the League of Nations but by the armed forces."

11. **Problem of Disarmament** :—By the Treaty of Versailles, the military power of the defeated nations was reduced and they were prohibited from producing great quantity of war material. But it encouraged armament in place of disarmament. The big nations were asking the smaller nations for disarmament but themselves were not ready to follow suit. Consquently, Germany and other nations started preparations for war and the production of war material. France established her 'Majinot Line' while Germany set up her 'Fried Line'. According to Hitler—

"Re-armament was the only road to power and national achievement."

12. **Lack of Foresight in the Policy of England**—After the World War, the policy adopted by England was greatly criticised. It is said that there was lack of foresight and determination in it. In 1936 A. D. when Germany annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia, England should have stopped her from doing so. Also, England should have risen to the occasion and prevented Japan from annexing Manchuria, and Italy from annexing Abyssinia. Later on, it became difficult to prevent these aggresive powers and to save the World War. **Benns** has rightly said—

"The statesmen of the major world powers ignored and evaded their responsibility and resorted to the policy of 'appeasement'. But appeasement did not satisfy the aggressors and tension between the powers increased steadily until it resulted in the Second World War."

13. Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis—After gaining power into his own hands, Hitler rejected the Treaty of Versailles, started increasing her military force and started the fortification of the Rhineland. Being influenced by the desire of the expansion of German Empire, he tried to annex Austria. This great desire of his made the whole of Europe look upon him with doubt. The European Nations formed many alliances for their safety. First of all, Italy, France and Czechoslovakia formed a Bloc in 1934 A.D. In 1935 A.D, France, England and Italy signed a pact to check the increasing power of Germany and to implement the decisions of the Paris Peace Conference. After that France signed a non-aggression pact with Russia. Czecholovakia also signed such a pact with Russia. So a group was formed among the three nations. Under these circumstances. Germany started a frantic search for her allies. She took Italy's side on the question of Abyssinia and signed a pact with her which is known as the 'Rome-Berlin-Axis'. After that Hitler also signed a pact with Japan. Thus was formed the Rome-Berlin Tokyo Axis **Hitler** said about it—

"This axis is a great world political triangle which consists not of their powerless images but of their states which are prepared and determined to protect decisively their right and vital interests."

Later on, Russia, also signed a pact with Germany, and England joined hands with France. So Europe was divided into two rival camps in 1939 A. D. and only required a pretex to set the whole ammunition ablaze.

14. Immediate Cause—The immediate cause of the Second World War was the German attack on Poland. By the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was divided into two parts in order to provide a land-route to Poland upto the sea and so, the Port of Danzing was handed over to Poland. But after some time Germany demanded it back from Poland and without waiting for the reply, she attacked Poland on September 1, 1939. When England asked Germany to vacate Poland, Germany flatly refused. Thus, on September 3, 1939 England declared war on Germany. It was, then, the beginning of the Second World War.

POINTS TO REMEMBER*

Causes of the Second World War—(1) Unjust Treaty of Versailles ; (2) Improper behaviour of France (3) Establishment of the Nazi Party in Germany (4) Dissatisfaction of Italy witn the Treaty of Versailles ; (5) Japanese policy of Expansion ; (6) American aloofness from European politics ; (7) Problem of minorities ; (8) Imperialistic Interests ; (9) Rise of New Ideologies ; (10) Weakness of the League of Nations ; (11) Problem of Disarmament (12) Lack of Foresight on the part of England (13) Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis (14) Immediate Cause—German attack on Poland on September 1, 1939.

Inevitability of the War

Q. 2. Was the Second World War really inevitable ?

Or

Was the Second World War a conflict of ideologies or a mere phase in the inevitable international conflict resulting from pursuits of the imperial interests ? Give reasons for your answer.

(Agra B. A. 1953)

Ans. The Second World War of 1939-1945 A. D. was almost inevitable. It was very difficult to prevent it for a long time. Following were its causes :—

(1) There is no doubt that there was a *lot of difference in the political ideologies* of the Allies such as England, France, America, etc. on the one hand and the Central Powers like Germany, Italy, etc. on the other hand. England, France, America, etc. were in favour of the democratic set up. There the real power was in the hands of the elected representatives. In these countries, the power was vested in the hands of the people and the government was run by the elected representatives of the people. So the state paid full attention to the interests of the people and did not become autocratic. On the contrary, there were autocratic military dictatorships in Germany and Italy. The dictators had all powers vested in them. They were all in all and ruled according to their whims. They took the state superior to the individuals and sacrificed the interests of the general public for the sake of the state. People could not criticise the dictator or his policies and carried out his orders as it was their prime duty. The dictators ruled with full military power.

The hatred, enmity and bitterness were the result of the different ideologies of both these sides who doubted and hated each other. This gave rise to the possibility of a conflict. However, it is not correct that the differences in the political ideologies was the chief cause of the war.

(2) The real cause of the Second World War was the *imperialistic designs of the different nations.* This war was the inevitable result of international conflict which was the direct consequence of the imperialistic designs. The imperialist countries like England, France and America etc. had carved out colonies in other countries of the world for their industrial and commercial interests. They used to get the raw material cheaper from there and that too in sufficient quantity and those were also used as their markets. Germany had also established her colonies before the First World War but she had to cede all of them after the War. Italy was also not satisfied with the Treaty of Versailles as her hopes were not fulfilled. After the First World War, Germany. Italy and Japan tried to establish their colonies for the development of their industries. But England, France and America started opposing them as they could not bear that these countries should set up their colonies in Asia and Africa and might create a danger for their economic prosperity. On the other hand, these countries were bent upon the extension of their empires. Under these circumstances, the war became inevitable.

Italy annexed Abyssinia and Albania for the expansion of her empire, Japan captured Manchuria and many parts of China. Hitler also wanted to expand the German empire to re-establish her old prestige. He was greatly ambitious. He rejected the Treaty of Versailles to fulfil his imperialistic designs and annexed Austria, Sudetenland and Czechoslovakia. His success roused his imperialistic designs all the more. As he wanted to reach upto the sea-coast, he demanded the port of Danzing from Poland in 1939 A. D. But Poland turned down his demand. Hitler signed a non-aggression pact with Russia in August, 1939 and being satisfied with the security of his eastern border, he attacked Poland on 1st Sept, 1939 A. D. To check the imperialistic designs of Hitler, England and France declared war on Germany on 3rd Sept., 1939. So the imperialistic designs of different nations threw the world into the clutches of war.

(3) *The First World War and the Treaty of Versailles created such circumstances which made the Second World War quite inevitable.* The Treaty of Versailles was very harsh and humiliating. This treaty was thrust upon the defeated nations. The Central Powers, especially Germany, had to cede many of their territories. They were compelled to pay a very heavy war-indemnity. Their military power was greatly reduced. On gaining power, Hitler rejected the Treaty of Versailles and refused to pay the war-indemnity. He made the fortification of the Rhineland and started increasing his military power. His policy of re-armament made the European powers join him in this race. Under these circumstances, how could the war be averted.

(4) Like in the First World War, *Europe was divided into two hostile camps* at the time of the Second World War. France had to sign pacts with many countries in order to meet the imperialistic designs of Hitler. Hitler at first signed a pact with Italy in 1930 A.D. to strengthen his position. After that he signed another treaty with Japan. So the three countries formed a Bloc which is known as 'Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis' in history. Consequently, England and France formed another Bloc against the first. Under such a division of the world, the war naturally seemed inevitable.

(5) After the First World War the *League of Nations* was established to maintain world peace, to prevent wars in the future and to settle the mutual disputes. The League could gain success only in the beginning when it was to decide the disputes of the smaller nations. But when the great powers violated her rules and decisions, then it could do nothing. When Italy annexed Abyssinia, Japan annexed Manchuria and Germany annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia then the League could take no actions against them. So other nations naturally lost faith in the League of Nations. Besides, the League was a weak institution, as it had no military power under it by which she could implement her decisions. Under such circumstances how could the war be averted ?

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Second World War was Inevitable—(1) Political differences of the rival groups was not the sole cause of the War ; (2) The international conflict resulting from the imperialistic designs was another cause of the war ; (3) The expansion of their empires by Japan, Italy and Germany was intolerable for other powers (4) The harsh and humiliating Treaty of Versailles made the war inevitable (5) Formation of two rival camps in Europe ; (6) Weakness of the League of Nations.

Main Events of the Second World War

Q. 3. Give a brief account of the main events of the Second World War.

Ans. 1. Parties—On 1st September, 1939 A.D., Germany attacked Poland. On 3rd September, 1939 A.D., England declared war on Germany. Soon, many countries, small or big, were entangled in this war. Germany, Italy, Japan, Rumania etc. formed one Bloc and were known as the 'Central Powers'. On the other hand, there were 30 small or big nations like England, France, America etc. who were known as the Allies. In the beginning, Russia was on the side of Germany but she joined the Allies later on.

2. Main Events of the Second World War—

(1) *Attack on Poland*—When Poland refused to give back the port of Danzing of Germany, Hitler invaded Poland on 1st September, 1939. Poland could not stand against the German forces and its capital Warsaw fell in about a fortnight. At that very time, Russia invaded Poland from the East. So Russia and Germany partitioned Poland between themselves after winning it.

(2) *Russian Conquest of Finland*—Russia did not have faith in Germany. So she conquered Finland in November, 1939 so as to safeguard Leningrad. After that she also conquered Latvia, Estonia, Lithaunia etc.

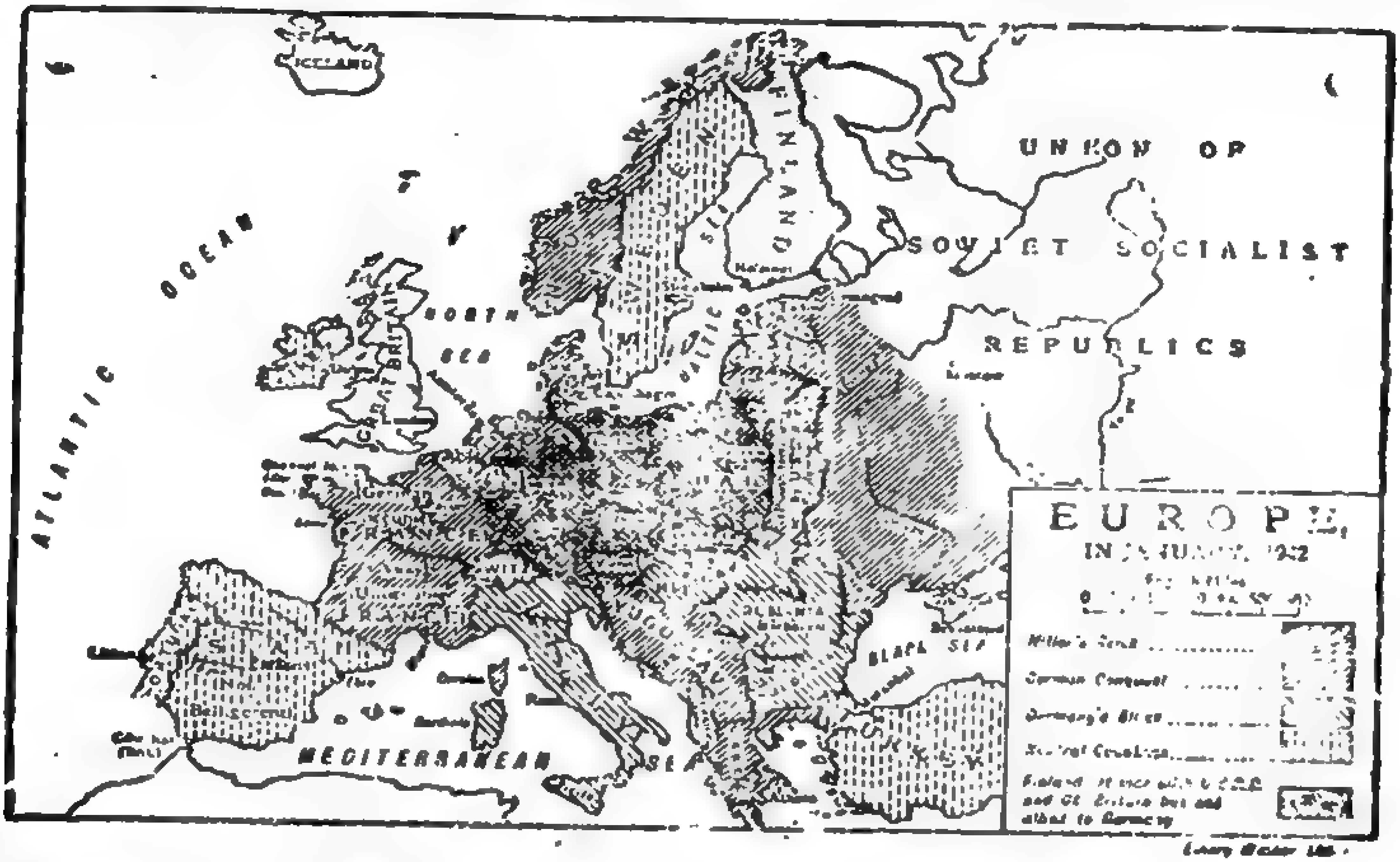
(3) *Conquest of Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium*—Germany annexed Norway and Denmark in April. 1940. On 10th May, 1940, Germany attacked Holland. The Dutch faced the enemy very boldly but could not stand against the powerful German forces and they surrendered on 24th May and thus Holland fell to Germany. After that Hitler conquered Belgium after attacking it on 27th May, 1940 A.D. The English army was able to escape with great difficulty through the Port of Dunkirk.

(4) *Defeat of France*—Germany invaded France from three sides on June 5, 1940. The French Majinot Line also could not save her. Hitler occupied Paris on June 10 and the French General Marshal Petain surrendered unconditionally on June 22, 1940 A.D. France was then partitioned into two : one part was taken by Germany while the other one remained under Marshal Petain.

(5) *War with England*— The British Prime Minister Chamberlain had to resign as a result of the astonishing victories of Germany. He was replaced by Churchill as the Prime Minister of England. In his very first address to the nation, **Churchill** said—

> *"We shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing strength in the air. We shall defend our island whatever the cost may be. We shall fight on the beaches. We shall fight on the landing grounds. We shall fight in the fields and in the streets. We shall fight in hills, we shall never surrender"*

The German aeroplanes started air attacks on England in August, 1940. These aeroplanes made heavy bombardment on London and other towns. The German submarines, warships and U. boats sunk many British ships. The English held on with great courage and they also started bombadment on Germany. In this way, Germany could not force England to surrender and the Engligh succeeded in the maintenance of their freedom. **Churchill** remarked about their success —



"Never in the history of mankind, did so many owe so much to so few."

(6) *Italian Failure in North Africa*—After the fall of France, Italy also declared war on the Allies taking the side of Germany on June 10, 1940 A.D. Italy wanted to conquer Egypt, the Suez Canal and those parts of North Africa which were under the English. In the beginning, Italy gained some success but soon Lord Wavell started defeating her and he captured the Italian colonies in Africa. Libya, Somaliland and Ethiopia were also liberated from the Italian rule. Under these circumstances, Germany sent her force under General Romel to help Italy. In October 1942, the English General Montgomery gave a crushing defeat to the German army at El-Alamein. Thus, all hopes of Mussolini were dashed to the ground. It has been rightly said in this connection—

"This British victory was one of the turning points of the year. Mussolini's African gamble failed and the Allied victory in North Africa proved to be the prelude to his fall."

(7) *Critical Time for the Allies*—In 1941, Hitler conquered Greece, Yugoslavia and Crete and took hold of the eastern Medi-

terranean. Hitler wanted to put an end to the Eastern empire of the English. To achieve this end, he tried his best to capture Syria, Iraq and Iran but failed.

(8) *Early Victories of Japan*—Japan signed a treaty with Germany and Italy in 1940. So the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis was formed and Japan also jumped into the war. Japan wanted to have her Influence over the whole of Asia but America was a great hurdle in her way. So she started bombing the American port of Pearl Harbour. She also sank two great warships—'Prince of Wales, and 'Repulse' of the English. Soon Japan conquered Shanghai, Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore, Philippine islands, New Guinea, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Bali, islands etc. She started the world by her amazing successes. She also captured Rangoon on March 8, 1942 and after that she started attacking the North-Eastern frontiers of India.

(9) *Germany invaded Russia*—Hitler signed a non-aggression pact with Russia in August 1939 A.D. But he did not have any faith on Russia and took her as his enemy and also wanted to conquer the fertile tracts of Ukraine, her mines and the oil fields. Violating the treaty of 1939, she attcked Russia from three sides in June, 1941. One drive was made towards Leningrad, another towards Moscow and the third towards Stalingrad. **Molotov** encouraged the Russian people for the war and addressed them in these words—

> *"The government calls upon you, Citizens of the union, to rally more closely around our glorious Bolshevik Party and around our Soviet Government, around our great leader and comrade. Stalin. Ours is a righteous cause. The enemy shall be defeated, victory will be ours."*

The German army conquered Ukraine, and reached near Moscow and started attacking Moscow and Leningrad. The most fierce battle was fought at Stalingrad which lasted for 6 months. In Sept. 1942 the German army started withdrawing and by and by they vacated Russia. Thus, Hitler's Russian expendition failed miserably and proved a great cause of his defeat. The German army was reduced to 12, 000 from its original strength of 3,30,000.

(10) *Fall of Italy*—General Montgomery badly defeated Italy. The American forces under General Eisenhower also joined the forces of Montgomery. After a fierce fighting at Tunisia, the Italian forces surrendered in May, 1943. After that, the Allied forces captured the Sicily island. Then they attacked Italy and started advancing towards Rome. There was a revolt against Mussolini in Italy and he was imprisoned. Italy surrendered before the Allied forces on September 1943 A.D. Rome was conquered in 1944 A.D. and the people of Italy murdered Mussolini the very next year *i.e.*, 1945.

(11) *The Allies invade Germany*—In 1944 A.D., the Allies started air raids on Germany on June 6, 1944 and the Allied forces under General Eisenhower invaded Normandy. In August, 1944,

they conquered Paris and freed France from the German occupation. After that, the German forces had to vacate Belgium and Holland. At the end of 1944 A D, the Allied forces attacked Germany passing through Rhineland. It became difficult for Germany to fight on two fronts as the Russian army had also attacked her from the eastern side. Seeing his defeat near or at hand Hitler committed suicide in April, 1945, and the German forces surrendered unconditionally on May 7, 1945.

(12) *Japan suarenders*—After defeating Germany, the Allies paid their attention towards Japan. The Allies conquered Philippines and many other islands from Japan. After that, they issued an ultimatum to Japan that either she should surrender or she should be ready to face destruction. Japan did not pay heed to that. Therefore, on August 6, 1945 an Atom Bomb was dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima and after that another Atom Bomb was dropped on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945. Being compelled by situation, Japan surrendered unconditionally on August 14, 1945. After Japan's surrender, the Second World War came to a close.

3. Outstanding Features of the Second World War—The Second World War differed in many respects from the First World War and it had its own characteristics :—

(1) The Second World War was a *total War*. The participants mobilised all their resources for the purpose of War. Every citizen and every family was affected by it.

(2) The Second World War was *more wider in scope* than the First War. It was fought almost in each part of the world. It was fought in forests, cities and deserts. Feirce battles took place in Europe, Africa, Asia. the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, etc.

(3) *This War differed in nature from the first one.* It was a mobile warfare. Hitler astonished the whole world with his Blitzkrieg or lightning war. The First War was a trench warfare. In the Second War, the air force played much more dominant role than that of the land forces and navy. Attacks and counter-attacks characterised the new methods employed in it. Tanks, Aeroplanes, Parachutes and destructive weapons were used in this war in abundance. Atom Bombs were used for the first time.

(4) The Second World War was not only a war of the different nations but it was the *war of two rival indologies and political principles*. There were German Nazism, Italian Fascism and Japanese Shintoism on one side. All these gave more importance to the state in comparison to the individual and the power was vested in one person who was an autocrat. Hitler thought the German culture to be the best among the world and wanted to spread it throughout the world. Mussolini used to say—"*The struggle between two worlds can permit no compromise. Either we survive or they.*"

On the other hand, there were democratic countries like England, France and America, etc. In 1941 A.D., the American President Roosevelt laid down the objectives of the war in his 'Atlantic Charter' as freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of worship and political liberty. The Allies did not like to crush Germany, Italy and Japan but their totalitarian ideologies.

(5) The Second World War was *comparatively more dangerous and destructive.* Millions of people were killed in it. Family life was much disturbed and a great many towns and villages were totally destroyed.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. **Parties**—Allies with England ,France, America and many small nations on one side and the Central Powers—Germany, Italy, Japan, etc. on the other side,

2. **Main Events** :—(1) German attack on Poland on September 1, 1939 (2) Russian conquest of Finland ; (3) Conquest of Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium ; (4) Defeat of France ; (5) War with England. (6) Italian Failure in North Africa; (7) Critical times for the Allies in 1943 A.D. (8) Early victories of Japan ; (9) Germany invaded Russia ; (10) Fall of Italy-1943 A.D. ; (11) The Allies invaded Germany in 1944 A.D. and her surrender in 1945 A. D. ; (12) Surrender of Japan ; End of war on 14 August, 1945,

3. **Characteristics** : (1) Total war ; (2) Wider scope ; (3) Mobile Warfare ; (4) Conflict between two Ideologies ; (5) More destructive.

Results of the Second World War

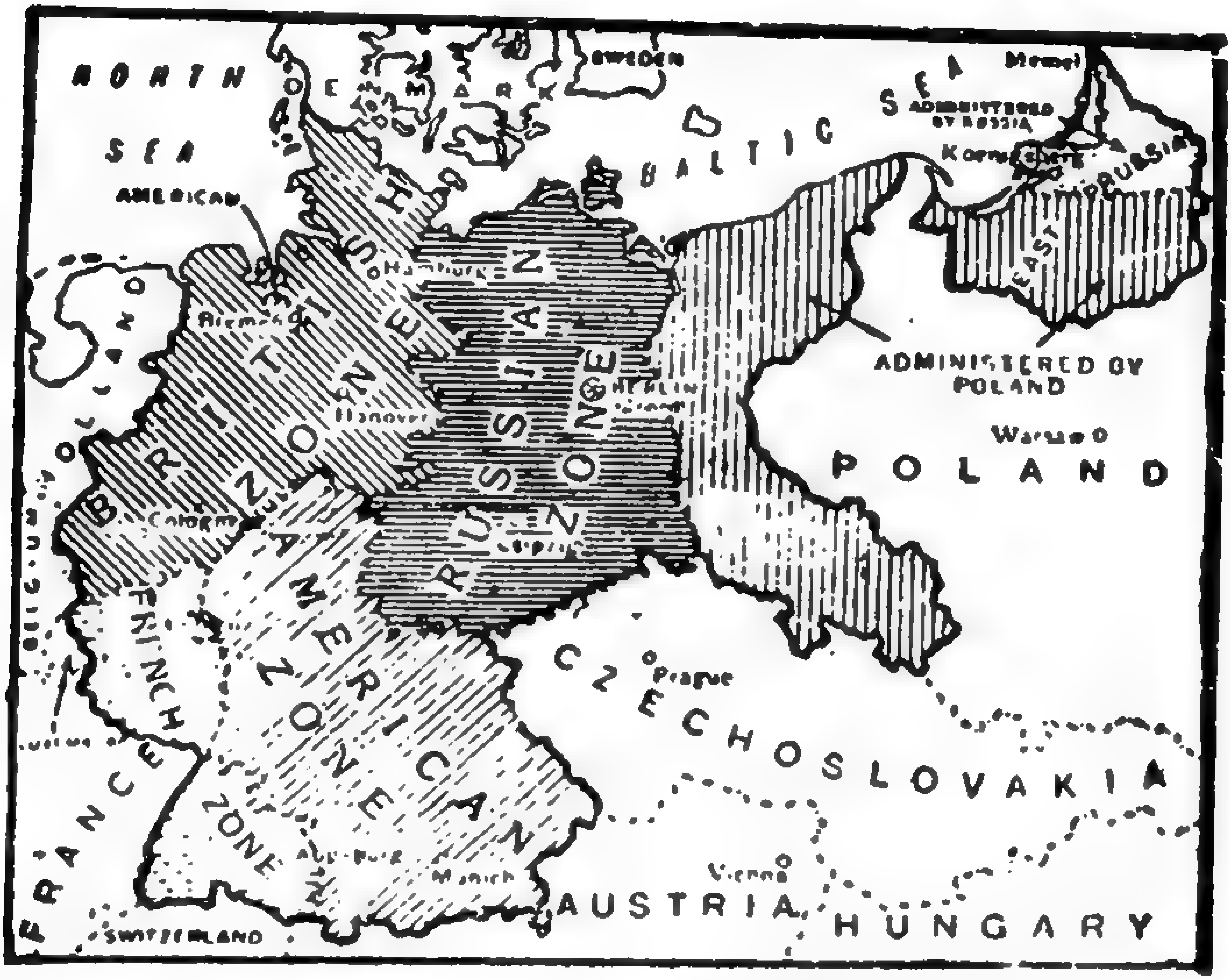
Q. 4. Describe briefly the results of the Second World War.

Ans. The results of the Second World War were more destructive than those of the First War. Not only were the defeated countries like Germany, Japan, and Italy etc. destroyed but even victorious countries like England, France also became weak. Some of its results were as follow :—

(1) After her defeat in the war, *Germany* became very weak. It was divided into two parts. Russia took control over the eastern part (67, 200 sq. k.m.) while England, France and America took control over the western part (1,53,400 sq. km). German capital Berlin was also divided into two parts Its eastern half went to Russia and the western half was given to America, France and England. Millions of German people, both civilian and military, were killed. The German army was reduced in number and all the war material was snatched from her. The Allies tried the war criminals and some stalwarts of the Nazi Party, and some of them were also executed.

(2) *Japan* also became very weak. The emperor was shorn of all his powers and prestige. General Mac-Arthur was given control over Japan. He abolished the old imperial constitution and established the monarchy with limited powers. Japan was deprived of all her conquests which she had made since 1914. Her military power was reduced and all the war-material was taken away from her. Many leaders of Japan were tried and executed. By the Treaty of 1951 A.D., she gained some freedom but even then she remained under American protection.

(3) Like Germany and Japan, *Italy* was also depirved of her colonies. She was required to pay a heavy amount as reparations and her army was also reduced much. Ethiopia and Albania, which she conquered before the war, were freed from the Italian control. Some of her ports were given to France and some other ports to Yugoslavia while some islands were ceded to Greece. The port of Trieste, which was a bone of contention between Italy and Yugoslavia, was placed under the international control.


NORTH SEA
DENMARK
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
Memel
ADMINISTERED BY RUSSIA
Konigsberg
EAST PRUSSIA
AMERICAN
HOLLAND
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
BERLIN
BRITISH ZONE
RUSSIAN ZONE
ADMINISTERED BY POLAND
Warsaw
POLAND
Cologne
Leipzig
AMERICAN ZONE
FRENCH ZONE
BELGIUM
Prague
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
FRANCE
Augsburg
Munich
Vienna
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
SWITZERLAND

The Division of Germany into Zone, 1945 A D.

(4) The defeated countries like Germany, Japan and Italy etc. had to suffer a lot due to their defeat but victorious countries like *England and France* had also to suffer considerably and they also became somewhat weak. England did not now remain the most powerful country in the world.

(5) *Russia* gained the most by this war. Her prestige rose high as a result of the Germany defeat. The Russian empire was greatly expanded. To her empire were added half of Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, some parts of Finland, Eastern Prussia and many portions of Germany. Russia emerged as a dominant country under the leadership of Stalin.

(6) The Second World War proved to be *greatly destructive.* There was a great loss of life and property and correct estimates of it have not yet been made. Millions of soldiers on both sides were killed. More than ten million of soldiers were wounded in this war. Millions of the civilian population was killed as a result of the air raids and bombardment. The Allies had to spend more than a billion of rupees on it. Same was the expenditure of the Central Powers also. Many big cities, beautiful buildings were reduced to ashes as a result of the bombardment. Such a great destruction had never been seen before.

(7) The war gave *rise to the desire for freedom in the colonies under the European countries in Asia.* India, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Egypt etc, which were under the English rule, became free after the war. The colonies under France Portugal, and Holland also got freedom by and by.

(8) *The British Empire was broken up* and Britain lost the leadership of the world. Now American Russian influences began to increase and the world was divided in two Blocs—(*i*) the democratic and capitalist bloc under the leadership of America (*ii*) the communist bloc under the leadership of and Russia. America tried to manitain her influence by granting economic aid to different countries and Russia tried to influence many countries by spreading the communist ideology. Russia influenced the Eastern Europe, China and South-East Asia while the democratic ideology had its influence on the Southern European countries and many Arabian and African countries. So, many countries of the world came under the American influence. England tried to maintain her influence by forming the Commonwealth of Nations of those countries which gained freedom from her.

(9) There was an uproar on all sides to see such a great destruction. Now all the countries of the world realised the importance of peace in a better way. Encouraged by the desires of establishing peace, the *United Nations Organisation was established* in 1945 A.D. All the people of the world realised that if there is any other such war then no body would survive in this world. Consequently, every country of the world is now ready to give every sort of help to the U.N O. for the establishment of peace in the world.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Results of the Second World War—(1) Effects on Germany ; (2) Effects on Japan ; (3) Loss to Italy ; (4) loss of power in England and France; (5) Russia became a world power ; (6) A great loss of life and property ; (7 Different countries in Asia became free ; (8) World wrs divided into two Blocs—Democratic Bloc under the leadership of America and the Communist Bloc under the leadership of Russia ; (9) Establishment of U. N. O.

University and other Important Questions

1. Briefly discuss the causes of the Second World War. (P.U. 1957, 68, 69)

2. Germany, Italy and Japan fought against Britain, France, United States and Russia in the Second World War. What major grieveances did the first three powers (The Axis Powers) have against some or all of their opponents ? P.U. 1965)

3. Narrate the circumstances that led to World War II of 1939. (A.U. 1962)

4. Examine carefully the causes of World War II. (A.U. 1964, 66)

5. Was the Second World War really inevitable ? Explain clearly. (A.U. 1969)

6. Discuss the causes and events that led to the Second World War. (Pb. M.A. 1972)

7. Account for the failure of the League of Nations. (Pb. M.A. 1973)

8. How far Chamberlain's policy of appeasement contributed to the war ? (Pb. M.A. 1973)

9. Explain clearly the part played by Germany in causing the Second World War.

38

UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

Aims and Causes of the Establishment of U. N. O.

1. Describe briefly the origin, aims and organisation of the U. N. O.

Ans. United Nations Organisation (U. N. O.)—The United Nations Organisation is a world organisation comprising a large number of countries of the world which was established in 1945 to bring an end to wars, to establish permanent peace in the world and to bring about an economic, social and cultural development of mankind.

Reasons for the Establishment of U. N. O.—Following were the reasons for the establishment of the U. N. O. :—

(1) *Second World War*—The Second World War was more destructive than the first one. Millions of people were killed in the war and the number of those who fell a prey to epidemics is unlimited. Millions of people became homeless and unemployed. Many cities were razed to the ground. Agriculture, trade and industries were ruined. There was an uproar throughout the world due to this war. The great politicians of the world were much perturbed with the speedy destruction of the world and the end of human culture and civilization. Under these circumstances, they started thinking about the establishment of an institution which could save the world from the dangers of future wars and maintain peace in the world.

(2) *Removal of Mutual Suspicion*—At that time, the world was divided into two blocs. Both of them had no faith upon each other and both of them had doubts against each other. It was being realised that there should be such an institution which should bring them nearer and remove their suspicions.

(3) *Establishment of Permanent Peace in the World*—On seeing the disastrous results of the Second World War, all the countries felt the need that there should be such an institution which could establish permanent peace in the world.

(4) *Destructive Weapons*—The destructive weapons like Atom Bombs, were invented during the Second World War which could bring the end of the world in no time. Therefore. the need of the time was that the different countries of the world should establish such an institution where they could sit together and think over means

by which they could save themselves and the whole mankind from the destructive weapons.

(5) *Fear of the Third World War*—The seeds of the Second World War were sown in the First World War. All the countries of the world were of the opinion that as the First World War was the cause of the Secound World War so the Second World War could be the cause of the Third War. But they were afraid of the Third World War and wanted to establish such an international institution which could save the world from the ruinous effects of the next war.

Origin of the U. N. O.—League of Nations failed to achieve its objectives after the First World War and it resulted in the Second World War which was fought from 1939 to 1945 A. D. Its results were more destructive than those of the first one. The great powers of the world felt the need of such an institution which should be more powerful than the League of Nations so that the world could be saved from the horrors of the war and permanent peace be established. Thus, the United Nations Organisation was established in 1945 A. D.

After the Second World War, the Allies made a decision in the Dumbarton Oaks Conference that there was the need of an international agency which could give a permanent shape to the co operation among the peace-loving countries of the World. After that, a conference of about 50 countries of the world was held from April 25, 1945 to June 26, 1945 at San Francisco and a Charter was drawn-up. The delegates of different conntries signed it on June 26, 1945. This organisation started functioning in a regular manner from October 24, 1945. It was named as the United Nations Organisation on the suggestion of the American President, Roosevelt.

The headquarters of the U. N. O. is at New York.

Its Membership—Each peace-loving nation, who agrees with the objectives of the U. N. O. and is ready to abide by the principles of the U. N. O. and who is considered suitable for its membership by the organisation, can become its member. For its memberseip, it is necessary that the Security Council should recommend the name of a country and it should be approved by 2/3 majority of the General Assembly. The five permanent members, (England, France, America, Russia and China) can however, veto the entry of any new country. The General Assembly can withdraw the membership of any country on the recommendatian of the Security Council. Almost all the countries of the world are its members now 142 till July, 1975.

Aims of the U. N. O.—The aims of the U. N. O. are as follows :—

(1) To maintain international peace and security.

(2) To promote friendly relations among the nations.

(3) To achieve international co-operation in solving the world-wide economic, social and cultural problems.

(4) To promote respect for human rights, dignity and freedom.

(5) To promote respect among the member-nations for fundamental rights and freedom of mankind by ending the differences of of sex, caste and creed. That is why it has been mentioned in the Charter—

"*We the people of the United Nations determine to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and to maintain international peace and security and employ international machinery for the provision of the economic and social advancement of all people and to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.*" (*The Preamble of the Charter of the U. N. O.*)

Principles of the U. N. O.—The principles of the U. N. O. are as follows :—

(1) The U. N. O. is based on the equal rights and self determination of the member-nations.

(2) Each member-nation should perform her duties earnestly according to the Charter.

(3) Each member-nation should settle the disputes by peaceful means so that the peace, security and justice in the world are not disturbed.

(4) All member-nations will not make use of threat and violence in their international relations.

(5) All member-nations will help in performing those functions which the U. N. O. performs according to the Charter and none will help a country against which the U. N. O. is taking any action.

(6) The U. N. O. will not intervene in the internal affairs of a country.

(7) The U. N. O. will also see that the non-member nations also work for the maintenance of international peace and security.

In short, we can say that the main aim of this world organisation is to maintain peace in the world so that the life of mankind becomes secure and worth-living.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

U. N. O. —Definition ; Causes of Establishment—Second World War, removal of mutual suspicion ; Establishment of permanent peace in the world ; Control on destructive weapons ; Fear of the Third World War ; Its Establishment in 1945 ; Drawing up of the Charter by 50 nations at San Francisco ; Headquarters at New York ; Aims of the U.N.O. Principles of the U.N.O.

Chief Organs of the U. N. O.

☞Q 2 What are the principal organs of the U. N. O. Describe in brief their functions. (Important)

Ans. Organisation or Chief Organs of the U. N. O. — U. N. O. has six main organs :—

(1) General Assembly.

(2) Security Council.
(3) Economic and Social Council.
(4) Trusteeship Council.
(5) International Court of Justice.
(6) Secretariat.

1. *General Assembly* —It is an important organ of the United Nations. It is regarded as the parliament of the U.N.O. Its meeting is held once in a year. In emergency, special meetings can be held. Ordinary matters are decided by simple majority vote but in important matters a majority of two-third votes is required. Each country can send 5 delegates but is counted as one vote. Assembly discusses matters relating to peace and security. The budget of the U.N.O. is also passed by it. It also discusses reports from all its agencies and departments. The Assembly decides about the admission of any new member and the removal of any old one. It is also empowered to elect the Secretary General and the non-permanent members of Security Council.

2. *Security Council* —It is the executive body of the United Nations It has 15 members. America, Russia, France, England and China are its permanent members. The remaining 10 are non-permanent members who are elected by the General Assembly for two years. Each member of the Council has one vote. The ordinary matters require the affirmative vote of 9 members out of 15. But in the case of important matters the decision is based on the vote of 9 members, no doubt, but it must include the vote of all the five permanent members. The five permanent members have the right of 'veto'. Formerly, the total membership of the Security Council was 11 but, in 1965, the membership of the Security Council was increased to 15 which includes 5 permanent and 10 non-permanent members. Its meetings are held once in a month but, in emergency, they can be held earlier too.

3. *Economic and Social Council* —This council has 27 members. They are elected by the General Assembly for three years. 1/3 of the members retire after every three years and the new members are elected in their place. This Council holds at least two sessions in a year.

The chief function of this Council is to solve the economic, social and cultural problems of the member-nations. This Council works for the economic and social development of the different nations and makes efforts to remove the economic and social causes of the war. It appoints commissions in different spheres and inspects the working of the various social institutions set-up by the United Nations.

4. *Trusteeship Council* —Those countries which are still not free and get protection from the United Nations are looked after by the Trusteeship Council. This Council tries to check that the ruling country pays attention for promotion of the economic, social

and political development of the countries under her and enables them to be self-supporting. This Council sends missions to the protected countries to know about the progress made by them from time to time. It also listens to the complaints of the protected countries. The ruling countries make efforts for the development of the protected countries and send their reports to the Council. On the basis of these reports the Council makes its recommendations to the General Assembly for their betterment.

(5) *International Court of Justice*.—It is the chief court of the United Nations It is situated at Hague in Holland. It is composed of 15 Judges. They are elected for 9 years. They are separately elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council. Only one judge from a country is elected. Its quorum is fixed at 9. All decisions are taken by the majority vote of the present judges. The Chief Justice has got the right of casting vote. The Chief Justice is elected for three years.

The decisions of this Court are final and there is no appeal against them. The main function of this Court is to settle the mutual disputes among different nations by peaceful methods. When ever there arise any dispute among the nations regarding treaties or pacts or legal questions, they are referred to it for decision. It also advises the General Assembly, the Security Council and other Agencies of the United Nations on legal matters. The decisions are made according to international laws.

6. *Secretariat*.—The day to day business is carried on by the Secretariat. It keeps the records of all the organs of the United Nations Organisation. The chief administrative officer is the Secretary General who is appointed for 5 years on the recommendation of the Security Council. Many officials from different countries work under him. The Secretary General puts into practice the decisions taken by all the organs. The Secretariat is divided into 8 parts for its smooth running. The Secretary General gets £ 5000 annually as pay and many other allowances. Nowdays, Mr Kurt Waldheim of Austria is the Secretary-General.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

The Chief Organs of U.N.O.—(1) General Assembly, (2) Security Council, (3) Economic and Social Council, 4. Trusteeship Council, (5) International Court of Justice, (6) The Secretariat.

Work and Achievements of the U.N O.

Q. 3. Describe the aims, work and achievements of the U.N.O.

Ans. Aims of the U.N.O.—Aims of the U.N.O. have been described in question No. 1. Please see that question for Aims of the U.N.O.

Achievements of the U.N O.—Many critics are of the view that the United Nations Organisation shall also meet the fate of the League of Nations because this organisation has failed in the maintenance of peace and security in the world. Today the world is divided into rival blocs. Both are suspicious of each other and are busy in the production of destructive weapons. They say that the cold war, going on between Russia and America, can flare up in to a fierce battle any moment.

But the critics of the U.N.O. only see one side of the picture. They don't look at those achievements of the U.N.O. which she has done during these few years. They forget that the U.N.O. has checked the cold war from flaring up into a World War and has thus saved the world. The achievements of the U.N.O. can be divided into two parts :—

(*a*) Political Achievements
(*b*) Social Achievements

(*a*) **Political Achievements**—The U.N.O. has saved the world from falling a prey to war by solving many tricky political problems, such as the following :—

(1) *Kashmir*—Soon after the partition in 1947, Pakistan attacked Kashmir. As a result of it, the war broke out between Pakistan and India. The United Nations Organisation passed the Cease Fire Resolution for stopping the war and fixed the Cease Fire Line. The war stopped at the U.N.O's intervention. When the war again broke out on the dispute of Kashmir succesively in 1965 and 1971, between the two, the efforts of the U.N O. again brought an end to them and forced both the countries to withdraw their forces.

(2) *Palestine*—Palestine is a small country of the Arabs in the West Asia. The Jews also lived there in a large number. The Arabs and the Jews were enemies of each other and both of them wanted to turn out each other from there. In 1948 A.D., the Jews established a new state of 'Israel' there. The Arabs made an attack on that. The war came to an end by the efforts of the U.N.O. and the e was not great bloodshed on the establishment of Israel.

(3) *Indonesia*—U.N.O. played a great role in the freedom of Indonesia. This country was under Holland but became free in 1949 by the efforts of U.N.O.

(4) *Greece*—After the Second World War, the Communist guerillas created disturbances in North Greece. Many Communist countries helped the guerillas. Peace was established in North Greece by the efforts of U.N.O.

(5) *Korea*—Korea was under the rule of Japan before the Second World War. She was divided into two zones after the war. Russia gained control over the north zone and America on the south zone. A war broke out between the two zones in 1953. It was with the help of the U.N.O. that peace was ultimately established in Korea.

(6) *Indo-China*—A war broke out in Indio-China in 1953 A D. The war ended by the efforts of U.N.O. and peace was established there.

(7) *Libya and Syria*—The French troops were withdrawn from Libya and Syria with the efforts of U.N.O. and both of them got freedom.

(8) *Egypt*—The British and the French troops attacked Egypt on the nationalisation of Suez canal in 1956. The war was stopped by the efforts of U.N.O. and both of them had to withdraw their forces from Egypt.

(9) *Hungary*—A revolt broke out against the government of Hungary in 1956. Russia sent her force there and the revolt was crushed with force. A voice was raised in the U.N.O. against the atrocities committed by the Russian forces and Russia was compelled to withdraw her forces.

(10) *Congo*—In 1960, a civil war broke out in Congo. U.N.O. tried to bring an end to the civil war and it sent the forces of neutral nations there. Thus the cease-fire was enforced there and the World War was thus averted.

(11) *West New Guinea* :—Indonesia became free in 1949 A.D. but Holland still had control over one part of this country named West New Guinea. Indonesia started war against Holland to get it liberated from the Dutch control and it was because of the U.N.O. intervertion that in 1963 A D. this part was given to Indonesia.

(12) *Berlin*—There was a possiblility of breaking out of the war between Russia and America on the Berlin issue but the war between them was averted by the efforts of U.N.O.

(13) *Laos*—The situation became very serious in Laos and there was every possibility of war there. But U.N.O. controlled the situation and did not allow the war to break out.

(14) *Cuba*—A serious conflict came up between America and Russia on the question of Cuba and there was every possiblity of the deterioration of the situation any moment. But the intervention of U.N.O. saved the situation.

(15) *Efforts for the freedom of Slave countries*—Many countries of Asia and Africa gained freedom as a result of the efforts of U.N O. These countries were Indonesia, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco etc.

(16) *Opposed the Racial discrimination Policy of South Africa*—U.N.O. openly criticised the policy of racial discrimination of South Africa and as per its efforts many countries of the world have economically boycotted South Africa so as to bring about a change in her policy.

(17) *Efforts for Disarmament*—U.N.O. has always made efforts for disarmament and has tried to stop the tests of the Atom Bombs, etc. Though it has not gained much success in this sphere yet it has appointed a Disarmament Commission for this purpose. India was once the Chairman of this Commission.

(18) *Use of Atomic Energy for Peace*—U.N.O. has always favoured this policy that the use of Atomic energy should not be made for destruction but for the promotion of peace and prosperity in the world. International Atomic Energy Agency has been set up for this pnrpose.

(*b*) **Social Achievements**—U.N.O. has done a wonderful work in the economic as well as social spheres through her agencies and offered many chances for the development of the backward countries. She has made the following efforts in this respect :—

(1) *Financial Aid*—U.N.O. gives economic and technical aid to the backward countries so that they should make progress and should be able to exploit their natural resources fully. The function of the World Bank is worth appreciating in this respect.

(2) *Helping the Refugees*—U.N.O. has made proper arrangements for the help of the refugees. About two million persons made homeless by wars and other such causes have been settled in different parts of the world. This work is in the hands of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

(3) *Welfare of the Labourers*—I.L.O. is making great efforts for the welfare of the labourers of the world and is protecting their rights.

(3) *Welfare of the Children*—UNICEF is busy in the servivce of the poor and orphan children of the world and their helpless mothers.

(5) *Protection of the Health*—W.H.O. has done a lot of work for the protection of the health of mankind. This organisation makes efforts to check different infectious diseases, T.B. etc. from spreading further.

(6) *Control over the Narcotic Drugs*—U.N.O. has made efforts to have control over the use of narcotics so that they should be used for the purpose of drugs alone.

In short, we can say that U.N.O. is serving the mankind a lot in different spheres of life through its various agencies.

Though U.N.O. has not achieved full success in the maintenance of peace in the world yet it is definite that it is the only organisation which is working in this direction at present and it is this organization alone which can stop the war for an indefinite period.

For its success, it is very necessary that two great powers of the world—*i.e.*, Russia and America should make sincere efforts to make it a success, and every possible effort is made for spreading its principles. The spirit of internationlism should take the place of nationalism. If it happens like this, then that day is not faroff when the world will get rid of war for ever. Otherwise, there cannot be any peace in the world. That is why it has been said—

The U.N.O. can do little while the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. face each other like gladiators for a bout."

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Work and Achievements of U.N.O.—*Political*—To solve the problem, of Kashmir, Palestine, Indonesia, Greece, Korea etc. (2) *Social*—Economic said aid to the refugees, welfare of the labourers, protection of health etc. and control over the narcotics."

Social Service Agencies of the U.N.O.

☞Q. 4. Describe briefly the activities of the Specialised agencies of the U.N-O. What role has been played by India in this respect ? (V. Important)

Ans. The Second World War did not only cause a loss of life and property but economic and social structure of most of the countries of the world was also upset. While the need was felt for the establishment of permanent peace in the world, it was also felt that arrangements should be made for the economic and social development of the backward countries of the world. U.N.O. formed many 'Special Agencies' for the achievement of this purpose which are still working in the economic, social, cultural and scientific spheres and are making largest efforts to make life more peaceful and prosperous in the world. These Special Agencies are the following :—

1. UNESCO—

(*i*) *Foundation*—The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisntion was founded on November 4, 1946 A D. with its headquarters at Paris.

Organisation—This Agency has a General Assembly which holds its meetings once in two years. The representatives of the member-nations take part in these meetings. The policy and the programme of the organisation is chalked out in this meeting and also the budget is approved in it. There is an Executive Board to implement its programmes. It comprises of 34 members and this Board conducts at least two meetings in a year.

Aims—Welfare is the objective of this organisation. The objectives or aims of this organisation are to spread education, to encourage science, to promote cultures of different counries so that countries should be drawn nearer to each other and should understand each other so that the world peace should become deep-rooted.

Work—To achieve its objectives, this organisation makes arrangements for the spread of education in different countries of the world. It opens schools and arranges for the training of the teachers. It also pays attention to cultural and scientific development with the help of films. It opens libraries and makes arrangements for exhibitions. This institution pays attention towards the cultural and scientific development through the medium of films. The good books written in different languages of the world are got translated and printed in other different languages of the world. This organisation also sends cultural and scientific missions to the different countries of the world so that there should be development of mutual contacts which may further promote peace and prosperity in the world. The work of this organisation has been praised everywhere. **Leon Elum** rightly remarked at the time of its foundation...*"I believe in UNESCO as I believe in peace and as I have faith in mankind."*

India's Role—India is its member from the very beginning and she has tried hard for its success. The opening ceremony of the headquarters of this organisation in India was performed by the former President Dr. Radha Krishnan. There is also a National Commission to carry out its activities in India. A session of the General Assembly of this organisation was held in India in 1956. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided over it. Then a seminar was also held where it was decided to impart free and compulsory education to all.

2. International Labour Organisation (I.L.O)—

Foundation—It was founded in 1919 and it was an important organ of the League of Nations. In 1945, when U.N.O. was established, it started working as a Special Agency of the U.N.O. Its headquarters are at Geneva in Switzerland.

Organisation—This organisation has a General Assembly. It conducts its meetings once in a year. Each nation sends 4 representatives to it—two are government representatives, one respresentative of the labourers and one representative of the capitalists. All decisions are taken on the majority vote. All nations try to follow the decisions taken by it. There is also a Governing Body consisting of 48 members to look after the working of this organisation.

Aims—The aims of this organisation are to improve the condition of the labourers in the world, to raise their standard of living and also to prove their economic and social status.

Work—This organisation takes steps to check unemplyment among the labourers, fixes their wages and the hours of their work, makes arrangements for their safety. renders them aid in illness and old age and makes arrangement for their living and education of their children.

India's Role—India is its member since its very beginning. She is a permanent member of this organisation. She has taken part in many of its sessions and about 25 of its decisions have been implemented here. In 1958, Indian specialists were sent to other countries to render them help. India also imparts training to so many people of the world in the respect of labour organisations. Shri Jagjiwan Ram was elected the chairman of this organisation in 1950. In 1957, a conference of the Asiad unit of I.L.O. was held in Delhi.

3. Food and Agriculture Organisation (F.A.O.)

Foundation—It was established on October 16, 1945 with its Headquarters at Rome in Italy.

Organisation—It has a General Assembly which holds its meeting once in every three years. Every member-nation sends one representative to it. This Assembly chalks out the policy and programme of the organisation. A Council of 34 members is elected to implement the programmes of this organisation.

Aims—Its aims are as follows :—

(*i*) To increase the agricultural produce in all countries of the world and also to improve upon the distribution of the produce.

(*ii*) To raise the standard of food and the standard of living of the people of the world.

(*iii*) To help in increasing the agricultural produce by giving financial aid, by providing latest machines and by lending the services of the specialiits, etc.

Work:—This organisation sends its specialists to the backward countries to give suggestions for increasing the produce. It also makes arrangements to save the plants and crops from pests. It also makes arrangements to supply better seeds to different countries. It encourages the employment of scientific methods for increasing the agriculture output. America, Europe, Australia, in particular, have lent much aid by giving machinery to many undeveloped countries. This organisation also makes efforts to increase the production of fish and forests and to control the dangerous diseases among the animals.

India's Role—India has been its member since its beginning. Shri B R. Menon of India was elected its first Director General. India took an active part in its meeting held at Rome in 1958. In that very year, India also took part in its Asian session held at Tokyo. India has gained a lot from this organisation. India has been given much help in the shape of machinery, medicines for checking agricultural diseases and services of experts for increasing agricultural produce.

4. World Health Organisation (W.H.O.)—

Foundation—This organisation was founded on April 7, 1948 with its headquarters at Geneva in Switzerland.

Organisation—This organisation has a World Health Assembly. It holds its meeting once in a year where its programme is framed. There is an Executive Board to implement the proceedings of the organisation. It has 24 members. This board holds its meetings twice a year.

Aims—The aims of this organisation is to improve the health of the people in all countries of the world, to control dangerous diseases and to supply medical aid and medicines, where required.

Works—This organisation gives medical aid to the people. It arranges for the medicines to prevent various diseases. It checks the spread of infections diseases and supplies vaccine for T B. It arranges the supply of milk for children of the world. It sends specialists to different countries who give suggestions for the improvement of the health of the people.

India's Role—India has been given milk and medicines in large quantities. She has also availed of the services of the European and American experts under this organisation. India's former Union Health Minister Smt. Amrit Kaur was elected its Chairman in 1950 A. D. with the help of W.H.O. small-pox has been creadicated in India.

5. United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (U. N. I C. E. F.)—

Foundation—It was founded by the General Assembly in 1946 A. D. Its headquarters are at New York.

Organisation—It has a Board of 30 members which decides its programme and the aid to be given to the different countries.

Work—It tries to check the spread of diseases among the children. It arranges for the milk and nutritious food for the physical development of the children. It makes efforts to prevent the diseases like T. B., Malaria, Eye Diseases, and Skin Disease etc. The orphans are also helped from this fund. Children and women are also helped from this fund, especially in times of floods, earthquakes etc. This fund is proving very useful for children and their welfare. This fund is maintained by the government aids and the donations from private agencies.

India's Role—India gets much aid from this fund. She receives milk, medicines and vaccine in large quantities.

6. International Monetary Fund and World Bank (I. M F. and W. B.)

Foundation—The Fund and the World Bank were founded in 1945 with headquarters at Washington.

Organisation—There is a 'Board of Governors' to manage these. It conducts its meeting once in a year. All the rights are vested in the Board. The Board also has a Chairman.

Aims—The aims of the Fund and the World Bank are :—

(*i*) To increase the financial co-operation among the countries of the world. (*ii*) To remove the financial hinderances, if any, in the way of the development of the member-nations (*iii*) To provide money for the economic and social development of backward countries.

Work—The Fund and the World Bank have lent financial aid to many countries of the world for various development schemes. This organisation also promotes the international trade. This World Bank gives loans to the member-nations and sometimes sends commissions to assess the economic needs of different nations. In 1956, another organisation connected with the World Bank under the name of I. F .C. (International Finance Corporation) was established. This advances loans for individual enterprises also.

India's Role—India is an original member of the Fund and the Bank. India has a permanent representative on the Board of the Bank. The former Finance Minister of India, Shri. C D. Deshmukh had remained the member of both these organisations. In 1953, a mission of the World Bank came to India which gave useful suggestions as regards the financial resources of India. India has also taken loan from the World Bank to complete her various development schemes.

7. International Refugee Organisation—

This organisation was founded in 1945. Its headquarters are at Geneva. Its aim is to give help to homeless people made so by war or by other causes. This organisation has so far helped about 20 lakh refugees. In the beginning, this organisation made praise-worthy efforts but laxity came in its functions since the stopping of the American aid in 1947 A. D.

8. International Civil Aviation—It was founded in 1947 A.D. with its headquarters at Montreal. Its main aim is to reduce the air fare and to make it cheaper and safer.

9. International Tele-Communication Union—It was founded in 1947 with Geneva as its headquarters. It frames international rules for the development of telegraph, telephone and radio receiving services. It also fixes different radio-frequencies for different nations so that they should not interfere on that account.

10. Universal Postal Union :—It was founded in 1947 with Berne (Switzerland) as its headquarters. Its aims are to promote international co-operation in the field of postal services. The organisation fixes the postal rates for sending post from one country to another by international pacts. Each member-nation of this organisation make every possible efforts to send its post as early as possible to other countries.

11. International Atomic Energy Agency—It was founded in 1957 A. D. with its headquarters at Vienna in Austria.

The aim of this organisation is to stop the use of the atomic energy for war purposes and try to utilise it for peace, health and welfare of the mankind.

It has a General Assembly which hold its meeting once in a year but, in emergency, special meetings can be called. There is a Board of Governors, comprising 25 members, to implement its programme and policy,

In short, we can say that U. N. O. has done very good work in the economic social, and cultural spheres for international development thtough the above agencies. These agencies have been working for the welfare of the mankind continuously without indulging in political activities and are making it more prosperous. It is the duty of each nation to give full co-operation to the U. N. O. and to work according to its suggestions so that these agencies should be successful in their functions.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Social Service Agencies of U. N. O.—(1) UNESCO ; (2) I. L. O., (3) Food and Agriculture Organisation ; (4) World Health Organisation ; (5) United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund ; (6 International Monetary Fund and World Bank (7) International Refugee Organisation ; (8) International Civil Aviation Organisation ; (9) International Tele-Communications Union ; (10) Universal Postal Union ; (11) International Atomic Agency.

Some Defects in the U.N.O.

Q 5 Describe some of the main defects of U.N.O. Is it right to say that the U.N.O. will go the way of the League of Nations ?

Ans. Defects of the U.N.O.—Though U.N.O. has proved more powerful and useful than the League of Nations, yet there are many defects to be found in it which can weaken its root . Due to these reasons some people even say that U.N.O. will go the way of the League. The defects of U.N.O. are as follows :—

(1) *Incomplete Representation*—Though U.N.O. is considered to be the best international agency in the world yet all the countries have not gained representation in it. Still many European and Asian nations have been deprived of its membership.

(2) *Defective Representation*—Many defects are to be found in the representation of the U.N.O. The representation has been given to the governments and not to the people of different countries. Secondly, each nation, big or small, has been given equal representation. Each country has got one vote.

(3) *Absence of a Permanent Army*—U N.O has not got its own army with whose help it could get its decisions implemented and could punish those states who go against its decisions or create an atmosphere of war.

(4) *Decisions of U.N.O. are not Final*—The decisions of U.N.O. are not final. Its decisions are only proposals which can be changed any time. This diminishes the authority of this organisation.

(5) *Lack of International Government*—The world is becoming international in nature. Therefore, there is need of an international government which could maintain peace in the world. U.N.O. is merely an international organisation and not a government which could frame laws for the world.

(6) *Two Blocs*—U.N.O. is divided into two blocs. One bloc consists of America, England, France and their allies. It is called American Bloc. The other group consists of Russia and her allies. This is called the Russian Bloc. There is a lot of difference between the ideologies of these blocs. Consequently, there is always tension prevailing and much time is wasted in debates and the problem of the world peace still remains unsolved.

The U.N.O. has become an arena in which the opposing blocs constantly measure their strength against each other.

(7) *Veto Power*—There are 5 permanent members of the Security Council who have got the right of veto. If any of these members vetoes any resolution of the U.N.O., then it is rejected. Consequently, the important matters remain unsolved. It acts as a sort of break in the working of the U.N.O. **Lord Winster** has rightly said—"*This organisation* (*U.N.O.*) *will be one for keeping small boys in order by prefects who are themselves exempt from the rules they administer.*"

(8) *Mutual Suspicion*—There is lack of friendship, love and goodwill among the member-states of the U N.O. They always suspect one another. Under this suspicion, they are increasing their military power and inventing new destructive weapons day in and day out.

(9) *Ignoring small nations*—The small and weak nations are ignored in the U.N.O. and no importance is given to their views. The big nations get their views accepted as a result of their power and influence.

(10) *Imperialism*—Most of the members of U.N.O. are western countries and they are imperialists. They want to over-power the smaller nations for the achievement of their materialistic designs. Such a policy always keeps the world peace hanging in the balance.

(11) *Security Council is more powerful than the General Assembly*—The General Assembly consists of the representatives of all the member-nations but the Security Council consists of only 15 members. But even then the real powers of the U.N O. lie in the hands of the five big powers who are the permanent members of the Security Council.

(12) *Lack of the Spirit of Internationalism among the Member-states*—It is also a defect in the U.N.O. that there is lackness of the spirit of internationalism among the member-states. They are surrounded by selfish motives and whenever any international problem comes up before the U.N.O. then they make it all the more complicated by their selfish thinking and forget the international aspect altogether.

(13) *U.N.O. has no right to interfere in the Internal Affairs of the Member-states*—U.N.O. has got no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the member-nations. Therefore, it cannot remove the important causes of the world unrest

Conclusion—Seeing the defects of the U.N.O., some critics are of the view that this organisation will go the way of the League of Nations and it will also fail like the League of Nations in preventing war and establishing peace. But these people only see one side of the picture. They forget that U.N O is the only hope of the world peace. It is because of her that the cold war has not flared up in the war and the fear of war has greatly been reduced in the world.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Defects of the U. N. O. :—(1) Incomplete Representation ; (2) Defective Representation; (3) Absence of Permanent Army ; (4) Decisions of the U.N.O are not final (5) Lack of International Government ; (6) Two Blocs ; (7)Veto Power ; (8) Mutual Suspicion ; (9) Ignoring the Small Nations ; (10) Imperiaism ; (11) Security Council being more powerful ; (12) Lack of the Spirit of Internationalism among Member-states ; (13) No right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Member-states.

University and other Important Questions

1. Write what you know about the aims and organisation of the U.N.O.
2. How far is the U.N.O successful in maintaining the world peace ?
3. What does the modern world owe to the U.N.O. ?
4. Is it correct to say that U.N.O. will go the way of the League of Nations ?